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THE

HISTORY

OF

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,

KING OF SWEDEN,

SURNAMED THE GREAT.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

AN ESSAY ON THE MILITARY STATE OF EUROPE,

CONTAINING

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS
IN THE EARLY PART OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY THE REV. WALTER HARTE, M. A.

CANON OF WINDSOR.

THE THIRD EDITION,

With great Alterations and Additions; including The APPENDIX;

Revised, Corrected, and Improved,

By *JOHN JOSEPH STOCKDALE,*

Translator of Voltaire's Charles XII. Encyclopœdia for Youth, &c.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A PORTRAIT, AND PLANS.

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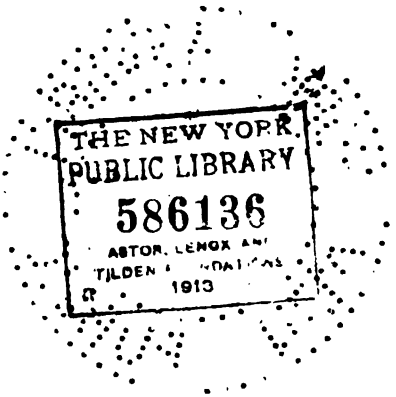
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HIS ASHES IN A PEACEFUL URN SHALL REST;
HIS NAME A GREAT EXAMPLE STANDS TO SHOW,
HOW STRANGELY HIGH ENDEAVOURS MAY BE BLEST,
WHERE PIETY AND VALOUR JOINTLY GO.

Dryden.

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G 9 8 2
v.

THE HISTORY OF

THE LIFE OF

vol. 2.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

AT length the Imperial General, unable to bring on an engagement, and not willing to ſee his troops periſh by hunger, made a march by way of feint, as if he propoſed to return to Magdeburg. The King could not be allured from his well-choſen ſituation. He remained firm in his poſt, and allowed his enemy to make what motions he thought beſt on that ſide of his empire. This coolneſs of the king diſappointed Tilly, and mortified him likewiſe. At length, not knowing well what ſteps to purſue, he pointed his courſe in earneſt, firſt to Tangermund*, and then to Einſleben, a town famous for its magnificent Gothic tombs erected to the honour of the counts of Mansfelt†, but more renowned for being the place of Martin Luther's nativity.

During theſe tranſactions the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, amongſt whoſe ſubjects at that time general Tilly fomented a revolt‡, ſought the protection and aſſiſtance of Guſtavus, who received him graciouſly, and after the concluſion of a treaty between them, diſmiſſed him with a reinforcement of three complete regiments, commanded by duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, who, when he had joined the Heſſian troops at Caſſel, made an irruption into the chapter lands of the convent of Hirſchfeld‖. Shaping his

* This well-peopled town lies at the confluence of the Elbe and Tanger. Charles IV. had a ſcheme to make it a commercial depôt between Bohemia and Lower Saxony, and thence to extend its communication to the Northern ſea. If death had not cut ſhort this emperor's project, perhaps Tangermund had been preciſely what Hamburg now is.

† The ſmall county of Mansfelt was ſequeſtered in 1570, and continues under ſequeſtration to this very day. Part belongs to Saxony, and part to Brandenburg. The preſent prince of Mansfelt poſſeſſes a few bailiwics, which happened not to be recited in the ſequeſtration, and exerciſes ſome rights, principally conſiſtorial ones, over the county.

‡ *High Dutch Hiſtorical Authentic Relation*, Part i. 114, 115.

‖ Theſe lands were ſecularized at the peace of Munſter, and being erected into a principality, were conferred on the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel as indemnification for the expences, which the war had occaſioned to him and his family.

courſe thence to Fulda *, he compelled the abbot to redeem his territories from plunder; and then raiſed a contribution of £.2000. from a neighbouring prelate in the electorate of Mentz.

The treaty above-mentioned, the full ſubſtance of which, in reference to the contracting powers on either ſide, Chemnitius has thought fit to preſerve †, may be conſidered as the groundwork whereupon Guſtavus, and the German princes, all built their future alliances. The main draught of it had been contrived and reduced to articles many months before, but it never arrived to any actual concluſion, till now at Werben.

Upon this, Fugger, watch-maſter general of the army of the league, with a view to prevent the landgrave from infuſing new life into the ſubjects of Saxony, by declaring ſo explicitly in behalf of Guſtavus, advanced with ten regiments, raiſed by the ſaid league, and marched as far as Vacha in Lower-Heſſe. Not truſting over-much in new-raiſed troops, he tried what might be done by perſuaſion, and ſent letters from Tilly to the ſtates of the province, exhorting them to make amends for the indiſcretion of their prince by returning immediately to the emperor's protection. Count Furſtenberg at the head of a conſiderable body of Imperialiſts, having compelled the circles of Suabia and Franconia to renounce the *concluſions* agreed upon at Leipſic, intended to make another irruption into Heſſe on the ſide of Fulda. This ſtorm ſoon blew over, for the latter general received counter-orders to march and join Tilly, and carried with him forty-one troops of horſe, and thirty-five companies of foot. Tieffenbach formed another corps for the ſame

* The abbacy of Fulda is about ninety miles over either way. The abbot is more powerful than many biſhops, and formerly diſputed precedency with the archbiſhop of Magdeburg and the biſhop of Hildeſheim. But ſince thoſe alterations, he has been allowed, in order to prevent diſputes, to ſit in the diet, at the foot of the Imperial throne. He is a prince of the empire, and in virtue of high-chancellor to the empreſs, has a right to crown her in quality of firſt official. He is alſo primate of all the German abbies. After his election, he pays the pope, his only eccleſiaſtical ſuperior, the inconſiderable ſum of about 40l. The pope in 1727 allowed him the power of cauſing himſelf to be choſen ſuffragan or vicar-general. All the members of his abbey, which is of the Benedictine order, muſt be *noble*; and in them is veſted the power of election. The abbot in Guſtavus's time, Bernard Schenk, choſen March 12, 1623, made no ceremony of cloathing himſelf in armour, and following the fortunes of Tilly and Walſtein. He was killed at the battle of Lutzen not very gloriously; for having mounted the ſtaircaſe of the wind-mills, that ſtood at ſome diſtance from the main action, and which are to be ſeen at this moment, he had his head ſtruck off by a cannon-ball.

† Tom. i. pag. 162, *&c.* APPENDIX, Art. xxiii.

purpoſe

purpoſe out of the garriſons of Sileſia and Luſatia; and John, baron Aldringer*, with all poſſible expedition marched an

* Born of obſcure parents in the county of Luxemberg, was originally valet de chambre, and then ſecretary to a French nobleman, but roſe, at length, upon Cratz being ſuperſeded, to the ſupreme command of the Bavarian army. He applied himſelf intenſely to reading; and was employed in the *chancery* at Trent. As he was a man of ready and enterpriſing parts, his colleagues ſoon conceived a jealouſy againſt him, and counterworked and traverſed him ſo much, that in a rage, conformably to the ſuperſtition of thoſe times, he quitted his employment, and determined to take up the profeſſion of the firſt man he met upon the road. In his way to Inſpruch, he fell in with a ſoldier croſſing a bridge, and accompanied him into Italy. His pen rendered him very ſerviceable in the regiment wherein he inliſted, and ſoon raiſed him to a lieutenancy. Having, at the head of fifty men, defended a poſt to admiration, he was choſen by a nephew of the archbiſhop of Saltzburg to be his military director, and advanced, by him, to the place of ſerjeant-major. He then roſe to the rank of colonel, an employment of great importance and honour in thoſe days, ſome colonels having commanded a body of twelve or fifteen thouſand men; and in the year 1630 had, jointly with Galas, upon the death of Colalto, the chief direction of affairs before Mantua.

He was the beſt debater of the age, in a council of war, and was thought neceſſary in Bavaria to compoſe the miſunderſtandings between that court and Vienna. He had the misfortune to be wounded in the head at the paſſage of the Lech, being then a general, and grand-maſter of the artillery. The ſame campaign, he joined Walſtein in Bohemia, notwithſtanding all the efforts that were made to counteract him, but returned to Bavaria to oppoſe Horn. His beſt exploit as a general, after my period of hiſtory concludes, was his contributing to raiſe the ſiege of Conſtance in 1633. He then ſerved under the duke of Feria, who conducted the Spaniſh troops, and by Walſtein's orders contrived to thwart and perplex him to ſuch a degree, as to break his heart: for the duke was a perſon of very delicate ſenſations in point of honour and all engagements between man and man. The public eſteemed him one of the fineſt gentlemen of that age, and it was his character to be humane and merciful beyond deſcription. He was known at home to be the beſt politician in the court of Madrid, but it was his misfortune to reſort late to the profeſſion of arms, merely by the compulſion of his maſter. He died of grief at Munich, much in the manner of his predeceſſor and inſtructor, the great Spinola, at Scrivia, and of the ſelf-ſame malady.

Aldringer was killed in the ſame year, 1634, on the bridge at Landſhut, whether by the Swedes or his own men, is uncertain. The latter may be ſuſpected, for with all his parts, and ſeveral good qualities, he was auſtere, paſſionate, and revengeful. He attempted to kill Sirot for drawing on a lieutenant-colonel in his preſence, though the provocation was great and ſudden, and never could be induced to ſpare his life, ſo far as was in his power, either at the council of war in Italy, or in his repreſentations to the ſupreme council at Vienna. His parts were ſo ſolid, adroit, penetrating, and lively, that he was uſually called the *Spaniard Italianſed*. Which puts me in mind of a very figurative obſervation, (which comes nearer to Aldringer's caſe) made, if I miſtake not, by the author of the Memoirs of the duke de Grammont, for not having the work before me, I take the liberty to quote my memory; *Un Allemand depaïſé & Italieniſé eſt un diable incarné.*

I muſt obſerve, laſtly, that he drew up moſt of the political papers and manifeſtos, that were publiſhed in behalf of the catholic league. He amaſſed vaſt wealth in the plunder of Mantua, not much to his honour. Neverthe-

army of 8000 men, propoſing and expecting to reach his generaliſſimo in about three weeks. Many of theſe troops were men of approved ſervice, and had performed great things, in Italy, under their commander.

Ever ſince the publication of the Leipſic concluſions, the houſe of Auſtria had not been inattentive to the part, which the court of Saxony might think fit to act; and of courſe Hagenmüller, one of the interior council at Vienna, had been diſpatched to the elector with inſtructions to beg him and his colleagues to diſcontinue levying of ſoldiers, and allow free paſſage and ſubſiſtence to the Imperial armies; requeſting him likewiſe to perform the part of a mediator, and bring about a peace between Guſtavus and the emperor. The latter propoſal was not diſagreeable to the elector's private caſt of politics, nor did it croſs the opinion of Arnheim, who was in effect his prime-miniſter, as well as his general. Still this prince had not courage to declare openly on either ſide. He accordingly made freſh profeſſions of loyalty and obedience to the houſe of Auſtria, ſecretly inclined to do it ſervice, if a fair opportunity preſented itſelf; but this was only a tranſient private wiſh, and not a ſettled political principle; for, at the ſame time, he knew Guſtavus, and feared to diſoblige him. On this account he gave himſelf up to that fluctuation of mind, which is uſually determined by the doctrine of apparent convenience. Something likewiſe was inſinuated, as if the houſe of Auſtria ſhould conſider certain meaſures, ſuppoſing them to be taken, a ſort of high treaſon againſt the empire; and, what was ſtill leſs politic, the letters from Munich took the liberty to adopt the ſame tone*.

All the catholic troops before mentioned, were intended to overpower the elector of Saxony, and the Imperialiſts had the preſumption to call themſelves *the invincible army*. Meanwhile Tilly attempted to draw the elector into the catholic intereſts, by gentle means, and, with that view, requeſted him, as he was then at Merſburg, to give an audience to three perſons, deputed from him with full authority to treat and ratify; namely, John Reinart, baron of Metternich, catholic adminiſtrator of the dioceſe of Magdeburg, Otho Frederic, baron de Schomberg, grand-maſter of the artillery, who was killed at Leipſic, and Bernardi,

leſs he ſpent it with magnificence and profuſion, and yet left conſiderable ſums in the banks of Genoa and Venice. After receiving the fatal wound, he paſſed the little time he lived in making ſtrict enquiries after the perſon who ſhot him. He was buried with great marks of honour. The emperor had created him firſt a baron, and then a count.

* *Memoires d'Electrice Palatine*, 290.

nardi, Tilly's ſecretary. The elector, who loved hoſpitality, made them welcome, and diſſembled his reſentment extremely well; but after dinner told them coolly, that he conſidered himſelf and the emperor as Ulyſſes and Polyphemus, *and that the only favour he had to expect, was to be devoured the laſt.* Saxony, continued he, is reſerved as the deſert, which is to crown the Imperial banquet. Remember, gentlemen, that in the fruits that help to compoſe a deſert, ſome are auſtere and of dangerous digeſtion, and ſome have ſtones, that can only be cracked to the detriment of the teeth *.

He pronounced theſe words with ſo forbidding an air, that the commiſſioners hardly cared to proceed to buſineſs. However, at length they explained to him Tilly's propoſals, which, when compared to what had happened, and what naturally might happen, with reference to the conduct of the houſe of Auſtria, were conſidered as mere ſounds, and not realities.

Enraged at this diffidence in the court of Dreſden, the Imperial general was tempted to make a falſe ſtep as a politician, and ruined himſelf and his maſter's cauſe, greatly to the diſapprobation of that wiſe and artful prince the duke of Bavaria †. His buſineſs was mildly to have allured the elector into the catholic intereſts by all ſorts of promiſes, conceſſions, and gratifications; and, in caſe nothing of that nature could have ſucceeded, then to have removed his arms from Saxony, which ſingle circumſtance might have pacified the elector, who wiſhed nothing more than to be exempted from war, and carried the ſcene of action into Pomerania and Mechlenburg, ſince, by ſuch a diverſion Guſtavus in the long run muſt have been obliged to follow him; for in thoſe days he could not have ſubſiſted, if the intercourſe had been cut off between him and Sweden. Tilly's genius and fortune both began to decline. Either ill luck made this general iraſcible, or his fretfulneſs blinded his judgment, and rendered him unlucky. However that may be, he delivered himſelf up to the peeviſhneſs of old age. Of courſe, without waiting for the return of the deputies, he, on the ſide of Leipſic, having united Furſtenberg's army, which conſiſted of 10,000 men, with his own forces; and Holk ‡ and

* *Memoires d'Electrice Palatine*, 301.

† *Adelzreiter, Annal. Bavar.* Part iii. lib. 16. Fol. Lipſ. 1710.

‡ As Holk's cruelties ſurpaſſed all credibility, it is a misfortune, that Tilly, ſpeaking in the perſon of the tutelar deity of Saxony, had not made uſe of Taſſo's words, in his inſtructions to this general:

Guarda tu le mei leggi, e i ſacri tempi
Fa, ch'io del ſangue mio non bagni e lavi;

and Galas * joining him on the ſide of Miſnia, they poured into the electorate like two raging torrents, and ſpread nothing round them but devaſtation; having upon the whole at leaſt 40,000 ſoldiers under their command. No military execution ever reſembled this irruption, except that unhappy one, which Turenne was obliged to make into the Palatinate in 1674, and which continues an everlaſting reproach to the humanity of his nature and the politeneſs of the nation which he ſerved. Though courts are in the end principally to be blamed for theſe barbarities, yet the generals, who carry them into execution, can neither be juſtified by their friends, nor can they exculpate themſelves to their own conſciences. As if Providence ordained that ſuch actions ſhould counterwork the very intentions of their contrivers, the inhabitants of Saxony, far from being terrified, were thereby rather hardened againſt the emperor. Nevertheleſs, when their deputies remonſtrated to Tilly, on the depopulation and ravages committed by his ſoldiers, he replied with an ill-natured countenance, That his Walloons and Burgundians were not birds; nor could they ſubſiſt on air: and then diſmiſſed the remonſtrators with an adage of Cato, deſiring it might make ſome impreſſion on their memories, *Fronte capillatâ, poſt eſt occaſio calva.* Thus a neceſſity of the houſe of Auſtria's own creation, for Tilly owns in a letter dated ſeventeen days after the battle of Leipſic, that he entered Saxony in obedience to a mandate from Vienna,

Aſſecura le vergini da gli empii
E i ſepoleri e le ceneri de gli avi,
A te piangendo i lor paſſati tempi.
Monſtran la brancha chioma i vecchi gravi,
A te la moglie le mammolle e'l petto,
Le cune e il figli e'l marital ſuo letto. *Cant.* xx.

* Mathias, count Galas, a native of the biſhopric of Trent, whoſe real name was Galaſſo. He ſucceeded Colalto, in conjunction with Aldringer, at the ſiege of Mantua, and roſe at length to one of the ſupreme commands in the Imperial army. He releaſed old count Thurn, whom he happened to take priſoner in Sileſia, either from greatneſs of mind, as he did not chooſe a brave enemy ſhould die ignominiouſly on a ſcaffold, or from the fear probably, as has been elſewhere ſuggeſted, of diſobliging Walſtein. This retarded his preferment for ſome months; but on the aſſaſſination of that general, in whoſe death he would take no public part, though it is thought by ſome, that he indirectly promoted his fall, the court thought it worth while to make uſe of his aſſiſtance. He died in 1646, and left behind him one of the fineſt palaces in Prague, where the family is ſtill ſettled.

The king of Hungary gave him the chief command at the famous battle of Nordlingen, as did alſo the cardinal infant at the ſame king's requeſt. His diſpoſition was ſo fine, that Leganez, a renowned general, could not help crying out, "The beſt officer in the world might learn ſomething from Galas."

Vienna *, forced the elector into the arms of the king of Sweden, to whom, as he ſtill continued in his camp at Werben, being determined not to move till he was firſt invited, Arnheim was immediately diſpatched on poſt-horſes, to implore his aſſiſtance, and beſeech him to raiſe the ſiege of Leipſic. That town, the moſt important in Saxony of wealth and commerce, was then actually inveſted by the Imperial general; whom a large cannon-ball happened to miſs, but killed a cavalier on horſeback cloſe by him, and reſerved him for the mortification of ſurviving his military glory in the fatal battle, which afterwards took place on the plains of Leipſic.

Guſtavus received Arnheim with a dignified air, coolly obſerving, *that nothing had happened but what he foreſaw, and had predicted to his maſter on various occaſions. He made no ſcruple to own, that he had taken his motions with a view to force this event into exiſtence; and that if the elector had lent a favourable ear to his repreſentations, neither Magdeburg had been taken, nor Saxony endangered.* He then interperſed a few condolences artfully enough, and concluded with ſaying, *That he had formed a plan of employing his troops to great advantage elſewhere, being obliged out of gratitude to ſupport the elector of Brandenburg, and the princes of Lower Saxony: yet he was always ready, as a man of honour and generoſity, to forgive and protect the unfortunate.* He expected, nevertheleſs, upon ſuch conceſſions and advances made on his part, *That the electoral prince ſhould ſerve in his army as an hoſtage. That the town of Wittemberg ſhould be conſigned to him for a place of retreat* †. *That the elector ſhould furniſh his troops with three months pay. That he ſhould produce the traitors of the Auſtrian faction, who had given him evil counſel; and that he, Guſtavus, ſhould be their judge* ‡. *Laſtly, that a treaty ſhould be ſigned, offenſive and defenſive, between the king of Sweden and the elector of Saxony.*

Arnheim flew to his maſter on wings of joy, if his own account might be credited, and returned directly with the following anſwers: *That the elector as well as the prince his ſon would take up their reſidence in the Swediſh army. That not Wittemberg only, but the whole electorate ſhould*

* *Lettre du Comte de Tilly à un ſien ami.* De Halberſtadt, le 24 Sept. 1631.

† As Deſſau bridge had been broken down, vol. i. p. 352, here was the only convenient bridge in thoſe parts over the Elbe.

‡ This was meant at Arnheim and others *in terrorem*, for the king never intended to inſiſt ſincerely on this head; as, if he had, he muſt have ſtripped the elector at once of his generaliſſimo, his prime-miniſter, count Swartzerberg, and Dr. Hoe his firſt chaplain.

be open to the Swedes in caſe of a retreat. That a month's pay ſhould be advanced immediately, and ſecurity given for the reſidue. That a ſpecification ſhould be delivered in of the ſeveral traitors: who ſhould all be puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner *; and, finally, the elector empowered Arnheim to declare, *that he would embark his life and fortunes in the cauſe of Sweden*; concluding with equal candour and politeneſs, *that his obligations to Guſtavus were proportionate to his diſtreſſes.*

Theſe preliminaries being adjuſted, it was added farther, on the part of the elector, from his own free impulſe, "That he would undertake to ſubſiſt the Swediſh army ſo long as they continued in Saxony, and undertook the defence thereof; that he would reſign to the king all the rights of ſupreme command, rendering himſelf conformable to his will as far as all human compliance could carry him; and in the laſt place gave his honour to conclude no peace without his majeſty's concurrence."

To all theſe replies and propoſals, Guſtavus anſwered in a few words, without a moment's pauſe: *That the elector muſt pardon him for taking the liberty to inſiſt upon ſecurities, as he had ſo long kept his attention on the perpetual alarm. Nevertheleſs, if he advanced but a month's pay to his ſoldiers, he would take upon him to promiſe, that they ſhould earn it well; provided always, the ſupreme direction veſted in himſelf alone*; for there the king would have no competitor.

It may appear matter of aſtoniſhment to many, that the elector of Saxony did not join Guſtavus ſooner! But obſervers of this deſcription allow themſelves to be impoſed upon by the ſuperficial appearances of things; *Qui ad pauca reſpiciunt, de facili pronuntiant,* ſays the hiſtorian. Upon cloſer examination, it appears to me, that the Saxon miniſters, if you can excuſe them being *penſioners* to the court of Vienna, were neither weak men nor cowards. A neutrality, had it been poſſible, was the wiſeſt meaſure they could have purſued; they had no deſire to cruſh Guſtavus or the houſe of Auſtria. Matters at length proceeded to ſuch extremities, that there remained no middle courſe to ſteer. The Imperial reſentments broke forth in earneſt on one ſide, inſomuch that when Hagenmüller, the Auſtrian ambaſſador, made an offer to kiſs the elector's hand on his return to Vienna, he plainly told him it was the kiſs of Judas, and Guſtavus, on the other, was a monarch, neither to be trifled with nor cajoled. The former conduct of John George, the preſent elector, whether by accident

* *Arlanibæi Arma Succica*, 184.

or

or prudence, I will not take upon me to aſſert, had occaſioned no material diſadvantage to the king of Sweden, if we except the mortification and diſappointment his majeſty underwent with reference to Magdeburg. The entire diſbelief that this prince, and the other proteſtant powers, would ever preſume to join Guſtavus, till after the occurrence of ſome event very unfavourable to the houſe of Auſtria, was the ſecret reaſon, which gave that monarch time and leiſure to take root and flouriſh, like a tree, unobſerved; for at firſt, Tilly, Walſtein, and their maſters, all overlooked him and deſpiſed him. It is even probable our hero would have been greatly retarded in the execution of his enterpriſe, if the *Leipſic confederation* had openly eſpouſed the Swediſh cauſe; for three Imperial generals were then hovering round the electorate we are now ſpeaking of; and Tilly, in caſe he had omitted the ſiege of Magdeburg, might have poſted himſelf between Pomerania and Saxony. Hence it appears, that the Dreſden miniſters were not ſuch weak or unſucceſsful politicians, at this trying conjuncture, as moſt people have been apt to imagine.

The aſpect of the German hemiſphere began now to preſage a ſtorm; upon foreſeeing which, the Imperialiſts and princes of the league were reſolved to make a conſiderable effort. The emperor ſent his prime-miniſter, the prince of Eggenberg*, into Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, in order to collect a freſh ſupply of men. The ſame was done in Bohemia, Hungary, Moravia, and Sileſia. Cardinal Ditrichſtein† raiſed ſome regiments himſelf: and the new levied Bavarian recruits, both of infantry and cavalry, were pronounced in appearance the fineſt that Europe had hitherto ſeen.

Tilly, at the head of 44,000 veteran troops, having miſcarried in the attempt to croſs the Elbe at Torgau, which Arnheim's vigilance prevented, made himſelf maſter of Zeitz and Merſburg; and then inveſting Leipſic, ſent word to the commander, that, unleſs he ſurrendered immediately, he muſt expect the fate of Magdeburg. The governor requeſted leave to aſk advice of the elector; who was en-

* John Ulric, duke of Crommau, prince of Eggenberg, knight of the Golden Fleece, director of the council, &c.

† Francis, biſhop of Olmutz, privy-counſellor, protector of the hereditary dominions, plenipotentiary-governor and commiſſary-general of Moravia, firſt baron in that country, &c. and, in the emperor's abſence, lieutenant of the Lower Auſtria. This prelate was ſeverely queſtioned by the Moravians, whether he acted in concert with Walſtein or not, in 1619, had a guard placed round him, and was obliged to give his parole of honour, which he did with tears, not to quit the country without the privity of the ſtates. He roſe upon the diſgrace of cardinal Kleſel.

camped

camped at Torgau, about thirty miles from him; but that indulgence was denied him. He afterwards made ſome ſlight reſiſtance; and a cannon-ball, unfortunately for Tilly's reputation, miſſed killing him, as was before obſerved, by an hair's breadth. The town was given up the ſecond day; three meſſengers bearing exhortations from the elector to the governor, to acquit himſelf like a man of honour, were hanged; and the caſtle of Pleiſſenberg, which might have made a week's reſiſtance, ſurrendered in the ſame infamous manner. Yet ſo relaxed was the diſcipline of the Saxon army in thoſe days, that the ſame man, whoſe name I think was Vopel, was reſtored to his government after the battle of Leipſic, and delivered up the citadel a ſecond time in the ſame manner to general Holk, the enſuing year. The unhappy town redeemed itſelf from plunder, by paying 32,000 l. or thereabouts.

Oxenſtiern had no hand in the important and critical negotiation, already mentioned, betwixt his maſter and the elector of Saxony; he was then in command of a ſeparate army in *Regal* Pruſſia, being directed to obſerve the countenance of the Polanders. So great indeed were Guſtavus's parts in all reſpects, that he had rarely occaſion for *him* as a politician even on the moſt preſſing emergencies, any further than to free himſelf from a multiplicity of trouble and buſineſs. Whilſt Oxenſtiern ſecured the eaſtern part of Germany, which borders on the Baltic, Horn and Banier were commanded to clear the weſtern part: for his Swediſh majeſty, in the midſt of his conqueſts, always ſecured the poſſibility of a good retreat. Theſe two generals eſtabliſhed a regency in the provinces of Magdeburg and Halberſtadt. Banier blockaded the former, but Pappenheim obliged him to raiſe the ſiege. When the duke of Lunenberg joined him with a ſmall but well-conducted army, the Imperial general was compelled to evacuate Magdeburg, abandon the open country, and retire to Weſtphalia and Franconia, into which circles the Swedes purſued him ſtep by ſtep. Magdeburg being thus re-conquered, the few of its ſurviving inhabitants returned, for all admired the lenity of the Swediſh government; many old emigrants flocked in from other countries; and under ſuch protection every perſon ſet to work to revive trade and rebuild the town.

Tilly's firſt object was to make his irruption into Saxony by Torgau, where there was a bridge over the Elbe; hoping, with great reaſon, to prevent the junction of the Swediſh and Saxon armies, by poſting his troops midway betwixt

them both. Arnheim foreſtalled him in that attempt, by previouſly poſſeſſing himſelf of a paſs of ſuch great importance. Meanwhile, Guſtavus laid by as a reſerved and cautious ſpectator at Wittemberg; and the elector of Brandenburg was with him. The elector of Saxony joined them there; and they all entered into as ſtrong an union as could be deviſed. The Swediſh army paſſed the Elbe, and joined the Saxon forces near Dieben, a ſmall town lying on the great road to Berlin, about twelve miles from Leipſic. Here Guſtavus invited the two electors into his own apartment; and held, at the ſame time, a grand political debate, and a council of war. With all the coolneſs of an experienced ſtateſman, he propoſed to act upon the *defenſive* principle, ſupporting his ideas of the matter to this effect. That, as Tilly had taken care to poſt himſelf very advantageouſly, having by this time entered Saxony by way of Merſburg and Halle, and inveſted Leipſic, the judicious part would be, either to wait for ſome favourable opportunity to attack him by ſurprize, or lead him on by artifice into plain ground, and decide the affair upon equal terms. Such an old and prudent general, continued Guſtavus, will never ſacrifice the flower of the Imperial troops, and the fair reputation of an uninterrupted ſeries of victories for thirteen years paſt, except the neceſſity be great and urgent:—and if he ſhould happen to overcome us, you two princes are loſt beyond redemption. The elector of Saxony, impatient and enraged to the laſt degree, to ſee his country depopulated, and his ſubjects ruined by a ſort of military inquiſition, declared ſtrenuouſly for a ſpeedy and deciſive battle. This opinion, *being privately that of Guſtavus*, was, after ſome objections and repreſentations, frankly complied with; and the rather, as Aldringer, who then lay at Erfurt, had not arrived with his part of the Imperial army. Guſtavus and John George, the elector of Brandenburg, for ſome private reaſons being returned home, marched their combined troops within ſight of the enemy, who, having conquered Leipſic town and caſtle forty-eight hours before, had advanced that day as far as Breitenfeld, a ſmall town about four miles from Leipſic; which was thought by many a great overſight, whereof we ſhall give a diſtinct account hereafter. It is ſtill more remarkable, that Tilly knew nothing of the junction of the Swedes and Saxons till towards noon *, when he received intelligence from ſome of his *partiſans* who were ſcouring the country, that the *united* troops had been diſcovered in full march againſt him; and this he acknow-

* *Arma Suecica*, 180.

ledges

ledges in a letter, which we have cited ſome pages before. Of courſe, he had removed from Leipſic with a view to encounter only the elector of Saxony, who indeed had declared he would attack the Imperialiſts, in caſe Guſtavus refuſed to join him. The old Walloon expected nothing more impatiently than this event; for the electoral army amounted to ſomething leſs than half the number of his; nor were the commanders, Arnheim excepted, and his military character was not without blemiſh, a ſet of men much renowned in war; and as to the common ſoldiers, they were new raiſed levies, and without experience.

No general ever acted with more coolneſs and prudence than Guſtavus, in all the ſteps he took, previous to this great event. He determined, from the moment Tilly pointed his invaſion into Saxony, in good earneſt, to advance near enough the elector, to be enabled to join him; and yet at the ſame time reſolved, never to effect that junction, except after the moſt preſſing and repeated ſolicitations; which indeed he wiſely foreſaw muſt ſoon be made in the common nature of things. Having therefore reduced his thoughts to a ſyſtem on this occaſion, he made a ſpeedy march, at the head of the beſt part of the cavalry that belonged to the camp at Werben, and 2000 dragoons, to the important paſs of Wittemberg, leaving Bauditzen to command ſuch regiments of horſe as remained in their lines, and Hepburn the infantry, and ſecured his point before Tilly had received intelligence of his motions. He at the ſame time iſſued out orders to Horn and Banier, to meet him immediately with their reſpective armies, at a place of rendezvous, ſixteen miles from Wittemberg; and conveyed ſimilar inſtructions to colonel Cag, who then laid at Havelburg with his own regiment and that of Monro. Here the king joined them, attended only by a few followers, and employed a week not only in reviewing and modelling them, but in giving the finiſhing hand to the treaty then in agitation betwixt him and John George. This march to Wittemberg may be conſidered as the key, which opened to Guſtavus the door to his future path of renown and glory. Yet ſo delicate was he in point of honour, and ſo extremely averſe to make uſe of compulſive meaſures, in ſpite of all *that* ſuperiority, which Providence had given him, that, having once ſecured the bridge of Wittemberg, he commanded his army to encamp on the weſtern ſide of the Elbe, the elector and his forces being lodged on the eaſtern ſide, nor did he permit his troops to croſs the river, till he received authority to march, from the duke of Saxony.

When this junction was formed, it was matter of ſurprize to contemplate the appearance of the two combined armies.

The

The Swedes had ſlept all night upon a duſty new-ploughed field, for the ſeaſon of the year was extremely dry, inſomuch that every regiment ſeemed to be cloathed in one dirty uniform of the ſame brown colour; not to mention the duſt they had raiſed in a march of eighteen miles that day. The Saxons, on the other hand, were well lodged and new apparelled, even to a fantaſtic degree of oſtentation. The officers had ornamented themſelves with more plumes than heroes on a theatre; but neither they nor their ſoldiers fulfilled the obſervation of the hiſtorian, *etiam uncti pugnabunt.*

It was here the king received undoubted intelligence, that Tilly had taken Leipſic, and advanced to Breitenfeld. Not diſpleaſed to find, that an aged and experienced general had quitted a ſituation ſo extremely advantageous as that near Leipſic, he, in ſpite of all fatigues, laid hold of the ardour of his troops, whilſt they were in good humour and high ſpirits, *that being his maxim*, and marched them twelve miles the next morning, till he came in ſight of the Imperial camp; having ſpent the early part of the day in cloſe devotion, and commanded public prayers throughout the army.

Being now ſure of coming to a general deciſion, inaſmuch as Tilly had diſlodged from a more commodious encampment, he left all his baggage and tents behind him under a proper guard, partly that his retreat, in caſe of accidents, might not be encumbered; and partly, becauſe it was his fixed reſolution to ſleep without tents in the open fields, and keep the ardour of his followers on the full ſtretch, till the termination of the affair, which he had the power to bring on the next day. Thus, by a ſort of conduct very determined, it appeared plainly to the meaneſt ſoldiers, that their maſter had reſolved to decide the fate of Germany in a leſs ſpace of time than eight and forty hours.

Some days before this nearer approach of the proteſtant army, it is reported, that Tilly ſent a trumpeter to the king, and, * according to a cuſtom, not uncommon in thoſe times, invited him, as a *brave cavalier*, to march forwards, and give him battle. *Friend*, ſaid Guſtavus to the meſſenger, with an air of diſdain, *tell your maſter I am a KING, as well as a cavalier, and ſhall make it my buſineſs to find him ſoon.* After this military herald was diſmiſſed, he turned round, in a ſort of pique, to his generals, and ſaid, *That he ſhould advance with pleaſure, to make a colliſion betwixt a crown and two electoral bonnets on the one ſide, and the carcaſs of an old corporal on the other* †.

* *Soldat. Suedois. Sued. Diſcipline*, part iii. p. 7.

† It was a common ſaying with Guſtavus, that Tilly was an *old corporal*,

Wallen

Thoſe of Tilly's army, who were influenced by ſuperſtitious preſages, were much dejected, when it appeared that the general, by mere chance, had held his council of war, two evenings before the battle, in the houſe of a poor man, whoſe buſineſs it was to be gentleman uſher to the funerals in the ſuburbs of Leipſic. The very houſe, if I miſtake not, is ſtill ſhewn, and the outſide walls appear to have been decorated with ſkulls, coffins, hour-glaſſes, and ſhank-bones, painted in freſco. It has been obſerved, that the *undaunted* Pappenheim was never known to ſhow ſigns of uneaſineſs but upon this occaſion. Till that moment, he had conſidered all preſages and omens as the effects of melancholy and weakneſs. Some remarked too, that the battle of Leipſic might happen preciſely the ſame day twelve months with the maſſacre at Paſwalk.

The king's troops were much elated, ſome few minutes before the engagement, to ſee a bird of ſo wild and timorous a nature as the ring-dove, perch itſelf on one of the royal ſtandards; a trifling circumſtance, which appeared to the Swediſh ſoldiers a certain omen of victory.

A deciſive battle ſeemed now to be ſettled, for great generals require but a ſingle glance to comprehend each other's motions and intentions. This ſort of military intuition is acquired by knowing, preciſely, the abilities and intereſts of their adverſary, and by a ſubſtitution of themſelves in his place, with the ſame wants, and the ſame degree of capacity, as he has. Hence it is, that feints and falſe marches rarely alarm, or draw them into a diſagreeable ſituation. Tilly was ſo circumſtanced as to excite compaſſion. He was now entering his ſeventieth year, and in vain ſought for himſelf in his own breaſt. The affair of Magdeburg hung heavy on his ſpirits, and age had *leſſened* his authority over the army. Pappenheim's appetite for danger forced him into perpetual hazards, and the petulant deſire of fighting, right or wrong, in the younger officers, ſeemed tacitly to reproach him, either with the *want* of reſolution, or with *not* being the hero he had *once* been. What emotions this general felt, under ſuch circumſtances, is beyond my ability to deſcribe! He had never yet incurred a military diſgrace, but, on the contrary, had been victorious in *thirty-ſix ſignal engagements and pitched battles.* One of the greateſt misfortunes

Walſtein a *madman*, but Pappenheim, a *ſoldier*; and that he feared no general belonging to the enemy, excepting this *Balafré*, or *cicatricibus deformem*, as Waſſenberg tranſlates it: (Florus German. p. 316.) for Pappenheim carried on his body the marks of an hundred wounds, though at that time, being of the ſame age with Guſtavus, he had entered only into his thirty-ſeventh year.

tunes that can befal a general, is to outlive his profperity, or to continue in the exercife of the military command when too old. Thus Alexander, prince of Parma, had died the moft illuftrious warrior of his age, if, after the fine fiege of Antwerp, he had bade farewell to war, as his friends advifed him; fince he made no confiderable figure afterwards in the Low Countries; but, on the contrary, loft Zutphen, Deventer, Hulft, Nimeguen, Breda, &c. Such likewife was Tilly's unhappinefs, in having miffed what Tacitus fomewhere elegantly calls the *opportunitatem mortis**. It now was his deftiny to have to do with a warrior, in whom the fupreme command was inveſted without any reſerve or abridgment of power: a hero, vigilant, ſkilful, intrepid, in the very flower both of activity and judgment. Though the Imperial troops were the fierceft and beſt ſeaſoned of any that Europe had ever ſeen, many having ſerved in the Low-Country wars twenty years and more, in Germany from the year 1618, and all, in every battle, bating the feweſt exceptions, invincible; yet there were reaſons to dread a body of men, who, though comparatively novices in military practice, were ſober, patient, and virtuous; better diſciplined, cloathed, and fed; bearing an entire ſubmiſſion to their leader, and placing an abſolute confidence in him, who was moreover Tilly's ſuperior in the management of artillery, and in the diſpoſition and arrangement of his troops. All Europe ſtood aloof at this moſt intereſting event; and when theſe circumſtances are combined together, can the reader be aſtoniſhed, if poor old Tilly turned *pale* once or twice, when he ſaw the Swediſh army advance to the attack, drawn up in the moſt beautiful array, and ranged upon principles, to him, then unknown, approach-

* What has been ſaid in like circumſtances of Spinola's bodily torments, and mental perturbation, on a death-bed, may, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied to Tilly and the prince of Parma. Nor is the picture of the former inelegantly delineated by a poet of that age:

Sive illum ſua ſors, ſeu ſpes deceptа Caſalis
Abſtulerit, virtus ſive indignata domari,
Incertum eſt;—doluit longa obſidione teneri
Caſalias arces: deſperatoque triumpho
Sollicitum invaſit morbus; convellitur imis
Viſceribus, penituſque virum vis ignea vexat;
Arma amens petit, armatis trepida undique cingi
Caſtra putat; Francoſque ſuo cum Rege ruentes
Ægra mente videt; patriamque elatus in urbem
Poſt tot devictos populos, tot bella, tot hoſtes,
Oppida tot, tot caſtra, urbeſque arceſque ſubactas,
Vincitur a fato invictus, vitæque ſupremam
Hoc ubi primam hauſit, clauſit Dux *Spinola* lucem.

Caſalium Bis Liberatum, p. 142. octavo.

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ing ſlowly and ſilently, with that conſiderate determined countenance, which preſages no good to the army that is to engage with them?——Although ſome writers* mention the circumſtance of Tilly's changing colour upon ſuch a proſpect, invidiouſly, yet it is probable this diſcompoſure aroſe not from fear, as appears by his future conduct in the battle, but from conviction of the error, which the younger officers had drawn him into, and from the probability of ſetting the greateſt ſhare of military ſucceſs, that perhaps any one man had ever poſſeſſed, upon the chance of a ſingle die, that very chance not judiciouſly choſen, himſelf being ſo far advanced in years, that he could never hope to reſtore his character by future ſervices!

For theſe reaſons, he wiſely determined within himſelf, either to fortify his camp, or evade a battle; and the rather, as he expected Aldringer and Tieffenbach to join him with 12,000 experienced troops. Pappenheim's impetuoſity, however, was irreſiſtible, nor was it in his power, without totally loſing the hearts of his army, to put in practice his favourite maxim, never to dip his foot in water, till he had made ſome experiment of the degree of cold; or, as other hiſtorians relate the ſaying, "never to wade in a ſtream, except his eye-ſight could command the bottom."

His firſt purpoſe in the council of war held at the gravedigger's houſe, and which appears to have been the beſt, his private opinion being in truth his real intereſt and duty as a general, was to have maintained his original intrenchments, with, at his elbow, the rich town of Leipſic; whence he might have drawn proviſions in the ſame manner, having his own garriſon in the town, as the king ſupported himſelf in the lines of Werben. During that interval, it is poſſible likewiſe, that the troops of Cologne might have arrived. Nor could he, in this camp, have extended his front in the imprudent manner he did afterwards on the field of battle. He ſaw plainly too, that it was not his buſineſs to fight, except urged thereto by ſome extraordinary and almoſt irreſiſtible neceſſity. He well remembered the cruelty and outrages which the Imperial army had committed, and concluded every peaſant, in an enemy's territory, an enliſted ſoldier againſt him, in caſe of a defeat. All the world knows, that ill ſucceſs is doubly dangerous in an hoſtile country; and, what is yet more, he wanted nothing in the camp near Leipſic. It is thought too, winter being then faſt approaching, that if he had declined a battle, and in-

* Hiſtoire des Guerres & des Traittez qui precedérent la Paix de Munſter, par Pere *Bougeant*, iii. tom. 4°. There is no authority for this aſſertion.

trenched

trenched himſelf wiſely, the elector of Saxony would have been tired of his new gueſts long before the ſpring*. Pappenheim, ſeemingly impeaching the courage of the generaliſſimo, touched his ſenſibility to the very quick, and induced him to relinquiſh his firſt camp; the old man ſtill determined, within himſelf, not to bring on a general engagement.

The ſelf-ſame debate was reſumed on the approach of Guſtavus, and the new camp near Breitenfeld was protected with ſome temporary intrenchments the day before the battle. Schomberg, and ſome of the elder officers, concurred with Tilly in the opinion of declining a general battle, if it were poſſible: but Pappenheim drew the count de Furſtenberg, who aimed at ſucceeding Tilly, and the younger colonels into a contrary opinion, and though the majority inclined to countenance the commander in chief, his great zeal contrived the next day, to accompliſh that event in the field, which he had fruitleſsly laboured to effect in a council of war†.

A fair champaign country ſpreads itſelf all round the ſide of Leipſic, where the imperial general fixed his camp; but part, as it was now the month of September, had been freſh ploughed. It was the very ſpot, according to ſome hiſtorians, and named, if I miſtake not, *God's acre*, where Charles V. overthrew Frederic, elector of Saxony, and took him and Philip, landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, priſoners, diveſting the former both of the duchy and the electorate.

The two armies being now within three miles of each other, his majeſty, the evening before the battle, aſſembled all the generals that ſerved under him, and having ranged them round him in a circle in the middle of the plain, for the Swedes ſlept that night in the open air, told them plainly, ſince he diſcovered a ſpirit of reſolution in their countenances, *That they were to fight with troops, to-morrow, of a different ſtamp from Polanders and Coſſacks. Fellow Soldiers*, ſaid he, *I ſhall not diſſemble the danger; you will have a day's work, that is worthy of you. It is not my temper to diminiſh the merit of veteran troops like the Imperialiſts; but I know my officers at bottom, and ſcorn the thoughts of deceiving them. I foreſee too, that our numbers will prove inferior to thoſe of the enemy; but my friends, God is juſt,*——AND REMEMBER MAGDEBURG‡!

* *Chemnitz*, tom. i. 171.

† *Letter from an Imperial Officer to a Friend. Halberſtadt, September* 22, 1631.

‡ I have only given the more material ſubſtance of this ſpeech, which *Chemnitz* ſets forth at large, tom. i. 170.

Some few minutes before, he made the tour of his army, and told every body of troops, with a peculiar cheerfulneſs on his countenance, what particular duties they were to perform the next day. He ſeemed moſt in pain for one large diviſion of cavalry, the horſemen being unarmed, and the horſes of a ſlight make; well knowing, that the Imperial cuiraſſiers, covered with iron from head to foot, and mounted upon beaſts of a conſiderable bulk, would ſoon diſunite them by the ſimple effort of ſqueezing. His advice therefore was *to advance briſkly up to the enemy without firing*, and apply their ſabres with an oblique ſliding motion to their horſes noſes, heads, and necks. Thus, ſays he, the Imperial ranks will ſoon be broken, and the diſmounted cavalier will find his armour too cumberſome to be enabled to moleſt you, during the remaining part of the engagement *. What highly deſerves obſervation, is, that the beſt commentator on the military life of Guſtavus makes uſe of this very practice in the diſcipline of the Pruſſian cavalry. The king flanked theſe troops with good bodies of infantry, and interlined others amongſt them at various intervals.

The elector of Brandenburg, for ſome private reaſons, returned home the very day before the engagement. The king's army ſlept in battle-array, on the bare ground; and the king himſelf paſſed the whole night in his coach, diſcourſing at intervals with Horn, Banier, and Teüffel, who ſate with him. Immediately after the dawn of day the troops were formed, and each of the combined armies received orders to march, the Swedes making a column on the right, and the Saxons one on the left, each army amounting to about 15,000 men. The king had 7000 horſe and 8000 foot, and the elector 11,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry †. The vanguard conſiſted of three regiments, two Scottiſh and one German, all conducted by Scots officers, namely, ſir James Ramſey, ſurnamed the Black, ſir John Hamilton, and Robert Monro, baron of Fowles. The troops, in order to diſtinguiſh one another, wore a ſmall green branch on their heads. All hiſtorians agree, that the king dreamt, in his coach, that he and Tilly engaged with fiſts; and, in the morning he told his companions, that having thrown his adverſary to the ground, he received a bite from him in his left breaſt; which was interpreted, afterwards, to ſignify the Saxon army, which advanced on the left of the Swedes.

* *Chemnitz*, tom. i. 173.

† Some writers enlarge the number of the Saxons: but this miſtake ſeems to ariſe from the abſence of Solmes's and Hofkirck's regiments, the one infantry and the other cavalry, which had been detached towards Bohemia.

There

There was a little rivulet and dirty ſwampy paſs where only a few men could march in front, at a ſmall village called Schortza, which lay between the king and Tilly. As the *latter*, not caring to bring on a general engagement, did not chooſe to diſpute it with all the vigour he was capable of exerting, which has been reckoned by ſome amongſt the overſights of the day, the Swediſh and Saxon armies ſoon cleared this paſs, and when word was brought of it to Tilly, he turned round to his ſoldiers, and ſaid, *Now, my old friends, we muſt look for blows.*

About ten in the morning, his majeſty cleared the paſs at Schortza, and having examined Arnheim's plan of the diſpoſition of the Saxon army, and interlined here and there a few remarks, with his pencil, drew up his own army in complete order of battle, giving directions for placing his artillery in the moſt convenient ſituations, during the courſe of the engagement; paying little or no regard to the field-maréchals and ſerjeant-majors *di battaglia*, but leading up every brigade and column of troops himſelf, diſpoſing them in their reſpective ſtations, and leaving general inſtructions to their commanders. The king then rode up and down his own lines, and aſked his men, with a cheerful and animated countenance, *if they felt a diſpoſition within them to perform a hard day's ſervice?*—one univerſal *vivat* ſpread itſelf immediately through the army: upon which Guſtavus, in order to keep his men in ſpirits, and humour the practice of the age, beckoned to a trumpeter, in the front of all his troops, and taking ſomething out of his pocket, bid him carry that little note to Tilly, *for he wanted to ſpeak with him.* Tilly returned word back, readily enough, *that he was always prepared to receive his majeſty's commands, when notified by him:* which looks as if he was determined not to fight, except upon compulſion; and thus ended the military ceremonial *.

It was at this battle Guſtavus put in practice the principal part of all thoſe fine inventions in the military art, which he had meditated and reaſoned upon a thouſand times before. It is the *inventive* and *creating* power, which makes a man great in any ſcience or profeſſion; and in this light, our hero ſhone diſtinguiſhed. He exhibited, in the courſe of one day's action, more knowledge in the tactical and fighting parts, and in that branch of war, which relates to artillery, than mankind had diſcovered from the time of the Romans, till the invention of gunpowder, and from that period, till the day's ſervice at Leipſic.

The king's *inventive* genius in war had made its appearance, in many inſtances, before this period. His grand ruling prin-

* *Swed. Diſcipline*, 4°. Lond. 1632. Part iii. 12.

ciple was, to make an enemy's country the *ſeat* of hoſtilities; the invaders being always ſuppoſed to undertake their buſineſs with greater ſpirit, and more determined reſolution than the defendants. He was the firſt, it is commonly thought, who *intermixed* infantry amongſt the horſe; which, if I remember right, he practiſed at the very beginning of the Poliſh war; but as my authority for this aſſertion, which I diſcovered in ſome good author, has eſcaped me, after various reſearches and enquiries, I can only venture to preſent it to the reader upon the like footing it comes to me. Manſfelt, at or near the ſame time, as has been hinted elſewhere, had ſome idea of a ſimilar practice; ſince in a famous picture of the battle of Prague, now in the poſſeſſion of lord Cheſterfield, and which appears to me to be better painted than thoſe, with which the houſe of Auſtria has adorned the pavilion in the *ſtar-park*, where the main ſtreſs of the action laid, ſomething of this kind may be diſcovered in the arrangement of the troops. Guſtavus likewiſe was the firſt who altered the muſquets of the cavalry to *carbines*. He was diſſatisfied alſo with the *Imperial cuiraſſiers*, who were completely caſed in armour from head to foot; and commanded his own men to carry only a breaſt-plate and a head-piece. He relieved the cavalry of their uſeleſs incumbrance of *pikes*; and ordered his ſoldiers, for the expreſſion came firſt from him, *never to give fire, till they could ſee their own image in the pupil of their enemy's eye**. He changed alſo into a pouch, which contained a certain number of cartridges, thoſe ſenſeleſs utenſils called *bandileers*, which made a clattering in the time of action, and entangled themſelves one with another; giving a military man the appearance of a High German rhymer, or an Italian zani. He ridiculed greatly the *forked reſts*, uſed to ſupport the muſquets in giving fire; and when his officers, who had a ſecret hankering to continue old cuſtoms, made an attempt to ſatisfy him by reducing the ſize and weight of thoſe reſts, ſo as to render them of a more manageable nature, he aboliſhed them, once for all, by a ſupreme act of authority.

Yet an higher inſtance, not of the *improving* but *inventive* nature, remains behind: and though all the world talks much of the LEIPSIC-BRIGADE, or COLUMN of Guſtavus, which latter word is not preciſely agreeable to the original nature of the ſubject in queſtion, and commenced only to become a term in vogue, towards the concluſion of the laſt century, yet I flatter myſelf, that there is no true and faithful drawing of this column extant, but what I here pre-

* *Loccen.* Hiſt. p. 587. 4°. *Scheffari* Memorab. Sueciæ Gentis, p. 42, &c.

ſent

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R E N C E.

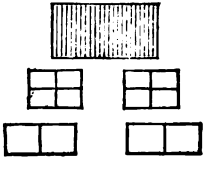
1, 2, 3, &c. Lieutenants.
1, 2, 3, &c. Serjeants.
Corporals.
Serjeants in the Rear of the Pikemen.

Y Furriers [i. e. Under Quarter-maſters.]
Z Captains at Arms.
R Enſigns following their Captains.

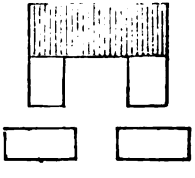
E C T.

in the *Swediſh Diſcipline*, [Lond. 4°. 1632.] ſplit the *firſt* Brigade into *four*, ivision a *Battaglia*, from whence the word *Battalion*, without queſtion, took its principle with the parent that gave it birth, and containing each 504 Men. Figure concerning which *Folard*, N° IV. acquired a traditional, but imperfect rious will diſcover ſome remarkable differences when they compare them minutely: III. and IV.

III.
Brigade diminiſhed Four-fold.



IV.
Folard's Brigade.



1224 MEN.

504 MEN.

Number unknown.

[To face page 21.]

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ent

ſent to the reader; to its authenticity no ſolid objection can ever be made. Lord Reay, who drew it, was one of the king's favourite colonels, and the draught is ſo preciſely exact and minute, that a letter of the alphabet is placed for every ſingle man; and the poſt of each officer may be aſſigned and aſcertained to the diſtance of a foot ſquare. Indeed the intervals between corps and corps in the original are unduly wide and ſpacious; but his lordſhip found himſelf obliged to reſerve theſe vacuums, in order to inſert the *letters*, which denote the poſition of each particular commander. Yet, as I obſerved before, the word COLUMN is not the proper expreſſion, whereby to denominate the LEIPSIC-BRIGADE, except we comprehend it in the ſenſe and configuration, into which Folard ſuppoſes Guſtavus to have improved it before he fought the battle of Lutzen, for which I can produce neither authority, nor corroborating proof. Here I hope to obtain the reader's pardon for bringing to light a true repreſentation of the LEIPSIC-COLUMN, ſo long diſuſed, if not totally forgotten. Nor ought one to compoſe the life of Guſtavus, and overlook that great man in the character of a *field-officer*.—All we contend for is, that the idea was GREAT and NEW.

The opinion of military men concerning the brigade of Guſtavus in that age, was as follows; if you attempt to attack it in front or rear, it will preſent a head at either end, like the *amphiſbena*: and if you undertake to aſſault its flanks and angles, you only ſeize a bunch of thorns which will give you a wound wherever you think fit to graſp it.

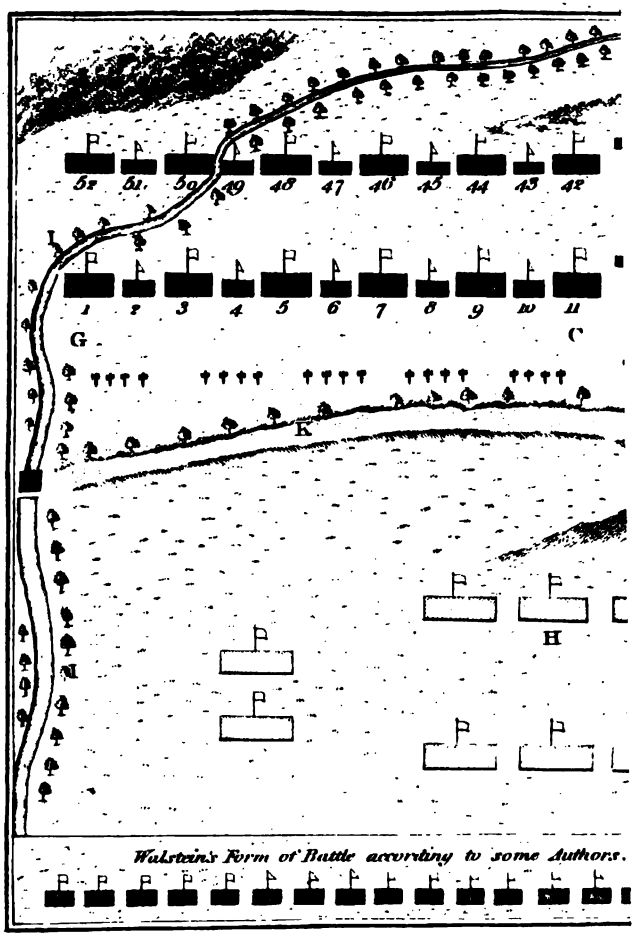
The plain, on which the battle was fought, extends itſelf in a line almoſt entirely through Miſnia, and even in a clear day it is hardly poſſible to diſtinguiſh a mountain in the whole neighbourhood round it; ſince, at moſt, it is only diverſified here and there with ſmall elevations and declivities. As the combined armies propoſed to commence the attack, the Imperial general had the choice of the ground. Of courſe he poſſeſſed the ſlope of a gently riſing hill to the ſouth-weſt of Podelwitz, which extended itſelf near two miles; foreſeeing, as the battle could hardly become ſerious till after mid-day, that he ſhould have the advantage of the *ſun*, a matter then ſuppoſed to be of great conſequence in the art of war. He had the good fortune alſo, according to the opinion of thoſe times, to gain the *wind* right in his favour; for, as it blew that day extremely briſk, it carried the ſmoke and duſt, of which there was enough that day, directly from him: and in thoſe times generals were ſo fond of theſe advantages, that they very often ſhifted their troops in the heat of action,

which ſort of movements, by the way, are extremely dangerous, in order to gain a point of wind and ſun. Guſtavus was in no degree diſmayed to ſee theſe little advantages ſnatched from him. It muſt not be diſſembled, that he knew the convenience of this elevated ſlope, and the wood behind it, as well as his adverſary who laid near it, and had ordered an advanced party to poſſeſs it by all poſſible means; but in that attempt the Imperial general foreſtalled him: for he was maſter of that poſt a day before the battle. Guſtavus could not make greater expedition than he did after ſigning the treaty with the elector of Saxony, for he marched thirty miles in a day and an half, and fought his enemy the afternoon of the ſecond day. The Swediſh dragoons made a deſperate attack upon the ſpot of ground we have mentioned, but were obliged to deſiſt, when they ſaw the whole army of the Imperialiſts prepared to pour upon, and cut them to pieces*. Here Tilly intrenched his Walloon infantry, having planted two large batteries, conſiſting of forty pieces of heavy artillery, on the ſummit of the riſing ſlope behind him at very conſiderable diſtances. One fronted the right wing of the Swedes in a direct line, where he concluded the king would command, that being with *him*, for reaſons to me unknown, the poſt of honour, and the place where he affected to place himſelf, as he did afterwards at the battle of Lutzen, and the other, being advanced more forward, according to the natural turn of the hill, cut the Saxon and Swediſh army obliquely. Behind him was a large wood, which he propoſed for a rallying place in caſe of defeat. His army conſiſted of 44,000 fighting men, and the enemy produced only three-fourths of that number to oppoſe him. His watchword was Jeſu Maria, the ſame he had uſed at Magdeburg; and his men, in imitation of their former practice in ſtorming that town, wore white ribbons on their hats and helmets, and white ſtrings round their right arms. The watchword of the Swedes was *Emanuel*, or *God with us*, which was always carried inſcribed on the colours. They wore green branches on their hats and helmets. The Imperial general followed the old diſcipline of the Low Country wars, of drawing up his men in great ſquare bodies, which in part contributed to his ruin. Not that the diſcipline was then bad, but the diſpoſitions of Guſtavus were better. Two highways paſſed through the field of battle, but as they went upon the ſame lines, by which the combined army advanced, the convenience and inconveniency of them were juſt reciprocal to either party.

* *Burgi Mars Sueco-German.* L. ii. 128. Leod. 1633. 12°.

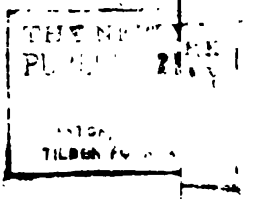
Tilly,

BA



Walstein's Form of Battle according to some Authors.

A. *Swedish Army.*
B. *Imperial Army.*
C. *The King's Post.*
D. *Walstein.*
E. *Duke Bernard.*
F. *Colonel Taupadel.*



Tilly, who formed his main body and the two wings into three ſeparate armies, making only one mighty front, which reached from Sohauſen to Lindenthal, a vaſtneſs of extent, hardly to be believed*, rejecting the aſſiſtance of a ſecond line and corps de reſerve, poſted himſelf on the eminence before-mentioned, with the wood behind him.

As to the Saxon army, it performed ſo little, that I ſhall only obſerve that the elector led the right wing, Bindauf the left, and Arnheim conducted the main body. Yet to ſhew that prince's parts, and Arnheim's invidious temper, the troops were drawn up nearly upon the ſame principle with the Imperialiſts. The king made ſome objections to this diſpoſition; but the Saxon general, who had paſſed his apprenticeſhip under Walſtein, choſe rather to abide by the more received and eſtabliſhed forms.

Such, as had a talent for war, ſoon perceived a manifeſt ſuperiority between the arrangement of the king's troops and thoſe under Tilly's command: for the latter were as much beaten by genius as by valour. It was the cuſtom of the beſt generals, before this engagement, to draw up their forces in huge ſquare bodies, which they called *tertias*; the very unwieldineſs of which maſſes of troops helped to deſtroy them: for upon any great confuſion each man overturned his neighbour, and when the whole corps was jumbled into one chaos, no officers could move from one ſituation to another, nor reduce the men into their former places. Whereas the king's army was interſected and divided into numberleſs ſtraight lines and avenues, ſome greater and ſome ſmaller, like the uniform ground-plot of a regular city or parterre: and the troops could advance, retreat, or move from ſide to ſide, juſt as if they were in a defile between two hedges or walls. Thus the whole army was one complicated but unperplexed machine, conſiſting of innumerable parties or *peletons* of men, all little ſyſtems by themſelves, all acting under a chieftain of their own, yet all contributing to the grand eſtabliſhment of the *whole together*. By theſe means, and by the power of moving eaſily from place to place, he brought more hands to act than the enemy poſſibly could; and though his men might be *killed*, yet, ſcientifically ſpeaking, they could not well be *routed*, for help was ever at hand, and the deſtruction of one part did not neceſſarily involve the deſtruction of another. The directions of the general had always free paſſage, as the blood is poured firſt from the heart, and then regularly diſperſed, not only through arteries and veins, but even through

* It was, ſaith Monro, two Engliſh miles in length, Part ii.

the ſmalleſt capillaries*. In proof of how much this grand invention avoided confuſion in the very firſt experiment, only one regiment amongſt all the royal forces was ſqueezed out of its place, and that was Callenbach's regiment of horſe.

This reduction of an army to one piece of machinery, in the day of battle was the *vis vivida*, the diſtinguiſhing individuating principle of Guſtavus's creative genius. Nevertheleſs, he diſplayed his talents in exhibiting many collateral military inventions in the battle of Leipſic, which deſerve highly to be mentioned by an exact hiſtorian. He found wonderfully good effects from mixing his muſqueteers amongſt the horſe, as alſo from flanking the horſe with muſqueteers. Upon the principles of his plan, there were always openings for them to retreat, in caſe they were in danger of being overpowered. Theſe muſqueteers, intermingled with the cavalry, performed great ſervice in the *times* we are ſpeaking of; for the Imperial cuiraſſiers being completely cloathed in armour that was piſtol-proof, marched up to the Swediſh cavalry with abſolute unconcern, and, regardleſs of their fire-arms, parted their ranks and ſqueezed them out of their places by mere ſtreſs of weight. The *calibre* of the muſquets of the infantry being *then* larger than *now*, enabled the muſqueteers to deliver a ball, which at piſtol-ſhot diſtance, the diſtance cavalry generally engage at, would often pierce the beſt armour, and always make contuſions, which were very painful and inconvenient. Tilly received *one* in this very battle, which tormented him more than all his wounds, and in his flight was obliged to ſend for the town-ſurgeon at Halle, who cut out all the bruiſed fleſh; and Guſtavus loſt his life from the effects of *another*; for on the day of the battle of Lutzen he determined to fight in his common wearing apparel, an elk-ſkin waiſtcoat excepted, having lately received a contuſion in his ſhoulder, which rendered the leaſt wrench of his cuirals inſupportable. Before Guſtavus introduced this alteration in the art of war, it was ſufficient that the armour of the Imperial cuiraſſiers was *piſtol-proof*.

This was alſo the firſt time, that any general had ventured to thin the depth of his files, which the king reduced to ſix deep, the brigades or columns excepted; whereas the Imperialiſts, though drawn up in one front only, oppoſed him with at leaſt thrice the ſame number. It was objected to his

* See ſome curious remarks made on this ſubject by a German officer, who viſited the camp of Guſtavus as early as the month of November 1630.

majeſty,

majeſty, that ſuch a comparatively thin body of men could not reſiſt a ponderous impreſſion; but his anſwer was, for it muſt be remembered he fought upon two lines, independent of the bodies of reſerve, that upon his principle, paſſages were always open for new troops to advance and ſuſtain their companions; that he could ſtop a leak in his army with as much eaſe as a ſea-captain could prevent the ill effects of one in his ſhip; and that the power of bringing more hands to act, abundantly counterbalanced the weight of the objection. His field-artillery, made of *hardened leather*, rendered him alſo excellent ſervice, being ſo very portable, that he could remove a little battery, or make a new one, in ten minutes time, or advance it occaſionally before his troops, here and there, juſt when a freſh attack was forming againſt him. Here too for the firſt time, except in reviews, was practiſed in good earneſt the method of firing in *platoons*. In a word, nothing of conſequence eſcaped Guſtavus in the whole ſyſtem of the fighting part, from the battle of Leipſic till the preſent hour, except the invention of the *bayonet*, which probably was overlooked by a ſearching and ſpeculative genius, merely becauſe it was ſimple and obvious. Though many are of opinion*, that ſomething between the pike and the partizan might be invented, which would prove more uſeful in repulſing the cavalry. It is highly natural to imagine, that Guſtavus knew this: for he ſhortened the handle, and varied the figure of the head of the pike, according to the idea I have juſt mentioned†.

To return to the battle itſelf. Tilly upon this occaſion made ſome *miſtakes* as a general, which may properly be called his *own*, and *ſome* he was enſnared into by the raſhneſs and impetuoſity of younger men. As to the latter, I have, and ſhall explain myſelf more fully concerning them in their reſpective places, remarking here, in addition to ſome overſights of the Imperial commander already ſpecified, that he was worſe ſerved with intelligence than he ought to have been, even in an enemy's country; for his Swediſh majeſty approached him unexpectedly ‡; whence it happened, that no contemptible body of troops was employed in foraging at a diſtance, and not to be recalled in time convenient, and that Holk with a conſiderable party had been detached to make conqueſts about Naumburg‖. Tilly did ill likewiſe

* *Chevalier de Folard, &c.* † *Schefferi* Memorab. Suecicæ Gentis.

‡ *Lettre de Tilli.* Halberſtadt, Sept. 24, 1631.

‖ *Lettre d'un capitaine Imperial à un ſien ami.* Sept. 22, 1631. This account muſt be read with care, as it wants to be ſupported by other authorities. For example,

wiſe not to order an army, that laid idle in Sileſia, to have attacked the electorate on that ſide, which would have incapacitated half the Saxon forces from joining Guſtavus. It may be obſerved further, that when Pappenheim violated his orders, and forced him to deſcend from his eminence, his preſence of mind, which was doubtleſs diſcompoſed by ſo vexatious an incident, ſeems to have deſerted him a few minutes; for being compelled, firſt by teaſing and artifice, and then by dint of neceſſity, to make a ſacrifice of his prudence and judgment, he commanded his troops to advance with ſo much ardour and confuſion, that the beſt and moſt proper regiments were not placed in their reſpective ſituations, excepting the regiments of Piccolomini, Schomberg, and Cronenberg, which were eſteemed the flower of the Imperial cavalry. In a word, Tilly was too *old* for his employment.

In conſequence of this precipitate meaſure, the main body, which even at this time was not diſtinctly formed, made an irregular advance; for the cavalry deſtined to ſupport it received no orders to keep pace with the infantry. To underſtand this paſſage the better, the reader muſt be informed, that the center was ſuſtained by ſix regiments of horſe, which had no connexion with the wings of the army. From hence it likewiſe followed, that there was no time to appoint a proper body of reſerve; nor were any infantry interſperſed among the cavalry. The beſt troops oppoſed the new raiſed Saxons, which may be conſidered as an extraordinary overſight*. "I aſked ſeveral commanders," ſaid one who was an eye-witneſs of the battle, "if they knew their inſtructions; but by their anſwers it appeared they had none. Seemingly to me the hope was, that God would work miracles in proportion to the errors we had committed." Pappenheim, as maréchal of the field, made the diſpoſition of the battle: and when it was told him that his own wing was too weak in itſelf, and unſupported likewiſe by any reſerve, his anſwer was, that he had taken care to provide a reinforcement; whether truly or not cannot be aſcertained; yet ſure it is, that no reinforcement ever appeared; except it

example, he names *ſix regiments of cavalry independent of the wings*, and we apprehend he ought to know his own army; yet in a ſingle ſheet plan, engraven almoſt under the king's eye immediately after the battle, by Olave Hans of Leipſic, his chief quarter-maſter and engineer, and long before any book appeared on the ſubject, we cannot diſcover theſe regiments; ſo that after the firſt ſhock or tumult, they muſt have united themſelves to the extreme parts of the two wings, which ſeem by the plan to be more extended than the front line of the allied army.

* Riccio de Bellis German, 271.

proved

proved ſome of the regiments we have mentioned by way of note in the preceding page.

The laſt error, which in truth may be conſidered as a misfortune, was that Furſtenberg, who was a friend of Pappenheim, but wanted the ſpirit of that commander, diſliked the orders of the generaliſſimo, yet had not reſolution to diſobey them. Chance brought about what he privately wiſhed to ſee effected; for an old colonel at length told him, that he would begin the battle without his orders. This raſh departure from inſtructions in either wing compelled Tilly to deſcend from his eminence; for if Furſtenberg had not engaged, it is more than probable Tilly would have left Pappenheim to the mercy of Guſtavus: but perceiving the battle to thicken round him, and dreading the reproaches of ſacrificing the better part of the Imperial army, for the public always favours fighting people, right or wrong, he at length determined to order his main body of infantry to advance. Part of it conſiſted of 8000 troops, till then ſuppoſed to be invincible, and which in truth might have performed wonders, if the cavalry attached to had received commands to march forwards and ſupport them: but that circumſtance, in the hurry, happened to be totally forgotten.

Having thus ſketched out the previous ideas neceſſary for comprehending one of the moſt important battles, which the world had then ſeen, I may by this time, and perhaps with little difficulty, obtain my reader's permiſſion to enter into a diſtinct deſcription of the action itſelf; inaſmuch as the plan here annexed will give a more exact idea of the field diſpoſitions than can be deſcribed in words.

This battle was fought on Wedneſday the ſeventh of September, which the Germans call *dies reginæ*. The front of each army extended itſelf nearly two Engliſh miles in breadth. Many old officers declared, that the mighty battle, at the *white mountain* near Prague in 1620, was but a ſort of pantomime in compariſon to this*. As the intermingled muſqueteers carried no colours, the Imperialiſts did not diſcover them till it was too late. Tilly had the advantage of ground, wind, and ſun†; but Guſtavus performed great things with his artillery, and exceeded the Auſtrian general, who piqued himſelf particularly in that reſpect. The victory was principally owing to the eaſy ſhifting and quick diſcharge of the new-invented leather cannon, and the intermingled muſqueteers,

* *Arlanibæi Arma Suecica*, 138, 4°.
† *Monro's Expedition*, ii. 64.

whoſe

TABLE of REFERENCE
TO THE
FIELD-DISPOSITION at LEIPSIC.

IMPERIAL ARMY.

1. Regiment of Renconi, (Horse.)
2. Merodé, (Horse.)
3. New Saxon, (Horse.)
4. Baumgarten, (Horse.)
5. Piccolomini, (Horse.)
6. Strozzi, (Horse.)
7. Holstein, (Infantry.)
8. Chiefs, (Infantry.)
9. Galas, (Infantry.)
10. Furstenberg. (Infantry.)
11. Montecuculi, (Infantry.)
12. Balderon and Ditrichstein united, (Infantry.)
13. Tilly, (Infantry.)
14. Coronini, (Infantry.)
15. Gnëtz, (Infantry.)
16. Coloredo, (Infantry.)
17. Eruitz, (Infantry.)
18. Savelli, (Infantry.)
19. Blancard, (Infantry.)
20. Pappenheim, (Infantry.)
21. Haracour, (Infantry.)
22. Rynach and Comargo, (Infantry.)
23. Wallis, (Infantry.)
24. Wrangler, (Infantry.)
25. Late Bernstein, (Horse.)
26. Schomberg, (Horse.)
27. Cronenberg, (Horse.)
28. Old Saxon, (Horse.)
29. Wingarti, (Horse.)
30. Two Regiments of Croats, (Horse.)
31. Reformed Dragoons, (Horse.)

SWEDISH ARMY.

32. 400 Finland Horse.
33. 400 Finland Horse.
34. 180 commanded Musqueteers of Banier.
35. 400 of Tod's Horse.
36. The same.
37. The same.
38. 180 commanded Musqueteers of Banier's.
39. 800 West-Gothland Horse.
40. 180 Musqueteers, Banier's.
41. 800 Smaland Horse, Steinboch's.
42. 180 commanded Musqueteers, Halle's.
43. 400 East-Gothland Cavalry.
44. *Lily's Brigade.*
45. *Teuffel's Brigade, Pretorian Guards.*
46. *Halle's Brigade.*
47. *Wincle's Brigade.*
48. 200 Horse, Horne's.
49. 500 Horse, Callenbach's.
50. 360 commanded Musqueteers.
51. 500 Horse, Callenbach's
52. 280 Musqueteers, Oxentiern.
53. 800 Horse, Bauditzen.
54. 300 Foot, Erichuisen's.
55. 800 Horse, Bauditzen.
56. 300 Musqueteers, Erichuisen's.
57. 800 Horse, Bauditzen.
58. 360 Musqueteers, Hamilton's.
59. 500 Horse of the King's own Regiment.
60. 400 Musqueteers, Momo's.
61. 500 Horse of the King's own Regiment.
62. 350 Musqueteers, Ramsey's.
63. 400 Horse, Rhingrave's.
64. 400 the same.
65. 400 the same.
66. 400 Livonian Horse.
67. 400 Courland Horse.
68. 500 Horse, Damitz.
69. 400 Horse, Sperreuter's
70. *Brigade, Hatle, Walstein, Thurn, &c.*
71. *Brigade, Damits, Hepburn, &c.*
72. *Brigade, Mitzval, Vitzdum, Ruthven.*
73. 600 Horse, Halle's.
74. 600 Horse, ditto.
75. 400 Horse, Courville's
76. 500 Horse, Schatman, Reserve.
77. 500 Horse, Cochtitzki, Reserve.

SAXON ARMY.

78. — Horse, Steinau.
79. — Horse, ditto.
80. 400 Horse, Bindauf.
81. 400 Horse, ditto.
82. 400 Horse, Provincial Gentry.
83. — Horse, Aruheim.
84. Infantry, ditto.
85. Infantry, ditto.
86. 350 Foot, Schwalbach.
87. 350 Foot, ditto.
88. 700 Foot, Lölers.
89. 600 Foot, Electoral Regiment.
90. 350 Foot, Glitzingen.
91. 350 Foot, ditto.
92. 350 Foot, Starchedel.
93. 350 Foot, ditto.
94. 400 Horse, Provincial Gentry.
95. 400 Horse, Sax-Altenberg.
96. 400 Horse, ditto.
97. 400 Horse, Electoral Regiment.
98. 400 Horse, ditto
99. 400 Horse, ditto.

A minute Plan of the Battle of *Leipsic* is a thing greatly to be wished for, inasmuch as his *Swedish* Majesty that day exhibited an art of war entirely new and thoroughly scientific.

Folard's Ichnography illustrates, in no degree, the important truths I am mentioning; since the size of the squares bears not any proportion to the number of troops contained in them, and the ground itself is partly ideal. We do not know horse from foot: an inaccuracy to be remarked in most Plans; besides, without a just idea of the precise quantity of men in each peloton, and in what places the infantry were intermingled with the cavalry, it is impossible to comprehend the fine disposition then made by *Gustavus*, who added more to the art of war in this day's service, than had been discovered since the time of *Julius Cæsar*.

whoſe fire was too heavy and violent to be oppoſed by the piſtol-ſhots of cavalry. It was likewiſe enjoined the Swedes firſt to receive the enemy's diſcharge, and return it afterwards *,

Tilly exceeded the two combined armies by *ten or twelve* thouſand men at leaſt †, according to Monro, who was then preſent; but our computation, which we profeſs to have rated very low, makes the ſuperiority about *five* thouſand. The whole Saxon army fled, excepting only their maſter's guards, and one other regiment. His majeſty obtained the victory at the head of two and twenty thouſand men, and, what is very remarkable, not a Swediſh ſoldier behaved ill, and only one regiment was ſqueezed out of its place, and that was Callenbach's; whereas, on the other hand, the four Walloon bodies, that retired at laſt to the wood, had been poſted at conſiderable diſtances one from the other ‡.

After a furious cannonade of no ſmall duration, the king, cloathed in a new ſuit of grey cloth, wearing a green plumage on his beaver, and mounted on a horſe *de poil d'étourneau* ‖, began the attack on Pappenheim ſword in hand, and, after a deſperate reſiſtance from that intrepid and moſt experienced commander, compelled him to retreat to ſuch a diſtance, as procured a point of the wind in his majeſty's favour. What induced the king to puſh this onſet forwards with a degree of fury that can hardly be paralleled, was partly to avoid the wind and duſt, which were both perplexing that day beyond imagination; and partly to ſecure the left flank of his wing (N°. 41, &c.) from Tilly's great battery, which traverſed it obliquely §.

This advance of the Swedes cauſed a larger opening than appeared at firſt, between the king's line, and the corps poſted behind him under the direction of Banier; and of courſe the brave duke of Holſtein, whoſe regiment of foot

* *Schefferi Mem. Suec. Gentis.* † *Monro's Expedition*, ii. 64.

‡ Namely at N°. 8. 12. 15. 17.

‖ What the grooms call a *flea-bitten* colour. It was certainly a falſe affectation in his majeſty, and in that reſpect Pappenheim copied him, either from a contempt of danger, or in order to be better diſcerned by his troops, ever to ride a ſteed which carried ſome diſtinguiſhing marks; as may be obſerved not only here, but at the ſiege of Ingoldſtadt, and the fatal battle of Lutzen. It was probably on this account, that the artful Richelieu and father Joſeph ſent a horſe to be ſold, in the Swediſh camp, very uncommonly marked. As they foreſaw, his majeſty purchaſed it in a moment; but Gaſſion ſtanding then high in his favour, he beſtowed it on him, and the horſe was killed under the Frenchman in the next day's cannonade. *Mem. de Gaſſion par M. le Pure*, 12 tom. i. 110, 111.

§ *Soldat Suedois*, 128.

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is deſcribed in the plan N°. 7, at the extremity of Tilly's main body, and flanking Pappenheim's wing of cavalry, made a motion, it is thought, from his own opinion, and quitting his line of battle, fell furiouſly on the king's rear. But a part of his majeſty's corps facing about immediately, and Banier, who ſupported his maſter at a proper diſtance, advancing with three diviſions of the Rhingrave's horſe, the Imperial regiment was ſoon cut to pieces, and the duke of Holſtein mortally wounded.

Pappenheim being thus forced out of his line, edged round to the king's right flank; where Guſtavus ſoon made proper evolutions to confront him, and Banier having by this time cut to pieces the duke of Holſtein's regiment, cooperated vigorouſly with his royal maſter. Thenceforwards the Imperial left wing acquitted itſelf manfully, yet never turned the ſcale againſt the army of Sweden. Pappenheim returned to the charge ſeven times ſucceſſively. In the third attack, which was conducted with great readineſs and impetuoſity, he miſſed little of overpowering his opponents; for he was quicker in rallying, than the Swedes could be in purſuing their advantage; ſo that Banier was obliged to fly once more to ſuccour his monarch, and the reinforcement was as roughly handled as the party to whoſe aſſiſtance it marched. It was in the heat of this rencounter that Pappenheim and Gaſſion fought hand to hand *.

About fifteen minutes from the commencement of Pappenheim's firſt attack, the count de Furſtenberg fell upon the Saxon army, and after a ſhort conflict intirely diſperſed the right wing, which part of his troops purſued farther than good ſoldiers ought to have done. The occaſion of this ſudden defeat may be attributed ſolely to the inexperience and puſillanimity of the provincial Saxon horſe, which had been raiſed by vaſſals †. Notwithſtanding, indeciſive as this ſlight advantage may appear, it tempted Tilly to diſpatch part of his main body to overpower the reſidue of the Saxon forces, and induced him likewiſe, which may be conſidered an indiſcretion ‡, to deſcend from his convenient and well-choſen eminence, and let looſe on Horn, who commanded the left wing of the Swediſh army, part of thoſe veteran bands of infantry, which had made all Germany tremble for the ſpace of thirteen years.

* *Hiſt. du maréchal Gaſſion*, p. 52. tom. i.

† *Heylmanni Leo Arctoüs*, 4°. 34.

‡ *Waſſembergii* Florus German. 255. Franc. 1648.

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The Imperial generaliſſimo ſoon diſperſed the Saxon forces, and when his troops appeared over-eager in purſuing the fugitives, *Turn back*, ſaid he, *comrades; let us beat the Swedes, and the empire is our own**. He never recovered ſo many purſuers, as, unqueſtionably, he wiſhed to recal. Meanwhile the Saxons, like excellent ſoldiers, took the liberty to plunder their own waggons, and then conſulted their ſafety by flight. Their electoral maſter was the firſt man, who carried the news of the defeat to Eülenburg†, a little town on the banks of the Molda, about ten miles from the field of action. Arnheim having ſaved two, or as ſome ſay four, regiments, and placed them under Horn's protection, flew immediately to the king to aſk his advice and aſſiſtance‡. All the Imperialiſts, however, did not purſue the Saxons; for Furſtenberg, with his Italian cavalry, and Cronenberg, whoſe regiment of German horſe was eſteemed the very flower of the Auſtrian army, ſtopped their troops in full career, and attacked Horn, who ſoon made proper evolutions, and received them ſo bravely ‖, that Guſtavus ever afterwards acknowledged that he was indebted to him for the victory. Tilly likewiſe bent part of his efforts on this left-wing of the Swedes, which by the flight of the Saxons was for a time expoſed in one flank, yet it was protected a little with a high road and hedges; which Guſtavus probably foreſaw in the firſt diſpoſitions he made, and conſequently deſtined them as a ſmall line of partition between his own and the electoral forces.

It may naturally be aſked, what ſufficient reaſon could induce Tilly to decline attacking the main body of the royal army conducted by Teüffel? To which may be aſſigned a very juſt and ſatisfactory anſwer: namely, that the centre was protected, as will appear by the plan, with one entire line of large artillery §.

Meanwhile Guſtavus, who had greatly checked the impetuoſity of Pappenheim, and who, foreſeeing his preſence might be neceſſary in more places than one, had made Banier, proviſionally, commander over the right wing, receiving advice upon advice of the miſbehaviour and defeat of the Saxons, ſent a meſſage to Teüffel to lead the centre** on

* *Swed. Diſcipline*, part iii. 19.

† *Introd. de Puffendorf*, tom. iv. 240.

‡ Idem ibid.

‖ *See Horn's Letter in the Swed. Diſcipline*, part iii. 20, 21. *Arlanibæi Arm. Suecica*, 4°. 187.

** It is remarkable, that two battalions of pioneers were poſted in the centre, intermixt with Nos 47, 45, 50, 53. *Hiſt. Authentic Relation*, tom. ii. 222. This peculiarity has paſſed, hitherto, unobſerved.

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to the charge; but that brave officer was ſtruck dead by a muſket-ball as he was liſtening attentively to the king's meſſage *. His majeſty, unapprized of this event, purſued his courſe down the interval behind the front line, crying out with an air of ſprightlineſs in his countenance as he rode along, *Alegramente, ſoldiers, alegramente:* to which the troops replied with alacrity, *Vivat! vivat!* At the ſame time, with a view to ſtrengthen Horn's flank, he ordered the foot regiment of Hepburn, and half that of Vitzdum†, to march from the rear of the centre ‡: as likewiſe the regiment of Weſtergothian horſe from his own wing (N°. 39.) having cut to pieces the regiment that confronted it; namely, Holſtein's (N°. 7.) and pretty well blunted the edge of Pappenheim's violence.

Being arrived in that part of Horn's wing ‖ where Callenbach commanded, he cried out with a tone of eagerneſs, *Callenbach! charge, man, in God's name! Charge, man, in God's name!* That officer ſoon obeyed the royal orders, but fell, unfortunately, in the firſt fire **.

The king, notwithſtanding the clouds of duſt that annoyed him, diſcovered ſome large maſſes of troops, that ſeemed to advance. He aſked the perſons round him, who they might be, and what they thought of them? Their anſwer was, they concluded them to be Swedes. Guſtavus knew, that this did not agree with his own plan, and galloping his horſe at ſome diſtance beyond the lines, for his eye-ſight was by no means the moſt perfect, returned and arranged his troops in order to receive them: *They are Imperialiſts*, added he, *I have diſcovered the Burgundian†† croſs amongſt their enſigns.* This ſaid, he returned to ſuch places where he thought his preſence moſt neceſſary. Here it was, namely, in the ſharp conflict betwixt Horn and Tilly, that the Scottiſh regiments firſt practiſed firing in *platoons* ‡‡, which amazed the Imperialiſts to ſuch a degree, that they hardly knew how to conduct themſelves.

* *Vernulæus de Bell. Sueco-Germ.* 150. 4°. Cologn. 1643. Others ſay the king ſent for him to Horn's left wing, and having ordered him to reconnoitre a large body of troops ſuppoſed to be the Imperial, that he obeyed his maſter's commands with alacrity, but was killed in returning. *Monro's Second Expedition*, 66. *Swed. Diſcipline*, part iii. 23.

† N° 82 and 85. See the plan. ‡ *Chemnitz*, tom. i. 176.

‖ It is plain Bougeant knew nothing of this battle, for he makes Horn command the centre, tom. i. 267.

** *Swed. Diſcipline*, part iii. p. 22.

†† The Auſtrian eagle, when Ferdinand II. entered Ratiſbon, June 29, 1630, at the great diet convened there, carried on its breaſt a ſcutcheon half Auſtrian and half Burgundian.

‡‡ *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part i. 124. *Swed. Diſcipline*, part iii. 25, 26.

Yet

Still the main body of the Swedes, as we obſerved before, and the major part of Tilly's Walloon infantry, which ſtood over-againſt them, remained ſpectators of each other, if we except only their cannonade, and the detachment of certain bodies occaſionally, as urgent neceſſities here and there ſeemed to demand ſuch ſorts of aſſiſtance.

Some few minutes after four o'clock the king perceived matters drawing towards a favourable concluſion: for having ſqueezed Pappenheim quite out of his place, and advanced half way towards the village of Little Weideritch, he judged it expedient to attack on every ſide that great maſs of Imperial infantry, which compoſed the centre, and conſiſted originally of eighteen regiments, looked upon by all next to invincible *. What followed, was rather obſtinacy than fighting; and the conteſt was ſo very warm, that narrators who were there preſent, neither are, nor pretended to be exact in their accounts. However, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that the king brought his whole centre to act, conjointly with ſuch other forces as he could then produce †.

It was now more than the duſk of the evening, it was almoſt dark ‡; and though the Imperialiſts had been broken through and through various times, ſuch was their reſiſtance, that the victory hardly yet appeared deciſive; for four regiments of infantry, though poſted at conſiderable diſtances from each other ‖, formed themſelves merely by the habitude and inſtinct of war, and, without the aſſiſtance of any one principal commander, retired gloomily and ſullenly to the ſkirts of the wood which laid behind them. There they repulſed the united efforts of the Swedes, without ever mentioning the word *quarter*, and continued to fight on, even when half-diſabled, and overthrown. It is certain, that Tilly behaved with great intrepidity to the laſt moment §, and burſt into tears, when he ſaw the ſlaughter his ſoldiers optionally

* N° 8, 12, 15, 19. *Swed Diſcipl.* part iii. 27. and thus Baumgarten's regiment, N° 4, in the middle part of Pappenheim's wing, was ſqueezed almoſt into the centre of Furſtenberg's wing, between the regiments of Schomberg and Cronenberg, N° 26, 27, which two points made almoſt the extremities of the line. *Ibid.*

† *Monro*, part ii. 66. *Swed. Diſcip.* part iii. 23, 24, &c.

‡ *Riccio de Bell. Germ.* 269. 4°.

‖ *Pietro Pomo, Guerre di Germania*, 4°. p. 33.

§ *Hiſt. de Galeazzo Gualdo*, tom. ii. 53. 4°.

ſubmitted to*. At length, under the protection of darkneſs, the valiant Cronenberg carried him off at the head of theſe unconquerable Walloons, who were reduced now to 600 men. The battle laſted, not to mention the cannonading, from twelve at noon till after ſix; and for the firſt two hours of cloſe engagement the victory was doubtful †.

We ſhall conclude with obſerving, that his majeſty, on this occaſion, cauſed a medal to be ſtruck; which, far from carrying the leaſt tincture of vain glory with it, appears to me rather an example of religious humility to ſucceeding conquerors. On one ſide was the following inſcription; DEO. TER. OPT. MAX. GLORIA. ET. LAUS. QUI. GUSTAVO. ADOLPHO. SUECORUM. VANDALORUMQUE. REGI. CONTRA. CÆSAREANUM. AC. LIGUSTICUM. EXERCITUM. VICTORIAM. TRIBUIT. AD. LIPSIAM. DIE. VII. SEPTEMBRIS. ANNO. MDCXXXI. On the other ſide was engraven the word JEHOVAH, half concealed beneath clouds that intermix themſelves with ſun-ſhine, and this lemma underneath; A. DOMINO. FACTUM. EST. ISTUD ‡.

There was a circumſtance preceding this battle, that explains Tilly's conduct, and which few hiſtorians ſeem to know. As the Imperial general, far from being the aggreſſor, had determined not to fight, except compelled by unavoidable neceſſity; how happened it, that he engaged in the manner all writers mention, when Pappenheim had no power to preſcribe laws to him? I always knew there was ſome omiſſion of hiſtory in this important point; and though the true reaſon occurred to me from the natural reſult of probabilities, yet I did not care to hazard my conjectures till I could ground them upon ſome ſubſtantial authority §. Now the reader may remember, that if Tilly had choſen to fight, he ought above all things to have diſputed the ſwampy paſs at Scholka ‖. This employment Pappenheim ardently ſought, but Tilly gave him an abſolute denial; nevertheleſs, being of a nature no ways arbitrary, he conſented, after repeated ſolicitations, to allow Pappenheim, at his own preſſing requeſt, and under ſtrict promiſe of not *engaging in earneſt*,

* *Hiſt. de Galeazzo Gualdo*, tom. ii. 53. 4°. Bologn. 1641. *Swed. Diſcipline*, part iii. 31.

† *Burgi Mars Sueco Germ.* 134. *Lettre du Baron de Cronenberg.*

‡ *Memoirs communicated.*

§ *Relation de la Battaille donnée pres de Leipſic & de la retraite, eſcrite par un capitaine de l'armée Imperiale à un ſien ami.* D'Halberſtadt le 22 de Septembre, 1631.

‖ *Introduction de Puffendorf*, tom. iv. 138. Some call the village Zſchortza.

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to obſerve the numbers and countenance of the enemies as they paſſed the rivulet, allowing him only 2000 cavalry for that ſervice, and proteſting, that even ſuch a permiſſion was too much for a commander in chief to grant.

Pappenheim's appetite for glory, joined to the natural impetuoſity of his temper, ſoon brought on a very dangerous ſkirmiſh; inſomuch, that he was obliged at length to inform the generaliſſimo, that if he did not ſend him 2000 freſh horſemen, he, and a couple of the beſt regiments in the Imperial ſervice, muſt be cut to pieces or taken priſoners. In this perplexity, which from its ſudden appearance ſcarcely admitted an alternative, Tilly had no time for liberty of choice: and as the clamour and inſinuations of the younger officers almoſt diſtracted him, he decided wrong merely for preſent eaſe; nevertheleſs, not wanting ſpirit to charge the colonel, who commanded the reinforcement, to tell Pappenheim, that in caſe he failed to diſengage himſelf at all events, he muſt expect to lay down his life as a ſacrifice for his raſhneſs and diſobedience, in a ſolemn trial before a court-martial. The good old man ſoon forgave this conſtitutional warmth of his lieutenant-general, and in a letter he wrote, under great anguiſh of mind, not more than ſixteen days after the defeat, did not allow the moſt remote hint to fall from his pen to the diſadvantage of Pappenheim. It is a letter worth reading, as a pattern of Chriſtian reſignation in a great commander, who had never met with a repulſe during the courſe of thirty very ſignal engagements. It is addreſſed to a friend, and runs thus:

"SIR,

"I was in great hopes, after ſuch a ſeries of fatiguing and intricate affairs, which I have been obliged to ſtruggle with through the whole preceding campaign, and which in truth hindered me from keeping up an epiſtolary intercourſe, to have conveyed to you at laſt ſome important news of an advantageous nature. But the Supreme Being has thought fit to give things another turn, and viſit us at length with a ſignal chaſtiſement; inaſmuch as when on the ſeventh of this month I had made myſelf maſter of the town and caſtle of Leipſic, with a view, according to my orders, to compel the elector of Saxony to obey the mandate of his Imperial majeſty, and renounce the treaty of Leipſic, the king of Sweden, ſupported by the forces of the ſaid elector and the elector of Brandenburg, advanced upon me all at once, and compelled me to enter into a general engagement, wherein, after a long and obſtinate diſpute, it

was the misfortune of our troops, much inferior in point of numbers, and greatly incommoded by clouds of dust, and the continual fire of the enemy's artillery, to fall into diſorder, by imperceptible degrees, and at length quit the field of battle. This may be termed the reverſe of all our paſt proſperities: over which we allowed ourſelves to ſlumber, without purſuing our point vigorouſly. May God, who propoſes, perhaps, to awaken us, and ſharpen us by this diſaſter, inſpire us for the future with a double quantity of attention and zeal.——The loſſes and confuſion on the enemy's ſide, were very conſiderable: nor did they purſue their blow with ſuch expedition, as to prevent a party of our troops from retiring in ſafety, whom I am now modelling and reducing to order in the beſt manner I can. As to my perſon, God has preſerved me ſo far, that out of two ſhots, that happened to ſtrike me, one only pierced my cloaths, and the other gave me a contuſion on the reins, which ſeems to be attended with no ſymptoms of danger†‡.

"Your faithful friend and ſervant,

"JOHN, COUNT DE TILLI."

Nor was the letter Guſtavus wrote to Charles I. on the ſame event, leſs modeſt, or leſs moderate. The Imperial general was not dejected, and the Swediſh monarch appears not to be elated. The reader, if he pleaſe, may caſt his eye over it by way of contraſt.

"Moſt ſerene prince, brother,
kinſman, and deareſt friend,

"As we know well the affection your ſerenity bears not only to us, but to the common cauſe, and as we are aſſured likewiſe, that you feel for us in all our ſucceſſes and hazards relative to the public ſafety; it would be un-

* Though this circumſtance may at firſt ſight appear as a minute and trifling incident, yet it muſt be remembered, that the battle was fought in a dryſeaſon, on a vaſt plain, reduced to powder by ſeveral ploughings; and the wind being briſk during the time of action, it is incredible to ſay how great an obſcurity was raiſed among the Imperialiſts after the king gained two points of the wind. See *Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato*, lib. ii. 4°. 53.

† *Lettre du comte de Tilli à un ſien ami, eſcrite de Halberſtadt, le 24 de Septembre*, 1631.

‡ Here Tilly is a little inſincere; for he mentions nothing of the blows Langfritz gave him with the butt-end of his carabine, from which bruiſes he received unſpeakable torment. The veteran commander well knew the delicate feelings of honour; *Lex non ſupponit odioſa.*

pardon-

pardonable at the preſent juncture not to inform you of that ſignal and memorable victory, which the divine bounty in theſe days has beſtowed upon us. In a word, after the elector of Saxony had joined his troops with ours, and the combined armies had marched forwards in order to give the enemy battle, the Imperial general * thought proper to advance five miles at the head of all his troops from his camp at Leipſic, and oppoſe his whole force againſt ours. The battle began with great fury, and was maintained four hours on each ſide with uncommon obſtinacy †, till at length the Imperial army, as the favour of Divine Providence ſeemed to co-operate with the unwearied reſolution of my ſoldiers, began by degrees to break its ranks and diſappear. Our troops purſued their adverſaries to the very walls of Leipſic, and rendered themſelves maſters of their artillery, baggage-waggons, and a great number of colours.

"The general having received a wound, thought proper to point his courſe towards the biſhopric of Halberſtadt, leaving the troops, that were afterwards to follow him, to our clemency, and the mercy of war. Great numbers of the enemy fell on the field of battle, amongſt whom was the watch-maſter general ‡, and ſome other commanders of note. The number of priſoners amounts to ſeveral thouſands, and under that head may be mentioned the duke of Holſtein, and various officers of no ſmall diſtinction.—For all which ſeries of ſucceſſes, let us give thanks to God, as the real author and promoter of them, and aſcribe entirely, as we juſtly ought, to his benignity, that not only the long-expected hope, ſo ardently conceived by thouſands, of the reſtoration of civil and religious liberty, at length preſents itſelf afreſh to our imagination, but that there appears likewiſe no *difficult proſpect of undertaking a ſecond time the re-eſtabliſhment of the oppreſſed Palatine family.*

"We doubt not, but your ſerenity will receive the news of this victory with affection and joy; that you will conſider the preſent opportunity as a circumſtance not to be *neglected,* directing your whole attention to this ſingle ob-

* As Guſtavus neither loved nor eſteemed Tilly, on account of the barbarities committed by him in the ſtorming of Magdeburg, it has been obſerved elſewhere, that he uſually ſtyled him the *Old Walloon* and *Old Corporal.* Even in this letter it is very evident, he affects twice to avoid calling him by his proper name.

† His majeſty includes neither the cannonade nor the defeat.

‡ Erwitz.

ject, and making it your royal care to advance the good of the Chriſtian world, and promote the welfare of your own relations, by aſſiſtance in *men* and *money*, and by *magnanimous reſolutions*. For our own part, from henceforwards, we will never allow ourſelves to be thought remiſs in regard to you and yours, recommending your ſerenity to divine protection, in full expectation, that things may continue to take a turn ſtill more proſperous in our behalf *.

" Your affectionate brother and kinſman,

" At Halle in Saxony,
Sept. 13, 1631." " GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS."

Tilly left 7000 men dead in the field: but the number of ſlain does not always conſtitute the real loſs that attends a defeat. Men may be procured and purchaſed again: but the loſs of ſuch a number of veteran troops, infantry eſpecially, is *never* to be recovered during an old general's life. Few people extend this remark through military hiſtory, though the conſequences are, humanly ſpeaking, almoſt infallible. The emperor half ruined his fortunes juſt before Guſtavus arrived, by diſbanding a body of 17,000 well ſeaſoned and experienced troops, with a view to pleaſe the diet at Ratiſbon; and Spain afterwards received a mortal wound by loſing a reſpectable body of Walloons at the battle of Rocroy †, nor had ſhe recovered her loſs even at the time when the peace of Munſter was concluded.

It has been ‡ remarked, by ſome hiſtorians, that in the courſe and conſequences of this defeat, the Imperialiſts loſt more men under the article of priſoners than in the action itſelf; for out of forty thouſand effective ſoldiers, according to their computation, Tilly, by Pappenheim's confeſſion, preſerved no more than *one half*. Great numbers of the enemy

* From a *MS. Latin letter in the Aſhmole collection* at Oxford. APPENDIX, Art. XXIV.

† The marquis de Fontaines commanded the centre, compoſed of Walloon infantry, which body of troops, when both wings were defeated, maintained their poſt to the laſt man. Next morning the general, who had been afflicted with the gout, was found dead in his arm chair at the head of his ſoldiers, who lay all ſtretched round him in regular lines, covering the ſame ground which they had occupied whilſt alive.

‡ The court of Vienna ſuſtained another loſs of this kind ſoon after the peace of Utrecht, being induced from arguments of economy to diſmiſs about 18,000 troops, which had diſtinguiſhed themſelves through the *war of the ſucceſſion*. Prince Eugene made remonſtrance after remonſtrance, and condeſcended even to intercede and ſupplicate for their continuance; but receiving in a private audience a poſitive denial from the emperor, he left the cabinet with great emotion, and ſhed tears on the occaſion.

took

took the opportunity to desert a sinking cause; 3000 persons were taken prisoners in the day of battle, to whom the king granted quarter without the effusion of a drop of blood. Some likewise were killed in their flight; for Gustavus pursued the Imperialists eight and thirty miles, and at Mersburg particularly, destroyed a thousand more, and compelled fifteen hundred to surrender.

The camp of the enemy was taken standing, so that the officers and soldiers lost great part of their ill-acquired plunder. In a word, there was hardly a soldier amongst the killed, or prisoners, who had less than ten ducats in his pockets, and more was found concealed in their girdles and their saddles. Almost all the baggage-waggons fell into the hands of the Swedes, as also 100 ensigns and cornets, and more than two thirds of the train of artillery. The victors were pleased to find many of the latter, inscribed with the names, and decorated with the arms of their friends and enemies; as the king of Bohemia, elector of Brandenburg, and duke of Brunswick, on the one hand, and of the dukes of Bavaria and Fridland, also of his Imperial majesty, on the other. The king divided the spoils of Tilly's camp amongst his men in a manner remarkably equitable and uncommon: for, being apprized of the lodgment and disposition of the enemy's troops, he appointed each Swedish regiment to occupy the same ground which an Imperial regiment had possessed before; and no man was allowed to plunder out of his own district, under the most severe military pains and penalties *.

The Swedes, who behaved well, lost only 1000 men in this engagement; and the Saxons, who faced the enemy only a few minutes, verified the old observation,

Mors & fugacem persequitur virum,

for their loss amounted to at least 2000. Amongst the dead on the Imperial side, may be reckoned Adolphus duke of Holstein, a Protestant, who expired some few hours after he was taken †; sergeant-major general Schoenberg, watch master general Erwitz, Baumgarten general of the artillery, the colonels Blancard and Coloredo, Lerma aid-de-camp, and the marquis of Gonzaga; Lieutenant-colonels,

* *Monro's Expedition*, part ii. p. 71.

† This does not clash with the king's account to Charles I. who considered him only in the light of a prisoner. It is said Gustavus Horn questioned him severely in his last hours for serving under the Roman catholics. His answer was, for in all probability he had reconciled himself to the Romish opinions, that a man of the sword, and a professor of theology, were two different beings.

the baron de Grotta, Caratelli, and don Joſeph de Ainſa, who commanded the regiment of Savelli in the duke's abſence; adjutant-general Zinzendorf, and the commiſſary-generals Walmerode and Graff, were taken priſoners; as were alſo then, and a few days afterwards, at Leipſic and Halle, Coronini, Cratz, and ſix other colonels, together with Bernardi, ſecretary and treaſurer to Tilly, and ſeveral eccleſiaſtics, who were immediately diſmiſſed without ranſom. Amongſt the Swedes were killed Maximilian Teüffel *, who commanded the royal regiment of foot guards, Hall, Callenbach, Aldergaſt, and Damitz, all colonels. Courville was taken priſoner, for, having received a glancing ſhot acroſs the forehead, and being blinded with the blood that ſtreamed down upon his eyes, he mixed with the enemy's troops without knowing them. Colonel Lumſdel, and lieutenant-colonel Moſtyn, were both wounded. The elector of Saxony loſt ſerjeant-major general Bindhauf, Loëfel, Dieſkau, the two Starchedels, and ſome other colonels.

Tilly received, ſome ſay, three wounds from muſquet-balls and piſtol-ſhots, and a very diſagreeable contuſion on his neck from the butt-end of a horſeman's carbine. He was once taken priſoner by one Frederic, a captain of cavalry in the Rhingrave's regiment, whom the army, on account of his ſtature, ſurnamed Langfritz †; who, knowing him, made him an offer of quarter, and upon Tilly's refuſal gave him the blow above-mentioned; but Rodolphus duke of Saxe-Lauenberg flew to his aſſiſtance with two or three horſemen, and bravely reſcued him, killing Langfritz with a piſtol-ſhot, taking, even in ſuch confuſion, ſo true an aim, that the bullet entered one ear, and paſſed through the other. Pappenheim received ſix or ſeven wounds, *according to cuſtom* ‡; and the count de Furſtenberg was wounded, but not mortally. Cronenberg carried off the general at the head of the unconquerable Walloons, who were reduced

* Baron of Ginderſdorf and Weyerſberg. This brave man was a German born, but left the Imperial ſervice upon ſome diſguſt. Lanſperg, who loved the turgid ſtyle, ſpeaks very pompouſly of this hero, upon ſuppoſition, that his real name, Teüffel, i. e. Devil, was a *nom de guerre*. Suedorum nonnullus ex primariis occubuit: cæteriſque inſignior Maximilianus cognomento DIABOLUS, medii agminis (quod monui) ductor, regi ob fortitudinem chariſſimus. It was a common ſaying with the German wits, that Guſtavus muſt counterwork and defeat his enemies, ſince one of his generals was *Death, (Todt)* and the other the *Devil, (Teüffel)*. *Guſt. Magn. Bellum Germ.* 1650, p. 329.

† Long-ſides.

‡ He received *the like number* of wounds at the battle of Prague, and laid for a conſiderable time ſtripped and undiſtinguiſhed amongſt the ſlain.

to

to 600 men, and lodged him by break of day at twenty-one miles diſtance in the town of Halle. Furſtenberg attended Tilly in another coach, and the duke of Saxe-Lauenberg aſſiſted Cronenberg in conducting the party. The regiment of Schoenberg ſoon followed them, but the major part of the broken troops pointed their courſe towards Halberſtadt.

In this confuſion ſixteen troops of horſe formed themſelves between the field of battle and the town of Leipſic, but they had no officers to command them; and neither the generaliſſimo, nor maréchal de camp, nor ſerjeant-major di battaglia were to be found. At length Pappenheim appeared, and, having mounted a freſh horſe, led them on to make a final effort. That attempt not ſucceeding, he carried them off under favour of the night, purſuing the road which we have juſt mentioned. All ſuppoſed the general to be dead, nor did Pappenheim appear much afflicted at that report; for Tilly and he had never agreed ſince he diſſuaded the former to deſiſt from his enterpriſe on the king's camp at Werben *.

The king, according to ſome accounts †, ſlept all the night ſucceeding the battle near a little fire made of fragments of wood, which his ſoldiers had collected together; having firſt diſpatched a body of troops to purſue the fugitives. Others tell us, that he invited the elector of Saxony to take part of a cold repaſt with him in his tent; and all who knew his majeſty's warmth of temper, expected he would throw out an oblique hint or two on the miſbehaviour of the Saxon troops; but, on the contrary, he told the elector, *That his men, conſidering they were chiefly new-raiſed recruits, behaved extremely well:* and then aſked him, *how he liked* his *conduct in that day's ſervice; proteſting at the ſame time, he would follow his point vigorouſly, and purſue the old corporal to the utmoſt limits of the world.* Next morning, after public prayers, and a ſolemn act of thankſgiving at the head of his army, he mounted on horſeback, and returned thanks to his *men*, regiment by regiment; and notwithſtanding the Imperial army ſuffered at that time a ſort of general wreck, and every moment was precious to a conqueror, in order to render his victory more complete upon eaſier terms, yet this wiſe and religious prince could not allow himſelf to purſue the ſtroke at the very inſtant his arm was lifted up, till he had firſt returned his acknowledgment to the Supreme

* *Mercure François*, 1631, p. 690.
† *Continuation of the Laurea Auſtriaca*, fol. p. 26, &c.

Being,

Being, and discharged the debt of gratitude, which he owed to his faithful soldiers; bestowing particular encomiums on the Swedish and Finland horse conducted by Horn, as also on that brave body of Scottish infantry which Hepburn commanded.

Thus ended one of the greatest battles that Europe had then seen. It lasted indeed only four hours and an half; for we will not include the two hours employed in cannonading. It was in this respect that Tilly prided himself particularly: and, what was still more, some of his artillery appeared to be of the heaviest sort then in use, and all his batteries were ready fixed; but after the first carnage was passed over, the king's portable cannons performed wonders *, as Tilly himself acknowledges in his letter. It is true, he says nothing of his majesty's peculiar method of fighting that day in *columns*, of which the king had made an experiment before in an engagement with the duke de Savelli, nor of some *evolutions*, which were then esteemed extraordinary †. This silence is not to be wondered at, since it was impossible for Tilly to have commended Gustavus in these present circumstances, without depreciating his own merit. The ground, if we except the rivulet and the morass of Scholka, the elevation of the Imperial batteries, and the advantage of the wood where the troops rallied, may be considered tolerably equal; nor were any intrenchments made use of on either side, there being indeed no time to prepare them. Many regiments charged *ten* or *fifteen* times, and some fought with only momentary intermissions, from the beginning of the battle to the end. What is worth remarking, no officer or soldier in the Swedish or Imperial armies was ever afterwards called to an account for *misbehaviour*. It may likewise be observed, that the Swedish cavalry

* We have never had the fortune to meet with a sufficient reason for the discontinuance of the leather cannon, which this prince invented. It certainly had its use in point of portability, and was highly necessary for the sake of shifting, varying the attack, and rallying; as also in deep and miry countries with small armies, and upon sudden expeditions. See note to p. 156 of vol. i. We have inquired likewise of several excellent German officers, what they thought of this uncommon sort of artillery. Their answer was, That they did not know the secret whereby the king constructed it, and supposed the peculiar method of making it, to have been long lost in oblivion. That, conformably to their own ideas at present, no artist could form a cannon of this sort that could be discharged many times successively.—Yet those of Gustavus were fired seven or eight times in the same day's service. *Memoires communicated.* One Braunius, a German, has published a dissertation on the subject, but we never could procure it.

† *Langergii Gust. Magn. Bellum Germ.* p. 324, 325, 12°. Rot. 1652.

did

did not diſcharge a piſtol till they had received their adverſaries fire, and almoſt touched the heads of their horſes. The effect was the more fatal, as the *peletons* of intermixt muſqueteers diſunited and broke the enemy's line by mere weight of ball, when oppoſed to the ſhort pieces of carbineers and the piſtols of horſemen. It alike deſerves notice, that neither the king nor his troops diſcovered the leaſt *diſmay* upon the flight of the Saxons, though Horn's left wing was thereby laid open and naked, and though the number of the electoral forces was half equal, to ſay the leaſt of them, to that of the Swedes. It is probable his majeſty poſted theſe troops by themſelves, becauſe he ſuſpected they might not do their duty.

The loſs of this battle, ſtruck the whole catholic league dumb, after an uninterrupted ſeries of victory for thirteen ſucceſſive years; and cauſed ſo great an aſtoniſhment even in the court of Vienna, that the emperor, not thinking himſelf ſecure in his capital, removed his houſhold to Gratz, the metropolis of Stiria.

The king, having employed himſelf the morning after the battle according to the manner we have related, diſtributed the 3000 Imperial priſoners amongſt his troops. In all theſe corps were only three ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, though conſiderable numbers, Iriſh eſpecially, then ſerved in the emperor's armies. This finiſhed, he permitted his ſoldiers, who had ſlept all night on the bare ground, and had eaten nothing worth mentioning for two days, to take poſſeſſion of the Imperialiſts camp near Leipſic, where they found abundant proviſions of every kind. He then, at the head of part of his cavalry, inveſted Leipſic, but leaving the ſiege to the elector of Saxony, who by this time was returned from Eülenberg, to which place he and his army had fled on the afternoon of the battle, he puſhed on, the next morning, as far as Merſburg*, whoſe governor, the baron de Palant, received orders from Tilly to withdraw his garriſon. Pappenheim, who at that period was in effect general over the generaliſſimo, paſſing through Merſburg after Tilly, left counter-orders with the baron, which that commander thinking fit to comply with, made a reſiſtance more becoming a man of honour than a man of prudence; for not only he and

* Three days afterwards the caſtle of Merſburg was taken, by which means colonel Uſlar regained his liberty, having been captive there ever ſince the ſtorming of Magdeburg. Guſtavus ſent the governor of the caſtle, who was a ſubject of Saxony, to plead his cauſe, and make his excuſes to the elector his maſter.

his

his garriſon, but ſeveral broken companies which had ſtraggled thither after the battle of Leipſic, were all made priſoners of war.

The king, out of pure politeneſs, left the reconquering of Leipſic to its lawful poſſeſſor, inaſmuch as it was pretty certain, that town muſt ſubmit of courſe; and in effect Wangler, the Imperial commander, ſurrendered after a deliberation of two days, and ſaved 3000 good troops, upon condition that, thenceforwards, they were never to bear arms againſt the crown of Sweden; ſuch commanders and ſoldiers excepted, as did not belong *bona fide* to the garriſon. So that about one hundred perſons, chiefly officers, were detained as priſoners; and many brave Swedes were releaſed, who had been confined there ever ſince the ſtorming of Magdeburg; and by this time the king, as Monro, who was there preſent, aſſures us, had increaſed his army ſince the battle of Leipſic, with an addition of 7000 Imperial forces, including priſoners.

In the meantime his majeſty, at the head of 15,000 men, attended by an army of 10,000 more, advanced as far as Halle, and made himſelf maſter of the town and caſtle with no great difficulty. Here he refreſhed his men for ſome days, and returned public thanks to God in the great cathedral, employing every leiſure moment in planning and adjuſting his future operations. Before he left the town, many proteſtant princes, with the elector of Saxony at their head, made him a viſit; and here it was, that meaſures were taken for the completion of the great work, which was to come on. What is yet more, this mighty plan was all reduced to form in one evening, though that evening was dedicated to feſtivity; for the elector of Saxony loved the enjoyments of the table above meaſure. Some minutes before ſupper, colonel Monro entered the room out of curioſity, and the king, who diſliked drinking, took him by the ſhoulder, and ſaid with a whiſper, *I wiſh, Monro, you could be maſter of the bottles and glaſſes to night, in the abſence of old major-general ſir Patrick Ruthven; but you want a ſtrength of head to relieve me on ſuch an occaſion.* Then turning round to the elector, he made a long encomium on the Scottiſh nation; and beckoning to colonel Hepburn, who ſtood in another part of the room, recapitulated the purport of his diſcourſe, and recommended him, Lumſdel, and Monro, to the elector's more immediate notice.

At length it was agreed on all hands, that as to purſue Tilly was only loſs of time, it was therefore more expedient, ſince the emperor and the catholic league could not pro-

duce

duce a freſh army very ſoon, to fall upon the reſpective dominions of certain popiſh princes, while their minds were ſtrongly impreſſed with terror. Before this great work could be undertaken, it was concluded neceſſary to employ part of the troops in ſecuring the princes of the houſe of Anhalt, as likewiſe the two dioceſes of Magdeburg and Halberſtadt; and then Guſtavus determined to march, in perſon, at the head of the reſidue of his army, even into Bavaria, if that were poſſible, with an intent to give laws, at the ſame time, as he went along, to the eccleſiaſtical electors, and the biſhops of Wurtzburg and Bamberg; and it was allotted the elector of Saxony to carry on the war in Luſatia, Sileſia, and Bohemia. What induced Guſtavus, who was then aſcending to the zenith of his power, and abſolute in his deciſions in the aſſembly at Halle, to aſſign this department, and in effect the high road which led to Vienna, to the elector of Saxony, has been a point beyond the power of moſt hiſtorians to explain fully; and many perſons have been the more perplexed in their conſiderations of it, inaſmuch as the great Oxenſtiern pronounced it to be a *falſe meaſure* *. Nevertheleſs, we ſhall ſpeak more amply concerning this difficulty hereafter, not in the leaſt to his Swediſh majeſty's diſhonour, but, on the contrary, very abundantly to his glory.

We will now for a moment turn to the unfortunate Tilly, who, reaching Halle in the beſt manner he could before break of day; ſent for the town-ſurgeon to dreſs his wounds, and make an inciſion into his contuſion, which then gave him inexpreſſible torments. Upon examining the bruiſed fleſh, the ſagacious operator pronounced the general's body to be *gefrorn*, that is to ſay, in other words, to have been rendered impenetrable by magical incantations, and taliſmanical ſignatures † ‡.

From Halle the Imperial commander fled to Halberſtadt in a litter, and there, having juſt ſufficient ſtrength to bear being placed on a horſe for a ſingle hour, made a review of his ſhattered troops, which amounted to 5000 cavalry, if we include ten cornetcies of horſe juſt arrived from Cologne, and ſome broken bodies of infantry; for the greater part of the army, concluding it more ſafe to adhere to Pappenheim, purſued another route under that officer's protection.

* Sueeum vincere, victoriâ uti neſciviſſe. Loccen. 587.

† *Swediſh Intelligencer.*

‡ Quod militiæ dehoneſtamentum quantum a Tillio abfuerit, ſciunt qui hominem novêre. *Brachel.* Hiſt. noſtr. temp. p. 266.

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The little handful of men reaſſembled at Halle expreſſed great joy to behold once more their aged general; who, when he arrived at Aſcherleben, diſpatched the Cologne regiment to join Pappenheim at Mansfelt, and ſupport his retreat. When Pappenheim received this reinforcement, it is aſſerted by ſome *, that he diſcovered very viſible ſigns of diſtaſte upon being ſo certainly aſſured, that the generaliſſimo was *living*. Be that as it may, Tilly in two days ſent four expreſſes to Aldringer, requeſting he would join him at his general rendezvous in the duchy of Brunſwick, which diſtreſſed unfortunate country he conſidered partly as his own; for the emperor had beſtowed upon him, by way of gratuity, a conſiderable part of the territories of the brave duke Chriſtian, who was alſo biſhop of Halberſtadt. From Aſcherleben he ſhaped his courſe through the dioceſe of Hildeſheim, and arrived, in ten days after the battle, at Alvede, a little town on the river Leyne, which afterwards runs through Hanover. This journey may be conſidered more as a flight than a march, for in that time he led his troops 140 miles.

The king of Poland had long lain in wait for the event of a deciſive battle; hoping, if Tilly had proved once ſucceſsful, to have recovered all that the Swedes poſſeſſed in Pruſſia. Matters taking a contrary turn, he thought proper to offer up his incenſe to the conquering party. His Daniſh majeſty made public rejoicings at Copenhagen; yet ſo deeply rooted was his jealouſy of Guſtavus, that he privately wiſhed well to the houſe of Auſtria. Guſtavus knew both theſe kings to the very bottom, and choſe to build upon their *fears* much rather than upon their compliments. On the other hand, the dukes of Brunſwick and Lunenberg were more explicit; and the prince of Anhalt, with all his family, made no ceremony of eſpouſing the cauſe of Sweden by public treaty; wherein it was declared by him, That, repoſing himſelf upon the protection of Guſtavus, his intention was to contribute his contingency towards the expences of the war, allowing the Swedes to erect fortifications wherever the king pleaſed, and conſtruct a bridge over the Elbe; towards the completing of which work he agreed to furniſh both men and money †. Guſtavus, moderate in proſperity, as well as undiſmayed in adverſity, received all theſe princes with thankfulneſs, and careſſed them all; and though the elector of Saxony after the battle, expected, as we obſerved before, but cold reception

* *Lettre d'un Capitaine*, &c. *à un ſien ami.*
† *Chemnitius*, tom. i. 179.

from

from a prince of ſo much valour, ſeverity, and frankneſs, yet our hero commended him for the infinite pains he took to rally his men, and for the ſenſible regret he manifeſted upon account of their miſbehaviour. The elector, charmed with a treatment ſo unexpected, vowed to follow the fortune of Guſtavus to his laſt moments, and offered the whole of his aſſiſtance to procure him to be elected king of the Romans. The Saxon generals and miniſters, who were moſt of them penſioners to the court of Vienna, ſoon however perſuaded their maſter to change his mind: nevertheleſs, to all outward appearance the two princes lived together in perfect cordiality, *manente in ſpeciem concordia.*

By this time, as a ſort of natural conſequence from the victory of Leipſic, Guſtavus began to diſcover, that civil affairs increaſed upon his hands, as well as the military; and for theſe reaſons ordered Oxenſtiern, who had been abſent from him ever ſince his arrival in Germany, to quit his warlike command in Pruſſia, and take upon him the office of director-general in the new-conquered countries; or, as others ſay, *legatus ab exercitu.* The chancellor ſet out immediately upon this charge, which ſeemed more ſuitable to his inclinations, and natural abilities; yet did not reach Halle till the king had croſſed Thuringia, and conquered great part of Franconia.

It was debated in the evening of the entertainment we have lately mentioned, by what methods, and through what inroads the Swediſh and Saxon troops ſhould invade the empire, and the allies of the Imperial family; proper departments being already aſſigned to the elector of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Heſſe, and the dukes of Mechlenburg. On both hands it was quickly agreed, that to purſue Tilly into Lower-Saxony would remove the ſeat of war too far from Vienna and Munich, and revive a new ſcene of diſtreſs and miſery among the proteſtant princes of that circle. This ſcheme therefore being conſidered as injudicious and chimerical, only two roads preſented themſelves, whereby it was poſſible to invade and annoy the houſe of Auſtria and the catholic league; namely, the *left-hand* paſſage by way of Bohemia, ſtraight to Vienna, which appeared at firſt ſight moſt practicable, as the road, except ſuch defiles and mountains as you find on the northern and ſouthern frontiers, was plain and wide, the country itſelf abounding in good proviſions of all ſorts; the Imperialiſts having prepared no troops in thoſe parts by way of oppoſition;—and the *right-hand* entrance into Thuringia, which might lead ultimately as far as Munich, but where many bye conqueſts were

to be made, and princes of various characters to be cajoled or threatened: added likewiſe, that the vaſt dreary foreſt of Thuringia, commonly called the *Duringer-Walt*, was to be croſſed; and laſtly, that the roads were narrow, winding, rocky in ſome places, and miry in others; eſpecially in and near Bavaria, which abounds in rivers and moraſſes.

The elector of Saxony not daring, or not chooſing to exaſperate the houſe of Auſtria more than was needful, frankly made the king an offer of reſigning to him the Bohemian paſſage into Auſtria, which Guſtavus poſitively rejected without aſſigning any reaſons. It is thought by many, that he entertained no high opinion of Arnheim's honeſty, and placed as little confidence in the elector's abilities or ſincerity. Nor was he ſatisfied, in caſe theſe difficulties could have been removed, that either Arnheim or his maſter were capable of reducing to obedience even the ſingle circle of Franconia, inaſmuch as Tilly, when he had once joined his troops with thoſe of Aldringer, Fugger, and the Lorainers, might return upon them, as neareſt to him, with great force, and give them, in all probability, a total overthrow. He ſaw too plainly in the day's ſervice at Leipſic, that the Saxon generals and ſoldiers, however well intentioned, could perform but little in oppoſition to the rough and well-ſeaſoned veterans of the Imperial army. For theſe reaſons, he thought it prudent to engage their honeſty no farther than his own eye could ſuperintend it, nor embark them ſo deeply, as to run the risk of ſacrificing the whole upon any miſcarriage on their part; concluding it more adviſable to keep them in breath by maintaining a diverſion, and inure them to an apprenticeſhip in war, before they ſate up for principals and maſters in ſuch a difficult profeſſion.—Having therefore well arranged and digeſted all theſe ideas in his own mind, he pronounced only the reſult of his private reaſonings to the aſſembly, declaring in a few words, That as the princes and orders of Sileſia had conſidered the elector of Saxony as the firſt protector of the proteſtant cauſe ever ſince the breaking out of the Bohemian troubles, it was highly incumbent on the elector to fix his footing in Sileſia, and then extend his conqueſt into Bohemia.——That for his own part, with the concurrence of his electoral highneſs, he had reſolved once for all to penetrate through Thuringia into Franconia, having already prepared every thing neceſſary for ſuch an expedition; being determined not only to allow a breathing-ſpace to the princes and ſtates of Upper-Germany, but to make the enemy a viſit in his own lodgings, and give Tilly a ſecond chance, if he thought proper to confront him in the field

of

of battle*. Thus ſpoke the king, and as no man replied, both the debate and the converſation ended, though the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, the dukes of Mechlenburg, and the princes of the houſe of Anhalt and Weimar were all preſent at this auguſt aſſembly.

About this time Chriſtian, margrave of Culmbach, entered into a *confederation* with his majeſty upon the ſame footing as that which had been concluded with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, whereto the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg afterwards acceded. This gave the Swedes great credit in the circle of Suabia. The biſhop of Bamberg † made a pretence too of copying their examples, and ſaved himſelf for that time by a mean act of equivocation: but the Swedes remembered him at a more convenient ſeaſon, ſo that upon the whole he loſt the reputation of a man of honour, and gained nothing but the character of a diſſembler, who weakly attempted to overreach a prince of ſuperior talents.

The king then diſpatched Chemnitz‡, and another deputy, named Relinghen, to the margrave of Brandenburg's‖ place of reſidence. From Bareüth he inſtructed them to go forwards and ſound the intentions of the Nurenbergers, and other proteſtants, with orders to uſe both kind words and menaces. Chemnitz acquitted himſelf very well in the embaſſies, but the Nurenbergers at firſt had not courage to make any declarations againſt the houſe of Auſtria: for indeed they had only juſt tranſmitted a paper of allegiance to Aldringer, ſealed and ſigned in due form by the whole body of their patricians. Poppy alſo, an Imperial deputy who then reſided at Amberg, conſtantly reminded them of this ſolemn engagement; ſo that the moſt they offered was a ſpecies of neutrality, upon which the king wrote them a letter with his own hand, obſerving, *That he ſaw through the ſurfaces of their hearts the Imperial intereſts in full proportion and diſtinctneſs at bottom; and that the middle courſe, which they propoſed to ſteer, was calculated upon no other principle, than to amuſe and deceive him.* "*For my own part,*" continued he, "*I look upon all neutralities with an eye of contempt, and ſhall treat neutral proteſtants upon the footing of enemies, wherever I find them.*" This letter being read in the public ſenate-houſe,

* *Chemnitius*, tom. i. p. 180.

† John George de Dornheim, elected 1622, died 1633.

‡ This was not the hiſtorian, but one Martin Von Chemnitz, a privy-counſellor.

‖ Chriſtian, Margrave of Brandenburg.

in preſence of an aſſembly of 200 patricians, either terrified them into reaſon, or ſerved as a pretext to juſtify them for quitting the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria. Upon this the whole magiſtracy unanimouſly inclined to the cauſe of Sweden, and ſigned afterwards a treaty of alliance in conjunction with the other orders and ſtates of the circle of Franconia. Chemnitz then received freſh inſtructions to continue at Nurenberg, and the other deputy went on to Ulm, and thence to Guntzburg, in which journey, being by profeſſion a captain of horſe, he fell, with his little eſcort, on an Imperial commiſſary, guarded by a body of twenty muſqueteers, and having killed the officer with a piſtol-ball, carried along with him to Straſburg the ſtrong box, containing upwards of a thouſand pounds, and generouſly applied the whole ſum to his maſter's ſervice.

Meanwhile the king, conformably to his late plan, it being only ten days after the battle of Leipſic, advanced at the head of his army to make himſelf maſter of Erfurt, a large city in the famous foreſt of Thuringia, dependant by dubious and diſputable tenure on the elector of Mentz *, which prelate was the firſt prince of the catholic league, againſt whom Guſtavus thought proper to begin hoſtilities. Before it was poſſible for him to demand admiſſion, a body of delegated magiſtrates reſpectfully told him, that he was extremely welcome to make his reſidence among them in *perſon*, but begged to be excuſed from admitting a garriſon. His anſwer was, *That he came as a friend, and not as an enemy: and more for their advantage than his own; that it was never his cuſtom to make ſtrangers his guards, and place himſelf in ſuch a ſituation as to be obliged to receive laws from other men*; *Alterius non ſit, qui ſuus eſſe poteſt.* Theſe were the very words he made uſe of on the occaſion; and upon the departure of the ſenators, he ordered duke William of Saxe Weimar, under pretence of eſcorting them with a body of horſe, to take poſſeſſion of the city at the ſame time that they entered. He then told the inhabitants in a long ſpeech, which may be conſidered not only as a public juſtification of himſelf for entering Germany, but as a pattern of chriſtian magnanimity, and religious moderation: That the public might be curious to be informed of what nature thoſe motives were, which induced him firſt to interpoſe in the Germanic ſyſtem.

* Frederick Greiffenclau, biſhop of Worms; elected by the chapter 1626 in the room of John Suicard, whoſe family name was Cronenberg.

For the various claims and pretenſions to Erfurt the reader may conſult *La Geographie de Hubner*, tom. vi. p. 258.

"*I em-*

"I embark," said he, "in a war, far from my native dominions, and seem to court those dangers and difficulties, which another man might labour to decline; but the Searcher of the human heart well sees and knows, that it was neither ambition, that tempted me, nor the avarice of extending my dominions, nor the appetite of fighting, nor the mischievous temper of loving to interfere in my neighbours concerns. Other object I had none, than to support the afflicted and oppressed, to maintain the religious and civil rights of society, and bear my testimony against a tyranny over the whole human race. The Supreme Being hitherto has conferred upon me the marks of a providential concurrence, and has rendered me the willing, but unworthy instrument of restoring liberty both corporeal and mental to the late unhappy inhabitants in the various provinces of Lower-Germany. Let us, my friends, always remember, that in this general wreck of mankind, no one interested person must propose to glean any ruins to himself, nor sit, abjectly, lamenting, with folded arms, when the helm requires one man, when the anchor asks a second, and the sails a third. As is well known, I solicited for peace before my army entered Germany; I asked for it a second time very near the period of the inhuman massacre at Magdeburg; and am open to receive it now, even fourteen days after the decisive victory of Leipsic.——The instinct of God prompts me still to continue amongst you, and the necessity of things, in the first chain of which I had no concern, compels me to protect and make conditions for my allies, my kinsmen, and brethren in religion: nor will I ever desert them, till God resumes that existence, which at present he has thought fit to make my portion.—I acknowledge, with gratitude to the Supreme Being, that my mind is yet firm, and my body robust. I thank him likewise for having blessed me with no vulgar success, and for enduing me with abilities capable of applying that success to suitable purposes. Nevertheless, I am neither vain-glorious in my past prosperities, nor inapprehensive of the future frowns of Providence. It is certain too, that I contend with an army of veteran troops, rendered masters of their profession by experience, and sharpened afresh by disappointment and despair: and besides all this, it is a point incontestable, that war, in the very best hands, is a game of uncertainty.——If I oppress any man, merely through the necessity of affairs, it is I that feel, as well as he:——if I request you to receive a garrison, and expend some money in new fortifying your city, it is because I would make good that protection which I sincerely promise you. It has never been my custom first to conquer, and then enslave; and of this the town of Riga is an irrefragable instance. You may repose on the sincerity of my protection when I assure you, that I intend to leave among you, as a pledge or depositum, the invaluable object of all my

affections in this world, and that is, the QUEEN OF SWEDEN*†.

His majesty, when the town-deputies met him between Halle and Erfurt, graciously gave them his word of honour to protect the liberties of the people, and not interrupt the established religion, with which the magistrates appeared highly contented. Being extremely delicate with regard to all imputations of subterfuge and retraction, he reduced his engagements, under nine distinct articles, into writing‡, which, being duly signed and sealed, gave such satisfaction to the principal inhabitants of the town and district, that they presented on their side a counterpart protestation, wherein, after having first obliged themselves, by oath, to continue faithful and obedient to him, his heirs, his crown and allies, during the whole period of this religious war, they engaged to defend their town *bona fide* against all hostile attacks; to attempt nothing to the detriment of his majesty's arms, but, on the contrary, to make discovery of all things, that tended to his prejudice; concluding with this general protest, that they enrolled themselves under the king's protection with submission and gratitude, sincerely, candidly, and irreproachably, in a manner befitting liberal persons, and men of honour‖.

The king, who always made the tour of every city the first leisure moment after he had conquered it, for he loved to *see* the populace, and found it his interest likewise to be *seen* by them, directed his steps, as some think by design, into the church of St. Peter, and meeting the abbot at his first entrance, requested him to advise his sovereign *to withdraw his troops from the army of the league, and not strengthen the enemies of the protestants. That for his own part he bore no ill-will to the electoral body, and should be greatly mortified, if necessitated to use them contrary to his intentions. That the emperor only, was his man and his object; and as the Imperial soldiers had robbed him of a beaver hat § in Pomerania, he was come thus far to recover it and carry it home***.

When the jesuits threw themselves at his feet, he raised them from the ground, and said, *They had much to answer for*

* *Chemnit.* tom. i. pag. 184—187.

† When her majesty arrived, the seat of war was removed so far from Erfurt, that the completion of the promise seemed entirely unnecessary.

‡ The author of the *Swedish Intelligencer* gives us twelve, part ii. p. 4.

‖ *Chemnit.* tom. i. 188.

§ See the rencounter between him and Sirot, in that officer's *Memoirs.*

** *Le Soldat Suedois*, p. 147.

before

before God's tribunal, on account of the commotions they had raiſed, and the blood they had occaſioned to be ſpilt throughout the world. That for his own part he was ſo far a jeſuit, *as to be able to comprehend, that their projects were ill-intentioned, their proceedings ſiniſter, and their maxims dangerous. That it would become them better to peruſe their breviaries, and handle their roſaries, in imitation of the decorum and moderation of other good catholic eccleſiaſtics, than to embroil themſelves in the intrigues of ſtate, and make the world a ſea of blood: exhorting them to continue in quiet, and adverti;e their brethren of this diſcourſe, ſince if they remained inactive, and in profound ſubmiſſion, ſtrict care ſhould be taken, that no perſon ſhould moleſt them* *.

Things being thus adjuſted and explained, he gave the papiſts aſſurances, that they had free liberty to continue, undiſturbed, in the exerciſes of their religion, or to ſell their eſtates and effects, and retire into what country they pleaſed; but as to ſuch, as had deſerted their places of abode without waiting for an explanation, he ſhould make no ſcruple to confiſcate their goods in order to fit up the manſion deſtined for the reception of his royal conſort. With regard to the proteſtant clergy, as likewiſe ſchoolmaſters and profeſſors in the univerſity, he placed them, with ſingular honour, under his own immediate protection, and exempted them from the hardſhip of quartering ſoldiers, or contributing in any ſhape towards the expences of the war. In reſpect to the catholic eccleſiaſtics, he contented himſelf with their ſolemn declaration, that they would no ways prejudice the Swediſh crown, nor the allies of Sweden. He then in the laſt place, having made a treaty with the dukes of Saxe-Weimar, appointed William, the elder brother, a prince extremely popular, and who had many connexions in thoſe parts, governor of the city and diſtrict of Erfurt, which contains about ſeventy-three pariſhes, and the whole province of Thuringia: nominating the count of Lowenſtein to be commander of the garriſon †, and referring all civil matters to Sternberg, who acted in the double capacity of judge and public miniſter. In like manner, ſome days before, he created Lewis, prince of Anhalt, ſtadtholder of Halle, and director of the duchy of Magdeburg, joining with him Stalman as chancel-

* *Le Soldat Suedois*, p. 148.

† The garriſon conſiſted of Fowle's Scottiſh regiment, conſiſting of 1500 men. For the preſervation of the province of Thuringia, were left behind, Courville's and Lowenſtein's regiments of cavalry; Mitzval's, Monro's, and Forbes's regiments of infantry, with four companies of foot, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Chemnitz; all veteran troops of eſtabliſhed reputation.

lor, and colonel Sneydwin * as military commander in the city, preciſely for the ſame reaſons; *cautiouſly avoiding to put native Swedes into ſuch employment, for fear of giving umbrage to the Germans.*

His majeſty now † turned all his thoughts towards the reduction of Franconia, a circle of more importance to the Imperialiſts than any other, as it afforded them means of reſiſting and retarding their aggreſſors, partly from the abundance of narrow defiles and difficult paſſes, and partly from the rocky and unequal nature of the ground in various places. Yet although one half of the country be wild, woody, and ſcantily peopled, which renders the march of an enemy highly diſagreeable, yet the other half, at the ſame time, vies with any tract or territory in the empire, both for populouſneſs of inhabitants, and for a plentiful ſupply of corn and forage: all which are reaſons why the Imperial troops ſhould not have evacuated that circle. Tilly had overſhot theſe objects in marching ſo precipitately to the north-weſt, which may be conſidered as a *ſignal overſight*; for on his return to relieve Wurtzburg, he found Guſtavus had adjuſted his game in ſuch a manner, that he had reſerved to himſelf the power of ſtarving the Imperialiſts, and declining an engagement.

The king, partly to extend his conqueſts, and partly to ſubſiſt his army, which conſiſted of 20,000 effective men, through the fatigues of a long and painful march, where proviſions were to be obtained with difficulty, and the roads were deep and miry, judged extremely well to divide his forces into two bodies, in order to croſs, with greater conveniency, the vaſt foreſt of Thuringia, which had few villages, and only here and there a market-town, or city. The column, which took the right-hand road, was committed to the care of Bauditzen, as commander in chief, and colonel Hepburn. Bauditzen made himſelf maſter of Smalcalden, Meinungen, Newſtadt, Hamelburg, Gemund, and Carlſtadt, in his route. This general was as cool in reflection, and as brave in execution, as any officer under the king; but in money matters he was of a low rapacious temper ‡. Hence it was, that in order to

* He had been an old officer under the governor of Magdeburg.

† *i. e.* Fourteen days after the battle of Leipſic.

‡ He married Mademoiſelle Rantzau, a lady born in Holſtein, who (though a co-heireſs with three other ſiſters) brought him an extraordinary fortune, for that age and country; namely, £.16,000. ſterling.

ſqueeze

ſqueeze contributions from the inhabitants of the principal cities, through which his courſe laid, he conſented to quarter his ſoldiers in little dorps and open fields; and thus, in a march of only eight days *, he contrived to put five thouſand pounds in his pocket without the privity of his royal maſter; nor did he give a ſingle dollar to the brave Hepburn, and ſuch other officers as acted under him; probably, indeed, they would not have taken it. When the king heard the ſtory, he thought proper to remove him to a more remote command in Pomerania, partly from abhorrence of ſuch practices, and partly becauſe the troops proteſted they did not care to ſerve under ſuch a general. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be obſerved, upon the whole, that the land officers in that age dealt a little too largely in prize-money; which hung like a dead weight on his majeſty's ſpirits, who wiſely foreſaw, when troops were warmly cloathed, well fed, and punctually paid, that ſuch kind of practices muſt in time ſubvert all diſcipline, all principle, and all military enthuſiaſm: for nothing renders ſoldiers ſo cruel, and ſo puſillanimous, as the love of money;

——— *Ibit, qui zonam perdidit, aiunt.*

Therefore it was with Guſtavus, a ſort of maxim, which he always threw out to his officers, as they ſtood round him; *That the ſcience of war was an humane and liberal profeſſion; and that he ever drew a line of partition between the man of ſervice and the ruffian; the hero and the Croatian.* Nor did the king in this exception lay any reſtraint on the freedom of his own conduct; for he, Pappenheim, Horn, Gaſſion, &c. were all men of very exact and regular lives, and ſo was Tilly, if we except his bigotry and cruelty at the ſiege of Magdeburg. They performed far greater exploits in the field, than "thoſe extraordinary heroes, whoſe immoralities," ſays an ingenious author †, "make almoſt as much noiſe as their victories."

* There is ſomething ſurprizingly rapid in Guſtavus's motions, even in bad roads, and at a time when he was encumbered with very heavy artillery. From a diary of this march it appears, that Banditzen croſſed the foreſt, twenty-ſeven miles, in two days; laid the third night at Meinungen, thirteen miles and a half; the fourth at Millerſtadt, thirteen miles and a half; the fifth at Newſtadt, thirteen miles and a half; the ſixth at Gemund, thirteen miles; the ſeventh at Carlſtadt, nine miles; and the eighth at Wurtzburg, nine miles. So that in this expedition he marched *one hundred and eleven miles and a half* in eight days, and received the capitulations of ſix conſiderable towns as he went along. He reached Wurtzburg, and took it before his lieutenant-general arrived.

† M. *Bayle*, under the article of Henry IV.

The morning his majeſty left Erfurt, he ſent a meſſage to the count of Schwartzenberg *, that he purpoſed to take a bed in his caſtle of Gunter near Arnſtadt, the enſuing evening. The nobleman was very uneaſy at this unexpected frankneſs, becauſe one of his anceſtors had done the Swedes great miſchief in a former war. He was weak enough to make his apologies on that head; but Guſtavus told him, with a ſmile and compoſure, *That he had nothing to fear, inaſmuch as his predeceſſor had acted like a man of honour and fidelity; and that he only deſired ſuch a brave and affectionate ſet of officers under himſelf.* During this viſit, a party, detached from the main army, took Gotha by ſurprize; and the king diſpatched letters of accommodation to the two principal perſonages of the catholic league in Franconia; namely, the biſhops of Wurtzburg † and Bamberg. He then, having refreſhed his men a little at Ilmenau, croſſed the Duringer-Walt; and as the troops broke up their quarters early, and reached them late, the road they were to take was illuminated mornings and nights with matches faſtened to trees, and lanterns erected on poſts ſtationed at proper diſtances. The difficulties of carrying the artillery through this foreſt, as appeared plainly to me at the time I croſſed it, were ſufficient to have diſmayed any general leſs enterpriſing than Guſtavus. Nevertheleſs, he ſurmounted the rocks and hills, ſteered his courſe dexterouſly along the precipices, and glided between the thick woods in ſo ſerpentine and judicious a manner, that he reached the ſouth-weſt boundaries of this wild or foreſt on the third evening; having preſented himſelf as he paſſed along, before the ſtrong caſtle of Masfelt, which being ſince diſmantled, now is a heap of ruins, whilſt an advanced party of his light-horſe had the good fortune to ſeize Dacoſta, governor of the fortreſs, and commiſſary over the diſtrict round it, who at that time, like a vigilant warrior, was amuſing himſelf in courſing a hare. In conſequence of ſuch unparalleled careleſſneſs on the part of the commander, this important ſtrong-hold ſurrendered to the conqueror upon

* He or one of the name had been the Imperial ambaſſador to England. He offended the French ambaſſador much at London, in 1622, by paying his compliments to the Spaniſh ambaſſador firſt. Some of this nobleman's predeceſſors, their family names were Gunter, ſettled in England with the Saxons. This branch enjoyed conſiderable poſſeſſions in Berkſhire and elſewhere in the beginning of the laſt century. The chief of the family was created a prince in 1671; and the country has been ſince ſtyled a principality. The old Engliſh hiſtorians call the Gunters, *Guthrumni.*

† Francis Hatzfelt.

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eaſy terms. His majeſty purſued his journey next morning to Koënigſhofen; not the Koënigſhofen, which ſtands on the Tauber, for there are two towns of the name in the circle of Franconia, but that which belongs to the biſhop of Wurtzburg, and is the key to that dioceſe, and the dioceſe of Bamberg. As the numerous garriſons in the town and caſtle ſeemed to make preparations for no common reſiſtance, the king thundered upon them by break of day from ſuch batteries as he could erect the preceding night; for he wanted this town exceedingly, it being victualled for a twelve month's ſiege, which was no ſmall allurement to an hungry army. However during this momentary ſiege, whilſt his mind was kept upon the ſtretch of impatience, he gave the public a very particular example of humanity. Having battered down one of the principal towers, he ſent word to the garriſon, *That his intention was to lay the whole city in aſhes; but if they would ſend out the women and children, he would give them a courteous and hoſpitable reception**.

Struck with ſuch marks of benignity joined to a valour and firmneſs, which they had thoroughly experienced, the beſieged immediately capitulated without ceremony; though few places of the ſame ſize with Koënigſhofen, it being the magazine and arſenal of the dioceſe of Wurtzburg, as well as the principal fortreſs, could be ſuppoſed to be better furniſhed with ammunition, proviſions, arms, and artillery. In this ſuppoſed aſylum was depoſited great part of the wealth and rich moveables, that belonged to the nobility and gentry, who lived in the diſtrict round about it. One good regiment was left in the town by way of garriſon, and Erneſt, another prince of the houſe of Saxe Weimar, and brother to William and Bernard, was appointed governor. It was during this ſiege, that the king gave an extraordinary proof not only of his intrepidity, but that he imagined no ſoldiers, even thoſe belonging to the enemy, could be guilty of a cowardly and illiberal action. For riding up within half a muſquet-ſhot of the town-gate, after he had ſent a trumpeter to ſummon the garriſon to capitulate, he obſerved the guards blowing their matches to give fire againſt his perſon; *Sacrament* †, cried he, the only time

* *Soldat Suedois*, p. 151. *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 7.

† Though I cite this paſſage in the manner I find it, yet it is doubtful to me, whether the king made uſe of the ſort of oath, not uncommon in German mouths, which is here mentioned. It was remarked of him [*Merc. Fran. Tom. XVI.*] that far from digreſſing into any raſh oath in the ordinary courſe of converſation, he was rarely or never known to be betrayed into a ſingle expreſſion of that kind, even under the influence of paſſion, or when any extraordinary event ſurprized him; and as a proof of this, ſince it is hardly

time he was ever known to ſwear, *if you diſcharge one piece, the king ſhall know it; and he has made a vow, that in caſe ſuch an accident ſhould happen, not a ſingle ſoul ſhall receive quarter; but if you treat fairly, your own conditions ſhall then be granted you* *.

Next morning, for the ſiege and capitulation laſted only one day, his majeſty, willing to improve by the enemy's conſternation, and to verify what was ſaid of him, partly out of ſpite to Tilly, by the partiſans of Walſtein; *namely, that he conquered the firſt circle of the empire, before the expreſſes could carry the news of his irruption to the court of Vienna*; purſued his road to Sweinfurt very briſkly. He marched his army twenty-ſix miles in one day, three weeks after the autumnal equinox, and that, in ſpite of the hard ſervice of the day preceding, and the march the day before that, namely, from Schleüſſing to Koënigſhofen, which may be computed at twenty miles and a half.

In the ſpace of a ſingle hour, his majeſty inveſted Sweinfurt, and admitted the governor into a capitulation, allowing the garriſon to retire to Wurtzburg, and appointing Charles Harte commander of the town, at the head of a regiment well approved and thoroughly experienced. In the middle of the day's march to this place, an old Imperial captain with one eye, aſſiſted by ſuch reſolute peaſants as he could aſſemble, took poſſeſſion of a wooden houſe, that projected into the ſtreet of a little village or dorp, called Lauringen, through which place lay a narrow and difficult paſs, and ſtopped the whole van-guard of the Swediſh cavalry for a very conſiderable time, till at length the dragoons found themſelves obliged to diſmount, and cut this diminutive garriſon to pieces. When the king refreſhed himſelf at Lauringen ſome hours afterwards, and learnt what retardment had been occaſioned to his progreſs by the inflexible obſtinacy of a ſingle man, he vowed, with the view, as it is thought, to acquire the knowledge of ſome ſecrets, to put the *one-eyed* officer to death, for ſacrificing the poor peaſants, and making a reſiſtance, which favoured more of the madman than the ſoldier. In the tranſports therefore of his reſentment, he ſent for the provoſt-marſhal and the executioner; but neither one

hardly probable he would have counterworked his own example, it was a point of diſcipline with him, that whenever any ſoldier had been proved guilty either of curſing or ſwearing, he was condemned to ſtand for a conſiderable time, with his hands tied up againſt a pike in ſuch manner, as if he implored the divine forgiveneſs.

* *Appendix to the Swediſh Intelligencer*, part iii. p. 187.

one nor the other could be found *. During the time employed in theſe enquiries and ſearches, the captain contrived to make his peace with his majeſty, by informing him of the ſtrength of Wurtzburg, and the approaches that led to the fortifications: and thus the affair ended, with reciprocal ſatisfaction on either ſide.

The amazing rapidity of the king's conqueſts diſſolved immediately the catholic part of the aſſembly *then* convened at Franckfort upon the Mayne, it being agreed both by papiſts and proteſtants, that the ſword might cut through the difficulties of the *edict of reſtitution* much ſooner than the nice hands of the *jus-publiciſts* could pretend to unravel them. The firſt perſon that fled was the grand-maſter of the Teutonic order †, who ſate as preſident in this aſſembly, conſcious of an irreligious and unguarded ſpeech he had once made, namely, That the holy empire would never ſee a peaceable moment, till every proteſtant was maſſacred, who had arrived to the ſeventh year of his age. On this account he had no deſire to pay his compliments to a man of ſpirit like Guſtavus. Nor did the biſhop of Wurtzburg, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an uncommon zeal for the cauſe of the *league*, chooſe to receive a Swediſh viſit in his own metropolis; but diſlodging, juſt before the letter of ſummons reached the town, threw himſelf, boldly enough, into the army of the houſe of Auſtria, and for this reaſon, in the month of January following, was ſent ambaſſador into France in the name of all the catholic electors.

The biſhop of Bamberg, who had parts inferior to this prelate, and leſs firmneſs, ſheltered himſelf, as perſons of little minds are apt to do, under the low arts of duplicity and evaſion. Having agreed by his deputies, according to his own propoſals, not only to advance the king three tons

* *Chemnit.* tom. i. This very circumſtance ſerves to confirm us, that the king's anger was only aſſumed; for there were four provoſts and an executioner then belonging to every regiment that acted under him. Nor is it to be ſuppoſed, that he, who never committed one act of cruelty in all his campaigns, ſhould have put to death a brave old Walloon, who at that very inſtant was mortally wounded. Well knowing, that the man deſpiſed ſimple death as much as himſelf, he choſe to operate upon him by propoſing a ſort of exit which carried with it an idea of diſgrace; and counterfeited anger for a few moments, in order to palliate and juſtify a reſolution, to the poor man's apprehenſion, which would otherwiſe have argued an inſenſibility in the heart, and an obliquity in the judgment of the great Guſtavus.

† John Caſpar, prince of Anhalt: ſee the *Court Regiſter of Vienna*, Anno 1632. *Hiſt. or Authentic Relat.* in Low Dutch, fol. tom. i. 126. *Hiſt. du Regne de Louis XIII. par le Vaſſor.* tom. vii. p. 54.

of

of gold *, and pay the ſame monthly contingent he paid the army of the *league*, but to recal his forces from the catholic ſervice, and deliver up the ſtrong fortreſſes of Forcheim and Cronach; he ſuddenly, upon the approach of Tilly, renounced all that he had ſtipulated. This infamous violation of faith gave the king not only vexation, but new employment, and obliged him to detach Horne from the main army in order to carry on a freſh war in the epiſcopal territories.

Guſtavus by this time was greatly pleaſed to find himſelf within one day's march of the town of Wurtzburg. Nevertheleſs, he had a previous work ſtill upon his hands, a nice point of the higheſt importance to him, an adopted favourite idea in one branch of his military ſyſtem; that was, to ſecure the *free navigation of rivers*, and the Mayne eſpecially, at the preſent conjuncture; for it was a doctrine with him, as war was *then* circumſtanced, few towns being fortified ſo as to make more than a fortnight's reſiſtance, That the general, who commanded the great rivers, commanded more or leſs the countries adjacent; poſſeſſing himſelf of the moſt fruitful tracts in corn and herbage, enabled to receive proviſions from remote territories, and tranſport his heavy artillery with no conſiderable difficulty. *I obſerve*, ſaid he, and the obſervation was true at the time, *that countries are conquered* upon the ſame principle they were firſt peopled, *the method of* war *and the method of* nature *being in theſe caſes the ſame. Rivers are the great ducts and arteries in the ſyſtem of the world. On the banks of rivers ſtand always the richeſt and moſt populous cities; nor can a general be compelled to fight, when one half of his intrenchments is the beſt natural foſſe in the world ready made to his hands; namely, a large and deep body of water* †. Upon this principle therefore his majeſty, influenced by other reaſons above aſſigned, not to mention, that he choſe to have the Mayne between him and Tilly, commanded Bauditzen to purſue a ſeparate route on the banks of the river for the ſpace of thirty miles below Wurtzburg, himſelf directing his courſe the ſame number of miles on the banks of the ſame river above the town, for the Mayne here forms a ſort of an horſeſhoe, ſo that about one and the ſame time he and his lieutenant-general made themſelves maſters of Haſfurt, Gemund, Lohr, Volkach, Kitzing, Oxenfurt, Remlingen, and Carlſtadt, all places of importance, which

* About twenty-ſeven thouſand pounds ſterling.
† *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 3.

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commanded the navigation of the Mayne. Nor were theſe precautions unworthy of Guſtavus; for Tilly, by this time being joined by Aldringer, Fugger, and the troops of Lorrain, advanced full ſpeed at the head of 50,000 men, in order to ſtop or raiſe the ſiege of Wurtzburg. The king, contented with poſſeſſing the bridges and paſſes, and not diſpleaſed with placing ſo deep a river as the Mayne between himſelf and his enemy, purſued his journey to Wurtzburg without diſmay, and having inveſted the city, and *petarded* one of its gates before nine in the morning, received a viſit from father Ogleby, abbot of the Scotch monaſtery, and a citizen, whom the magiſtracy had deputed to ſign terms of capitulation with him. Of courſe all hoſtilities were ordered to ceaſe, and articles were agreed upon without delay, upon the plan of thoſe which had lately been concluded at Erfurt.

The rich and populous city of Wurtzburg lies in a ſemicircle, of which the Mayne forms the diameter. The town, in point of ſtrength, was *no great object*, ſo that the magiſtrates ſent the keys by Ogleby, after a very ſlight reſiſtance: during which, the Bohemian colonel Schevaliſki, an officer of great repute, was ſtruck in the ſide by an *arquébuſe à croc*, as he was making ſome remarks to Guſtavus. The caſtle called Marienberg was *really ſomething*. It ſtands to the weſtward of the city, and communicates with it, by means of a fine large bridge, conſiſting of ſix arches, and wide enough to admit threeſcore men to march in front. It is miſtreſs of the city beneath it, and is commanded by no adjacent hill. Being looked upon as inacceſſible, all the wealth of the country was heaped up in it. The only approach was on the ſide of the city, and that was extremely hazardous. The garriſon conſiſted of a thouſand men, abundantly ſupplied with ammunition and proviſions for a ſiege equal in duration to that of Oſtend. His majeſty ſent captain Keller, the commandant, the general compliment which happens at the beginning of all ſieges; namely, a polite offer of honourable terms, in caſe he thought fit to ſurrender. The brave German received the Swediſh deputies with great civility, and gave them a handſome ſupper at the beſt inn in the town; but perſiſted inflexible againſt all their propoſals, and during the courſe of the repaſt blew up one arch of the bridge. Next morning he tormented the aſſailants above meaſure by a perpetual diſcharge of artillery, which, to make it ſtill worſe, raked the bridge from one end to the other; ſo that, as the Swedes could only place one plank over the broken arch, and that plank was

forty-eight feet above the ſurface of the water, there ſeemed to be a mixture of wantonneſs and raſhneſs to attempt to paſs over it. Guſtavus ſeemed irreſolute for ſome moments what to do, for Tilly and the duke of Lorrain were in full march againſt him, at the diſtance of only three days journey from Wurtzburg. After a ſlight pauſe he cut the dilemma ſhort, as Bauditzen and his army were expected to arrive the next day, by determining to take the caſtle at all hazards; and with this view employed one Ramſay, who talked excellent German, a Scots lieutenant in the regiment of Sir James Ramſay, to paſs over the plank in diſguiſe, and procure a boat or two from the neighbouring peaſants and fiſhermen: for the king ſaw plainly, that the watry ordeal of paſſing the plank would be extremely ſlow and hazardous, and that one company of Keller's men, poſted on the oppoſite ſide of the bridge, would overturn his ſingle ſoldiers as faſt as they arrived. He foreſaw too, that the uncommonly dangerous, and, to hardened veteran troops like his, ridiculous nature of the paſſage would engage the whole army's attention very unprofitably, as it might turn a ſerious attack into a ſort of military pantomime. Nevertheleſs, the honeſt North-Briton, undertook his commiſſion with great cheerfulneſs; but as he was endued with more courage than foreſight, he forgot to change a fine waiſtcoat, which the Imperialiſts ſoon diſcovered. Thus was he thereby made priſoner; nor did he recover his liberty till the caſtle of Marienberg was taken by ſtorm. Other expedients were found out, and a boat at length arrived, in which Guſtavus ſent over handfuls of men by little and little, who made a lodgment, and increaſing imperceptibly, defended themſelves ſo well, that though Keller deſcended from his eminence to the foot of the rock, he found it impoſſible to force them. After a ſharp engagement, the beſieged mounted a half moon about mid-way up the precipice, and in that ſituation night came on. Before this, when the Swediſh ſoldiers in the town ſaw their comrades had croſſed the water, and began to entrench themſelves, they run over the plank like men poſſeſſed; ſo that no inconſiderable body of troops paſſed the river one by one in the afternoon *. At night care was taken to repair this paſſage in a better manner; but the king could not ſpare a moment's leiſure for that purpoſe the preceding day, waiting the arrival of Bauditzen, and being in ſome ſuſpence about Tilly.

Having now fixed his footing on the ſouth ſide of the Mayne,

* For the minute circumſtances of this ſiege, ſee *Chemnitz*, tom. i. 192. *Mem.* c, part ij. p. 78, &c. and *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 10—15.

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he began to ſtudy the fortifications of Marienberg* with great attention, ſoon perceiving, that nature had done wonders, and art but little, if we except a deep *graff* or moat hewn out of the ſolid rock, which environed the caſtle, and of ſuch a depth and breadth, that there was no croſſing it, but in front of the main fortifications by means of a narrow drawbridge. If this foſsè, and the works that protected the drawbridge, had been out of the queſtion, the caſtle was nothing more than a magnificent Gothic palace, flanked at the angles with four principal towers in the antient taſte. Upon one of theſe towers, the king thundered all that night and two ſucceſſive days, reaſonably expecting, that the fall of this antique ſtructure might fill the ditch with rubbiſh and ruins. The event, though the tower was at length levelled, did not anſwer the idea which he had formed. Removing therefore the intended attack from that quarter, he fixed his whole attention, the line of circumvallation being now finiſhed, firſt on the half-moon abovementioned, and then on the caſtle gate and ſtone bridge over the ditch. In the firſt of theſe attacks, ſir James Ramſay, for the Scots, in conjunction with Axel Lily's regiment, had the honour of the action, had the misfortune to be ſhot through the left arm; but his companion, ſir John Hamilton, carried on the aſſault with unparalleled bravery, and in two hours this important outwork was taken The king ſurveyed the action at a few paces diſtance, peeping through the ruins of an old gateway between the bridge and the caſtle. Projecting his head and part of his body, to iſſue his orders more diſtinctly, a cannon ball flew directly towards him, and covered him with mortar and rubbiſh. He then ſtepped out to give ſome additional directions, and a muſquet bullet ſtruck the top of his buff leather glove, and tore it off his hand. Scheffer aſſures us, that at this ſiege, fighting, in one attack, at the head of his men, he received an ugly wound in the fleſhy part of his breaſt, and that the waiſtcoat ſtained with royal blood is ſtill preſerved in Sweden†.

Next morning he determined, at the head of his troops‡ to make a ſecond general attack, ſword in hand, one hour before break of day, allotting this honour to Axel Lily's regiment, and the old blue brigade, ſupported afterwards by the whole body of Swediſh and German infantry, having firſt ſent a trumpeter to Keller, with propoſals of ſuch a nature as might be liſtened to by a brave commander and a reſolute

* *Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation*, in Low Dutch, tom. i. fol. 145.
† *Memorabilia Suec. Gentis*, p. 95.
‡ *Merc. Franc.*

garriſon;

garriſon; but the governor had no ear for an accommodation. Chance very often produces wonderful events to the reſolute and determined; or, in other words, in certain enterpriſes of extreme peril, unforeſeen accidents preſent themſelves; but their paſſage is ſo ſwift, and their exiſtence ſo ſhort, that only the intrepid or the ſagacious man can ſeize them flying.

In the midſt of the beſiegers' preparations, and about half an hour before the general attack, a Swediſh lieutenant, born of Scottiſh parents *, with only ſeven followers †, for what reaſons cannot be gueſſed, approached, in the dark, the drawbridge leading into the outward court of the caſtle, wherein were lodged near two hundred Imperialiſts. Being challenged, according to the word of the night, and aſked, who he and his party were, he replied abruptly and naturally, without any ſcheme or foreſight, *That they were Swedes:* whence may be fairly imagined, he had never prepared himſelf to return an anſwer to ſuch ſort of queſtions; being a hero better calculated for blows than diſcuſſions. Upon this, the officer, who commanded the party within, immediately attempted to draw up the bridge, but the Life-lander jumped upon it with an extraordinary effort of activity, and his companions followed him: in conſequence whereof, the enemy were ſtruck with a ſudden panic, which darkneſs contributed to increaſe, and fell back with ſome confuſion, ſuppoſing great numbers to be ruſhing in. The lieutenant called loudly to a large body of Swedes, ſtationed at no great diſtance from him; and thus the outward court of the caſtle was ſecured in an inſtant. Of courſe the fortreſs of Marienberg was now, as it were, taken: yet the king, who always had a great abhorrence to bloodſhed and tumultuous murder, made freſh ſignals of accommodation to the garriſon; but Keller continued inflexible to the very laſt. Some hundreds of Imperialiſts threw away their lives with uncommon obſtinacy, till at length the Swedes cried out in a rage, *Magdeburg-quarter, Magdeburg-quarter.* Amongſt the dead were found at leaſt twenty friars, who had occaſionally handled the pike and the muſquet. The commander, Keller, was taken priſoner ſword in hand, by colonel Torſtenſon ‡, who generouſly protected him, on condition, that he ſhould diſcover

* *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 14, &c.

† His majeſty hearing of this ſucceſs, entered, the *ninth* man, into the caſtle. Ibid.

‡ Leonard Torſtenſon, then general of artillery. He proved afterwards one of Guſtavus's moſt able ſucceſſors. The reader muſt be informed, that Monro, by miſtake, always calls him Richardſon.

a cer-

a certain ſecret vault hewn into the rock, where ineſtimable treaſures, in plate and money, were concealed. Great part of the wealth of the dioceſe was here depoſited, as alſo the ſum which the elector of Bavaria had ſent to Tilly in order to repair his ſhattered army after the unfortunate defeat at Leipſic. Corn and proviſions were found in abundance, and a very large quantity of wine*. An equerry belonging to the biſhop made freſh diſcoveries, and amongſt other things, gave information of a certain coffer, well filled with ducats, which Guſtavus had an idea of appropriating to the uſes of his own privy purſe; but its weight in the removal burſt the bottom; and as the ſoldiers caſt a longing eye on theſe glittering reliques, and began to pick them up for their maſter's uſe, with a private view to ſecrete here and there a few for themſelves, the king made a merit of neceſſity, and ſaid with a loud laugh, *I ſee plainly it muſt be ſo: let the rogues convert them to their own property* †.

Having allowed his ſoldiers to plunder, with moderation, for the ſpace of one hour, he reſerved nothing for his own uſe but the fine library of books, which was ſent to the univerſity of Upſal ‡, by way of repriſal upon Tilly, who had tranſported the Palatine collection to the Vatican, as alſo the biſhop's magnificent ſervice of plate, and a ſtable of horſes, thought ſuperior to any in the empire: beſides the artillery, which amounted to thirty large pieces, and all the ſmall arms, being a quantity ſufficient to furniſh at leaſt 7000 men. It may be worth remarking, that amidſt all this ſcene of bloodſhed, confuſion, and plunder, not a nun was violated, though the nuns had taken refuge in this aſylum from all parts of the dioceſe ‖, not a matron affronted, nor a child frightened; the king's orders being expreſsly to the contrary: and what may alike merit obſervation, all the valuable effects, in the vault, belonging to the inhabitants of the city, were reſtored to them. Free exerciſe of the Romiſh religion was granted to all that made profeſſion of it, and a new chamber of juſtice was erected, conſiſting of twelve

* Honeſt Ferrand Spence, who worked in the bookſeller's manufactory of the laſt century, in tranſlating *Du Prade's Life of* Guſtavus, having heard ſomething of the common random accounts of Germ n hard-drinking, conceived a reſolution to ſtock the biſhop's cellars very copiouſly; for he ſays there were found in them ſome *millions of pipes of wine*, [*quelques milliers de tonneaux de vin.*]

† *Riccius de Bellis Germanicis.*

‡ *Schefferi Memorab.* 149, 150.

‖ *Mercure François*, ii partie du tome xvii. p. 78.

members, half proteſtants and half papiſts; half gentlemen, and half civilians.

Two other circumſtances, which took their riſe from this ſiege, muſt not be omitted. Hamilton was ſo offended, that the Scottiſh ſoldiers had not the honour of conducting the laſt aſſault, that he demanded his diſmiſſal from Guſtavus, who immediately allowed it: ſecondly, when the king entered the caſtle, the very inſtant after it was ſtormed, he perceived, that the pavement of the court-yard was all covered with ſeemingly dead men; but, inſpecting them more narrowly, diſcovered that ſome of the men, who did not care to be quite ſo much in earneſt as their commander, looked very florid in the countenance. Being by this time convinced, that part of the number only counterfeited death, he commanded them, with a cheerful accent of voice, *to ariſe, for their lives were ſafe.* In conſequence, a conſiderable number ſtarted up from the ground, and returned his majeſty their beſt acknowledgments.

Upon taking Wurtzburg and ſeveral other Roman catholic towns, ſome of the king's generals perſuaded him to lay heavy contributions on the citizens for making profeſſion of an erroneous and perſecuting religion. His anſwer upon theſe occaſions was always to one effect: *It is now* my *city, and appertains no longer to the enemy. I came to* unfetter *the conſciences of my fellow-creatures, and not to* enſlave *them. Let free beings live as beſt pleaſes them, conformably to their antient habits. I change no religious laws to thoſe who act conſiſtently with ſuch as they have hitherto profeſſed*;—a new, though a better ſhoe, may pinch too much at firſt. He ſometimes added, *that papiſts and proteſtants, ſuppoſing them ſincere in their ſearch after truth, and in its practice, were all God's workmanſhip.* In effect, when he conquered a country, the Romaniſts loſt nothing but their prince, which ſome did not greatly regret; and the proteſtants regained the free exerciſe of their religion. Thus one party was tranſported with joy, and the other felt very little ſorrow. The humane and prudent deportment of Guſtavus recals to my mind a ſimilar piece of conduct in one of his predeceſſors, and that no leſs perſon than Theodoric, king of the Goths, who ſhared the Roman empire with Juſtinian. A ſtrange and remote example, mankind may be apt to ſay! and yet not unworthy of being produced on this occaſion; for in one of his reſcripts he expreſſes himſelf preciſely thus: *Aliorum forte regum prælia captarum civitatum prædas appetunt aut ruinas: nobis*

propoſitum eſt, Deo juvante, ſic vincere ut ſubjecti ſe doleant noſtrum dominium tardius acquiſiſſe *.

His Swediſh majeſty, if we conſider how zealouſly the biſhop of Wurtzburg † had appeared againſt him, ſent him terms upon the reduction of Marienberg, which were neither ſevere nor ungenerous, ſince it was only propoſed, that he ſhould pay the proteſtant army the ſame contingent that he had ſubſcribed to the forces of the league, in the like proportions as he had contributed formerly, and at the ſame times of payment. In conſequence of this, he was likewiſe to diſclaim all connexions with the king's enemies, and redeem his territories from plunder at the expence of ſomething more or leſs than thirty-ſix thouſand pounds. Hatzfield, the then biſhop, profeſſed to enter into a fair and candid accommodation; but it was only a pretext to gain time till Tilly, who was then only at nine miles diſtance, could take ſome opportunity to croſs the Mayne, and drive Guſtavus out of Franconia.

Before we leave Wurtzburg, it may not be improper to obſerve, that ſir Henry Vane was admitted to his firſt audience ‡ with Guſtavus in this place, though the German, French, and Italian hiſtorians all ſuppoſe their firſt conference to have been held at Francfort. This new negotiator appeared to many but poorly qualified for the embaſſy he was engaged in, inaſmuch as he was a perfect iſlander, and fulfilled to a tittle Barclay's obſervation upon us in the Euphormio, "*Angli ſua ſuoſque impensè mirantur, cæteras nationes deſpectui habent.*" Of courſe, which is a practice not uncommon to weak minds, he proceeded upon principles diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of his predeceſſor, ſir Thomas Roe, who was a man of a ſolid and enterpriſing genius; whilſt Vane, on the other hand, was of a haughty and teaſing temper. *Neſcivit, quod bene ceſſit, relinquere;* inſolent and national, narrow-minded, and prejudiced to the higheſt degree. Hence it was that Guſtavus *hated* him for his prejudices in home affairs, and *deſpiſed* him for his weakneſſes in foreign ones. He was a navigator, who ſailed by no general wind in the ocean of politics, but affected to lie becalmed in the briſkeſt gales; veering a little, or advancing a little, juſt as the breath blew from the court of Whitehall; which, as it was well known at that time, rarely did more than diſturb the ſurface

* *Caſſiodor.* lib. iii. epiſt. 43.

† Philip Adolphus de Ehrenberg, elected December 29, 1622, died 1631, when Francis Hatzfield was choſen.

‡ November 7, 1631. See his letters in the *Paper-Office.* MSS.

of the water; ſufficient to render objects indiſtinct and muddled, but not forcible enough to purify and make them clear. Roe, by dint of judgment, and without gueſs-work, knew this politician to a tittle; and though ſome acrimony may be allowed him, as Vane ſupplanted him by mean court artifices in the continuance of his embaſſy to Guſtavus, yet in his letter * to the queen of Bohemia he ſpeaks the words of good ſenſe, and manly reſentment; for he pronounces Vane *to be a bold undertaker*; by which expreſſion, he means no more than a ſervile and fooliſh one. "I know," ſays he, "he cannot build upon my foundations.——This blow came from Vienna, upon new pretences, that the proſperity of the king of Sweden would make our treaty eaſy, with reſpect to the Palatinate, if a man were employed, that would advance *peace*, to which I was eſteemed an enemy. I have honour enough in the ſincerity of my negotiations, and that God hath bleſſed me, and made me the inſtrument; though I boaſted not, until another would take my honour of bringing the brave king into Germany †; ——which I would rather have *inſcribed on my tomb*, than titles dearly bought with the loſs of honour."

To comprehend theſe two miniſters' conduct and characters more diſtinctly, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that Roe, who had ſerved an apprenticeſhip in the arts of foreign negotiation, and, conſiſtently with the intereſts of his own country, had contented the kings of Denmark and Sweden, one the moſt *experienced* prince in Europe, and the other the moſt *able*, was a ſincere, ſolid, and ſenſible man, cool and compoſed in doubtful matters, but warm, fiery, enterpriſing, and undiſmayed in affairs of importance. Such an ambaſſador was not born under an horoſcope that agreed with the temper of the king and his miniſters at *that* time, who, as they wanted courage to tread the *open road*, weakly and timo-

* Dated London, November 20, 1631. MS.

† He has ſaid more in other letters to this effect. "I have received the incloſed from the chancellor of Sweden, wherein I have honour enough done me, that I was the agent to bring that brave king into Germany." *To lord Dorcheſter, Aug.* 16, 1631.

And in another to Mr. Lively at the Hague, 1631-2, *Febr.* 24. That he had received from the king of Sweden a preſent worth £. 2,500. with a letter from the chancellor of Sweden, wherein are inſerted theſe remarkable words; "Quæ inter nos mutuis colloquiis & diſcurſibus acta ſunt ratione belli a S.R. majeſtate, domino meo clementiſſimo, in Germaniam transferendi; cujus auctor & impulſor illuſtritas veſtra nomine ſereniſſimi regis ſui ſtrenuus extitit."

rouſly

rouſly purſued the bye one; hating the heroical parts of war ſo much, that it was common for them, by way of deriſion, to call Guſtavus the *dragoon king**.

Such was the uniform language of the Engliſh court: for ſir Toby Matthew†, in a letter of March 25, from London, to ſir Henry Vane, inſerts therein the following paſſage; "Yeſternight I waited at ſupper on my good lord of Carliſle, your true friend; and there we had ſir Jacob Aſhley at large. He ſeems a very worthy gentleman, and a great lover of my lord marquis, of Hamilton, and you: he ſpeaks highly well of the courage and other both intellectual and experimental abilities of the king of Sweden: *but I have heard no wiſe man ſay any ſuch thing yet of that prince, as may totally exclude covetouſneſs, and arrogancy, and inordinate ambition from him*‡."

Vane therefore was a perſon formed expreſsly by nature to ſuit the purpoſes of an adminiſtration, which relied wholly upon mean and temporary expedients. Roe was for giving Guſtavus conſiderable ſums of money, well knowing he would earn them nobly. Vane profeſſed to withhold all pecuniary aſſiſtance, and propoſed the tranſportation of Britiſh troops, which the king of Sweden never expected to arrive. Roe, by Oxenſtiern's own acknowledgment, brought Guſtavus into the empire; Vane, by the uniform tendency of his actions, repined at his glory, and wiſhed him reconveyed to his regions of the north. Roe was eſteemed by the king, and beloved by Oxenſtiern; the former of which diſliked Vane, and the latter ſhunned him.

This phenomenon of a miniſter, furniſhed, as himſelf owns, with inſtructions of *hearing* rather than *propoſing*‖,

* Letter from the earl of Carliſle to ſir Henry Vane. *Paper Office.*

† Sir John Suckling in his *Seſſion of the Poets* has characterized this infant politician to the life. He embraced the religion of the church of Rome about the thirtieth year of his age, and was called from his travels, in 1621, to aſſiſt James I. in matters of politics; was knighted for his zeal towards the Spaniſh match, and attended lord Strafford in Ireland as political director.

‡ With reſpect to *covetouſneſs*, the king ſolemnly declared before all his officers, and they were judges of the truth of his aſſertion, that he had not ſecreted to himſelf a ſingle pound, from the commencement of the war till the month of Auguſt 1632, but, on the contrary, had expended *de proprio* £. 360,000. ſterling, a ſum no ways inconſiderable in thoſe days.—As to *arrogance*, except *that* be confounded with a right ſenſe of indignities from crowned heads, &c. we have proved him in every part of his life to be more condeſcending and affable than any of his generals.—Laſtly, as to *ambition*, poſterity muſt be left in doubt, ſince he never lived to ſhow what his ultimate views were.

‖ The following narrative is extracted from his own diſpatches. Ibid.

landed at Hamburg in the month of October 1631; and there received the news of the famous victory at Leipſic. As he was comptroller of the king's houſhold, and a member of the privy-council, it was thought proper to inveſt him with the character of ambaſſador extraordinary; but by his own accounts, he had no title to the qualification of plenipotentiary. The occaſion of ſending him took its birth from the wonderful proſperity of Guſtavus, and from ſome letters of his to the king and marquis of Hamilton, relative to that nobleman's expedition.

Vane employed twenty-five days in travelling from Hamburg to Wurtzburg; nor could he well perform the journey in leſs time, for the roads were difficult and dangerous, and flying parties of *marauders* * abounded ſo in every quarter, that it was neceſſary for him to provide a large retinue of horſemen, well mounted and completely armed; nor could he diſpatch an expreſs to Guſtavus or his generals without manifeſt hazard to the undertaker's life or liberty. He complains in a ſubſequent letter, the year enſuing, that he could not travel with a ſmaller retinue than fifty horſemen, nor expend leſs on the road than twenty pounds each day.

On the ſeventh of November 1631, he had the honour to be admitted to his firſt private audience, in which the king told him, That if his maſter wiſhed to bring about the reſtitution of the Palatinate ſincerely, and with good faith, he muſt afford him ſuch aſſiſtance, as juſtly merited the appellation of *royal*, and not only ſupply him with four or five tons of gold †, ſums far from being very important to a king of England ſo nearly concerned, if thoroughly in earneſt, but ſend too, early in the enſuing ſpring, a body of national troops, amounting at leaſt to 12,000 men: and then, Guſtavus added, that he would engage never to ſheathe his ſword, till the Palatinate ſhould be reconquered, and delivered back to the hands of its lawful poſſeſſor.

* According to ſtrict orthography, we ought to write *merodeurs*, and not *marauders*. The truth is, theſe partiſans took their name from a count de Merodé, a brutal and licentious officer in theſe wars, who was killed in a drunken quarrel by John de Wert. From this man's practice a plunderer and raviſher was ſurnamed *Merodiſta* by the Spaniſh and Italian ſoldiers, who ſerved then under the emperor: whence came the French word, *marauder*, which the maréchal de Luxemburg always ſpelt *merodeur*. *Reflections Militaires & Politiques de Santa Cruz*, tom. iii.

† A *ton* of gold is about £. 9000. ſterling.

Having

Having thus explained himſelf with reference to the reſtitution of Frederic to his patrimonial inheritances, he made it his requeſt, that the ſaid unfortunate prince ſhould repair immediately to the Swediſh army, and march with it into his own dominions; inaſmuch as, according to the beſt information then to be obtained, his ſubjects ſtill preſerved an extraordinary zeal and affection for him.

Vane ſtood thunderſtruck at theſe propoſals, and at length brought forth his excuſe and reply with no ſmall difficulty; namely, That his inſtructions were rather to *hear* what the king had to offer, than to *propoſe* any thing himſelf: that he would not fail to advertiſe his court, and procure an anſwer with all poſſible expedition.

Little as this man loved Guſtavus, and prejudiced as he was againſt him, yet in his letters to England, at or near this period, he finds himſelf obliged to do ſome juſtice to that prince's character in the capacity of a ſoldier; for having obſerved, that the Swediſh army conſiſted of 12,000 foot, and 8,000 horſe, he remarked afterwards, That bettter men, and better cloathed, he never ſaw: and there was not a ſick man, nor boy amongſt them. Their king let them live at diſcretion*: they ſpared neither friend nor foe; only he did not ſuffer them to touch the churches, nor moleſt the catholics in the exerciſe of their religion. They were ſo obedient to diſcipline, that the beat of a drum called them off at any time from plunder; which in truth carries no reſemblance to the conduct of troops who lived at diſcretion, and allowed themſelves, or were allowed by their maſter, to exerciſe all ſorts of outrage and violence without reſtriction. There ſtill remains an almoſt inconteſtable proof, that the king's ſoldiers rarely or never practiſed extortions and cruelties, ſince we rarely find, that even a ſingle ſtraggler was maſſacred by enraged peaſants; or that a town, or province, after their firſt reduction, ever revolted from him. Sir Henry, on ſome other occaſion, delivers himſelf in a manner leſs liable to exception than many of the paſſages above cited. That "with regard to Guſtavus's ac-

* All hiſtory contradicts this report. In a comparative ſenſe, the Swediſh troops were mild and tractable, whilſt the Imperial ſoldiers were haughty and ſavage. The military laws of Guſtavus are levelled with full force againſt rapine, extortions and plunder. He removed a favourite general ſome few days before this happened, for dealing a little too freely with contributions; and hanged two foot ſoldiers, ſome days afterwards, for entering a houſe in Francfort-ſtreets, though they took nothing. So that part of theſe repreſentations ſeems to proceed from peeviſhneſs and unkindneſs.

tions and enterprises, all seasons were alike to him, as well as the most difficult achievements seemed to him easy, if he once took them in hand; and as the courage of the soldiers under so daring a leader is great, so is the fear of his enemies, who every day came to serve him: and though other armies are diminished by marching, his increased; so that he was able to supply the towns he took in with garrisons, and obliged them to maintain the same*."

This remark is not the less valuable, though at that time it was common in the mouths of all the officers that served under Gustavus. Monro makes the same observation, and says, "That the king, after marches, assaults, and sieges of forty days duration, found himself at the head of more soldiers when he came to Francfort, than he brought with him from Erfurt, though he crossed the vast Duringer Walt, without losing, as far as appears, a single soldier by desertion."

To return to the negotiation. Vane contented himself to conclude his dispatches with observing, That he thought nothing was to be expected from Gustavus, but what was stipulated: and by no means advised the putting of tons of gold into his hands, but rather the sending over an English army to act in conjunction with the Swedish. He suggested afterwards, "if Charles was resolved to put himself in action, the readiest and cheapest way would be, to send the king of Bohemia *up into Germany*, into Upper Germany, speedily, to make levies; for that he was expected by his subjects with much zeal and devotion, and divers officers came to the ambassadors, meaning the Palatin one as well as himself, to offer their services in his behalf." With this suggestion the Britannic ministry complied, as the king of Bohemia's minister was invested with no powers; for it was a *slight expedient*, and cost them nothing; and thus the negotiation continued both at Francfort and Mentz, diversified with infinite changes, but attended with no one solid event. I shall speak transiently concerning it hereafter, and in such proportion as it may seem to merit; observing only, and for this remark I am indebted to the Swedish and German historians, that the statesmen of Whitehall judged extremely ill, in commanding Vane to impart his instructions to, and act in concert with the marquis of Hamilton; for though the king had a high

* See a subsequent MS. letter in the *Paper Office*.

value

value for that illuſtrious and enterpriſing nobleman, and no ſmall obligations to him; yet he could not bear, that a ſubordinate officer ſhould have an inſight into the myſteries of the Swediſh cabinet.

We will now reſume the military part of our hiſtory; and deſire the reader to recollect, that we left Tilly at Alvede, where he had aſſembled hardly more than 8,000 men, out of all thoſe victorious bands which had fought under him at the battle of Leipſic. Thence he wrote to the elector of Cologn, aſcribing his late misfortune, firſt, to the impetuoſity of Pappenheim; and, ſecondly, to want of firmneſs in the Croatian horſe; beſeeching him, at the ſame time, to ſend a ſtrong reinforcement, in order to raiſe the ſpirits of his dejected army. Upon this, the elector ſent him a ſecond ſupply of cavalry, and a conſiderable body of infantry. Tilly then, having deputed Gronsfelt to protect the banks of the Weſer, where George, duke of Lunenburg, and the archbiſhop of Bremen*, had ſhown an inclination of eſpouſing the cauſe of Guſtavus, paſſed his army from the diocefe of Paderborn over a bridge of boats at Corvey†, and ſtrengthening his train of artillery with twelve large battering pieces taken from the town of Hamelen, directed his ſteps to Warpurg. Soon afterwards he invaded Heſſe, and having joined Aldringer, Fugger, and Mansfelt, advanced, whilſt his majeſty inveſted Marienberg, as far as Fulda, in order to ſuccour the biſhop of Wurtzburg, and protect the electors of Cologn, Mentz, and Triers. In ſhort, this great commander in the preſent conjuncture hardly knew what ſteps to take: mortified

* This prelate had adhered firmly to the houſe of Auſtria through the former part of the thirty years wars; inſomuch that the king of Denmark, by way of revenge, when peace was concluded at Lubec, ſtill kept the iſle of Femor to himſelf, although it was a part of the archbiſhop's patrimony. When this eccleſiaſtic began to conſider ſeriouſly the drift and intentions of the *edict of reſtitution*; he then ſaw, without the gift of divination, that archduke Leopold, the emperor's ſon, would annex the dioceſe of Bremen to thoſe of Magdeburg, Halberſtadt, &c. and allow the true owner a ſmall annual ſtipend; not ſo much by way of *acknowledged right*, as under the appearance of an act of compaſſion. It was upon this account, therefore, that he kept up a correſpondence with Guſtavus ever ſince the year 1625, and entered into a private agreement offenſive and defenſive with the famous Salvius, ſome months before the battle of Leipſic. (For an abſtract of the articles then concluded, ſee *Chemnitius*, tom. i. p. 214.) This was the true reaſon, which Burnet knew nothing of, or no way cared to own, why the king intended, *bonâ fide*, to land the Britiſh troops at Bremen, in order to protect his new ally from the inſults of the Imperialiſts. *Chemnitz*, *ibid.* where it plainly appears that the marquis of Hamilton contravened the king's intentions.

† This abbey, famous for its convent of Benedictines, ſtands between the duchy of Brunſwic and the biſhopric of Paderborn. In its library is the *only manuſcript of the annals of Tacitus.*

with

with misfortunes, and piqued to the heart upon having made a ſhipwreck of one half of his glory, he was quite bewildered in his own ideas, having nothing certain to reſolve upon, except it was to regain his character by ſome ſervice of a deſperate nature. This he, manifeſtly, ought to have attempted; but the Lorrainers did not join him quite ſo ſoon as he wiſhed *, and when that junction was formed at Miltenberg, he fell ſuddenly into a kind of deſpondency, for he did not like the look of his new aſſiſtants.

Here it may be neceſſary, once for all, to give the reader a clear idea of this romantic expedition of Charles IV. duke of Lorrain, from the beginning to the concluſion. For a mixture of courage and irreſolution, hardineſs to undertake, and inconſtancy to execute, he ſeems to have been the epitome of all mankind in thoſe ſeveral paſſions and qualities. The duke of Bavaria propoſed both immediate and remote advantages from introducing this hero, who was his nephew, upon the grand theatre of action. He greatly wanted a ſupport for Tilly, and to re-eſtabliſh, if poſſible, the reputation of the league; having an inclination, likewiſe, to alarm France, with ſo powerful an armament on her confines; and hoping, by means of free paſſage through Lorrain, in caſe ſucceſs ſhould attend the catholic armies in Germany, to have the power of entering the *three* biſhoprics, which had already began *to change their livery*, if I may be allowed to make uſe of Spanheim's expreſſion on the occaſion †. France, of courſe, took umbrage at the armament which this prince was preparing; and inſiſted that he ſhould either diſband his troops, or declare what they were intended for ‡. Charles, whether according to his firſt intentions, or not, cannot be ſaid, thought it neceſſary, however, to pacify ſo intermeddling and capricious a neighbour; but being allured by the promiſe of an *electoral bonnet*, for the emperor had privately threatened to proſcribe the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, he marched an army of 17,000 well-conditioned men, all furniſhed with good apparel and arms, in order to ſupport Tilly in his preſent exigencies. As, on the one hand, his imagination was flattered with the late extinction of one proteſtant elector; ſo it was ſuggeſted to him by his new allies on the other, that as the promiſed electorate would make him a principal member of the

* Not till October 17, nine days after Wurtzburg and Marienberg were taken.

† *Memoires d'Electrice Palatine*, p. 300.

‡ *Memoires de Beauvau*, 8°. p. 16, &c.

empire;

empire; of courſe, the whole empire would be obliged to ſupport him againſt the encroachments of his *moſt Chriſtian neighbour:* inſinuating at the ſame time, that a prince of Lorrain was really and truly a part of the Germanic body by virtue of an incorporation ſubſiſting, antecedently even to thoſe connections we have above ſpecified. For theſe reaſons, he choſe to ſhelter himſelf under the wings of the Auſtrian eagle; and, animated with romantic hopes, paſſed the Rhine over a bridge of boats at Worms, where the biſhop of Wurtzburg made his application to him immediately, and offered all the treaſure contained in his capital, upon condition he could ſucceed in raiſing the ſiege. The induſtry and bravery of the aſſailants prevented this ſcheme from taking effect, though Charles made long marches to join Tilly, and reſtore the ſpirits of his ſhattered troops by ſo conſiderable a reinforcement as that which he conducted. Aldringer alſo, in conjunction with Fugger, had haſtened with all poſſible expedition to meet them, leading under his command thoſe veteran troops, which had performed ſuch wonders at the ſiege of Mantua. The whole three bodies, united, were ſuppoſed to make 50,000 men, and their train of artillery was very good. Nevertheleſs, whether it was that the Imperial troops had not recovered their courage ſince the battle of Leipſic, or whether the elector of Bavaria, who in fact was generaliſſimo over the generaliſſimo, allowed himſelf to be ſeduced by St. Etienne the French ambaſſador, having hampered himſelf by a clandeſtine treaty: whether he waited to make a better market with the emperor, and therefore choſe not to hazard his troops; or whether orders had been diſpatched from Vienna, commanding Tilly to hold himſelf upon the cautious and defenſive part, and run no riſques in ſo critical a conjuncture, all which reaſons appear to me more or leſs probable and cogent, ſure it is, that though his Swediſh majeſty then conducted an army only of about 25,000 effective men, yet nothing conſiderable was either performed or attempted by the Imperial party. It had the mortification and diſgrace to ſtand gazing aloof, whilſt Wurtzburg was firſt taken, and Mentz afterwards fell a ſacrifice: inſomuch that the partiſans of Walſtein continually cried out, That Guſtavus marched, and never fought; and provinces were conquered before couriers could carry news to Vienna that the enemy had entered them.

Some tell us, that this want of courage in the Imperialiſts, or want of ſincerity in the Bavarian, added to the

the delays, and caution affected by the court of Vienna, fo exaſperated Charles, that, whilſt the troops laid inactive in winter quarters, he poſted away to the elector, who was his uncle *, at Munich, with a view to put matters on a better footing; but obtained nothing from him but good words and hoſpitable entertainment. To add a keener edge to the mortification he then felt, his favourite lieutenant-general, the prince of Phaltzburg, died during this interval; as alſo M. de Berry, knight of Malta. The former was a natural ſon of cardinal Lorrain, and having married the amiable Henrietta, Charles's eldeſt ſiſter, might have poſſeſſed the dukedom, if his modeſty and equity had not induced him to decline the offer. The latter was Charles's natural ſon, a young man of great hopes and diſtinguiſhed bravery.

In addition to theſe misfortunes, he met with no ſmall diſgrace in his return home; for as his army paſſed the bridge of Straſburg, the inhabitants and peaſants fell upon his baggage, plundering and deſtroying no inconſiderable part of it; and a waggoner took the liberty to whip the duke's horſe, aſſigning this remarkable reaſon for ſo doing: *Sir, a perſon ought to make more haſte when he is flying before the great Guſtavus* †. In this inglorious retreat he had the unhappineſs, ſome weeks, to be denied entrance into the village of Lichtenau near Nurenberg, where one of his regiments then was in winter quarters. In vain Charles menaced the *corps de garde*; they ſaluted him with a briſk diſcharge of their fire-arms, which, though it ſpared his perſon, terrified his horſe to ſuch a degree, that he fell under his maſter: they were both ſome moments expoſed, for the garriſon continued firing.

If all things are rightly conſidered, neither he nor his army deſerved better uſage, nor greater ſucceſs. They ſet out, at firſt, in the ſtyle of novices and bluſterers; inſolently boaſting to chaſtiſe his Swediſh majeſty, and ſend him back to his hereditary regions of froſt and ſnow. No troops looked fiercer when they marched undiſturbed through neutral dominions: they ſeemed, likewiſe, to have a talent for plunder, outrage, violation, and murder. Their ignorance of foreign countries kept pace with their inſolence; for, amongſt other things, they aſked the Germans, *What ſort of animal a landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel was, and if he was deſcended from a*

* The elector of Bavaria married Elizabeth princeſs of Lorrain, Charles's aunt.

† *Vittorio Siri*; Memoire Recondite, tom. vii. p. 446, &c.

good

*good family**. Their extortions too were not trifling; for his Imperial majeſty ſent commiſſary general Offa to join them, and pay them according to agreement; but the misfortune was, the commiſſary had no money, and the Lorrainers were obliged to feed themſelves at the point of their ſwords. Old Tilly ſuſpected theſe troops from the firſt moment he ſaw them; for they began to lower their note, in proportion as they approached the Swediſh army. He therefore placed them, generally, out of the reach of harm; and hiſtory aſſures us, they diſcovered no reſentment on the occaſion. When the wary Walloon once left them, the vigilant Swedes ſoon made their advantage; gave them two violent midnight attacks, and drove them ignominiouſly out of Franconia to purſue their *route* to the luxurious retreat of Nanci.

Here is a faithful picture of an army undiſciplined, immoral, and unpaid; collected from a country of eaſe, idleneſs, and extravagance; and plunged, in a moment, into the ſtrict, ſharp, and regular ſervice of war. In theſe caſes, the *theory* and *practice* ſoon correſponded. Vice and neglect of diſcipline ruin not only the *troops*, but the *cauſe*. The *troops* are loſt through want of vigilance, ſobriety, military punctuality, and ſubordination; and the *cauſe* is ſacrificed by thoſe repeated acts of exceſs, plunder, and cruelty, which make every peaſant an enliſted ſoldier in the enemy's behalf. Thus, after an expedition of only a few months, and without engaging in a ſingle battle or ſiege, Charles carried back to Lorrain little more than one moiety of his army. Whereas, if theſe troops had been intrinſically good, and Tilly could have been ſuppoſed to have placed confidence in them, Guſtavus might have been extremely embarraſſed by ſuperior numbers. There were two reaſons for Charles's return, which hiſtorians have not penetrated into. Richelieu plainly ſaw, that he had opened too much of his plan in giving Guſtavus uneaſy apprehenſions about his tampering with Bavaria, for the time was not yet come, that he had conceived a ſettled jealouſy againſt Sweden, and conſequently drew the duke of Lorrain back, partly by good words, and partly by movements, as if he deſigned to take Moyenvic; which he actually made himſelf maſter of ſoon after,

* *Soldat Suedois*, 194. This puts me in mind of a learned man, of what country is immaterial, who, thinking he muſt ſay ſomething civil to a Bavarian nobleman, aſked him very modeſtly, *If the elector, his Maſter, kept a coach? Yes, Sir*, replied the man of quality, *and 25,000 ſoldiers to run before it.*

after, notwithſtanding Merci's obſtinate defence *. What inclined Charles ſtill more to return homewards, was his diſcontent upon Walſtein's promotion; for, in truth, he expected that command himſelf; and for theſe reaſons, took a cold farewel of his electoral uncle; ſince all he could obtain from the court of Vienna, was, the ſeparate command of his own army, when joined with Tilly; and the poſt of lieutenant-general, in caſe he ſerved under Walſtein.

Thus ended the unſucceſsful expedition of the duke of Lorrain, if we except only two remarkable letters, that paſſed between him and Guſtavus; which ſhall be taken notice of, in their chronological order. The king being advanced ſo far in the conqueſt of Franconia, publiſhed a very ſenſible manifeſto, for it was his cuſtom always to make the pen keep pace with the ſword, wherein it was alledged principally, after a full recapitulation of the motives that induced him to enter Germany, that his Swediſh majeſty expected aſſiſtance from all true patriots, catholic as well as proteſtant, in the reduction of the exorbitant power, and unmerciful tyranny of the houſe of Auſtria; concluding alſo, that the former would withdraw their troops from the emperor's ſervice, conformably to the declaration of the electoral college made at Ratiſbon, where all conteſts with the crown of Sweden were publicly diſavowed.—That in conſequence of ſeeing this promiſe realized, he had engaged with France to ſeparate the intereſts of the *leaguers* in a private manner from thoſe of the emperor, and live in perfect harmony with the catholic electors and princes: but they, on the other hand, had neglected his repreſentations, and commanded their troops to fight under the Imperial enſigns at the battle of Leipſic.—Influenced by the ſucceſs of that engagement, he had purſued his enemies into Franconia, with a view to conſtrain them to comprehend their own intereſts, and to detach themſelves from the court of Vienna.——That he had courteouſly advertiſed the biſhops of Wurtzburg and Bamberg, of his propoſing to act towards them in a manner conformable to the ſtricteſt laws of humanity and generoſity, but that each of theſe prelates ſtill continued to ſhew himſelf a moſt active and determined opponent of the Swediſh intereſts. —That finally, upon poſſeſſing the town and dioceſe of

* Francis, baron Merci, afterwards proved one of the greateſt generals the world ever knew. It is a misfortune in the art of war, that his life was never written.

Wurtz-

Wurtzburg, he had practiſed no one ſort of retaliation, nor exerciſed any ſingle act of ſeverity; ſuch proceedings being contrary not only to the natural turn of his heart, but to the dictates of his common ſenſe, and the very drift and nature of his plan, which was to relieve, rather than to torment and perſecute, his fellow-creatures *."

Some few days after Wurtzburg was taken, the Imperial general and the duke of Lorrain approached Guſtavus ſo nearly on the oppoſite banks of the Maine, that the king, at the head of a good body of horſe and dragoons, croſſed the river privately in the night, and defeated four regiments of the enemy's cavalry †. The cloſe neighbourhood of ſo numerous an hoſtile army gave Guſtavus no ſmall ſolicitude; his chief conſolation conſiſting only in ſeeing the river Maine between him and Tilly: and for theſe reaſons he kept an attentive eye on all the known paſſes above and below Wurtzburg.

That the reader may form ſome notion of his majeſty's vigilance, I ſhall here remark, that having concluded from very diſtinct information, that Tilly would attempt to croſs the river, both at Wurtzburg and Oxenford, and being in great pain for the preſervation of the latter town, diſtant from the former about ſixteen miles, he came in the evening on horſeback, attended only by a ſingle groom, to Monro's lodgings, in the moſt remote part of Wurtzburg, and having ordered his ſervant to call Monro down from ſupper, commanded him to draw up Hepburn's brigade, and appoint Hepburn to wait on him in the ſquare before the houſe with all poſſible expedition. This little party, conſiſting only of 800 men, was drawn up and formed without delay, the pike-men and colours being left behind; when the king in an inſtant ordered Hepburn and Monro to march without giving them time to ſend either for their horſes or ſervants. Having walked briſkly about two miles, the king then imparted his deſign to Hepburn, and being joined there by an eſcort of eighty horſemen, continued to march on ſeven hours without halting, and reached Oxenford before two o'clock that morning. There is ſomething in this march of a very uncommon nature; namely, that a body of infantry ſhould with out notice march ſixteen miles in a dark night after the autumnal equinox, without having the opportunity of repoſing themſelves a ſingle hour. The reaſons were as urgent on the one ſide, as the march was extraordinary

* *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 16, *&c.* *Chemnitz*, tom. i. 196.

† *Monro's Expedition*, part ii. p. 80, 81.

dinary on the other; for the town and paſs were guarded only at that moment by 150 muſqueteers, whom the king thought too weak to make any deciſive reſiſtance; and hence it was, that the brigade, at its arrival, had not time to take the leaſt refreſhment, being ordered to poſſeſs the bridge and market-place, and continue under arms till break of day *. Then the king repulſed the enemy with great vigour, and ordering Hepburn to defend himſelf like a man of honour, with permiſſion to blow up the bridge, and retreat to the head-quarters, in caſe the ſervice proved deſperate, returned with all poſſible diligence to Wurtzburg, from whence diſpatches paſſed night and day between Hepburn and himſelf.

It has been obſerved by an old colonel who ſerved under Guſtavus, that he never ſaw his maſter's mind ſo greatly agitated as in this affair of Oxenford: for which, I think, very good reaſons may be aſſigned. It is true, we juſt before remarked, that the king conducted an army of twenty-five or twenty-ſix thouſand men into Franconia: but it muſt be remembered that he had to defend a tract of river which extended itſelf near forty miles; and as one regiment was garriſoned in *this* city, where there was a bridge, and another ſtationed at *that* paſs where there was a ford, Horn being detached with a ſmall army to reduce the dioceſe of Bamberg, it appears, to me, extremely plain, that the king had not more than eight or ten thouſand ſoldiers in his head-quarters at Wurtzburg, wherewith to oppoſe the combined army of the league, which amounted at that time to fifty thouſand men. Nevertheleſs the king, who, though he was ſenſible of danger, never loſt his preſence of mind, reſolved at firſt ſight, with that ſort of intuition peculiar to himſelf and ſome few great commanders, to remain firm and unmoved at Wurtzburg; and augment his out-parties, if that were poſſible, rather than call them in to his own aſſiſtance.

He thus continued three days in a ſtate of patient perſeverance, when Tilly, who now began to think ſeriouſly of covering Bavaria, broke up his camp at a minute's warning in the cloſe of the evening; and preſented his whole army, by break of day, before Oxenford, under appearance of attacking the town ſword in hand; but, for the reaſon above aſſigned, not to mention, that the Swedes, by their maſter's orders, had thrown up ſome very good temporary fortifications, he only made the preparations and ſhew of a general

* *Monro*'s Second Expedition, p. 83.

ſtorm

ſtorm, and ſuddenly purſued his intended journey with diligence. The king being ſoon appriſed of the enemy's decampment, began to feel a ſecond uneaſineſs for the brave Scotch brigade left in Oxenford, and diſpatching at the moment a reinforcement of 500 muſqueteers to Hepburn, enjoined him to diſlodge forthwith, under favour of the darkneſs, and file along unobſerved on the ſame line with the enemy, ſo as to occupy the town of Weinheim, a march of about ſixteen miles, before Tilly could arrive thither. As the Imperial general laid at that time cloſe to Oxenford, being advanced further than the king imagined, Hepburn uſed his own diſcretion, without attempting to move a ſingle ſtep; foreſeeing plainly, that an enterpriſe of ſuch a ſort was not to be undertaken with prudence and ſafety. The king likewiſe, after a ſhort review of his former thoughts, diſpatched a ſecond meſſage to the colonel, thereby requeſting him, in caſe the enemy continued to advance towards Weinſheim, to bring his little party to the headquarters at Wurtzburg, where he had intrenched himſelf upon the ſame principles, which he formerly adopted in the famous encampment near Werben.

Hepburn's officers and ſoldiers were all amazed at the king *revoking* his firſt orders, it being remarked by them, that they had rarely or never known him change a military diſpoſition, after he had once framed it; a certain, and no inconſiderable proof of that prince's uncommon genius in the art of war.

His majeſty having received aſſurances from the cities of Nurenberg, Ulm, Stratburg, and Francfort, determined at length to advance to the laſt-mentioned place; but the town of Hanau was conſidered an obſtacle, being ſituated on a paſs acroſs the river Kintz, at the diſtance of about one day's eaſy march from Francfort. It was neceſſary firſt to procure the key of admiſſion, and that was to conquer Hanau: which the Imperialiſts, about three years before, had blockaded in vain for no leſs a ſpace than ſeventeen weeks.

Towards the acquiſition of this place Guſtavus directed his whole attention, and for theſe purpoſes entertained a ſecret correſpondence with Philip Ludowic *, its count, who, being born and educated a proteſtant, had conſented privately, that the garriſon ſhould be ſurprized without blood-

* Others ſay Philip Maurice; brother to the celebrated AMELIA, landgraveſs of Heſſe-Caſſel. He died in 1638, aged thirty-three. *Imhoff, Not. Proc.* folio, p. 400.

ſhed, it being agreed, that a certain poſtern-gate ſhould be left open, unknown to Brandeis, who commanded a thouſand Imperialiſts, whom Tilly had formerly ſqueezed into the town. It is true, the Imperial general preſſed hard to introduce four companies more, which, it is thought, he would have ſwelled to twelve hundred ſoldiers at leaſt; but the count, who was a perſon of ſome conſequence, his territory being eſteemed one of the moſt fruitful in thoſe parts of Germany, refuſed him admittance; for Tilly had by force ſurprized the town and caſtle of Babenhauſen, which had been mortgaged to the count by one of his relations.

His majeſty gave the conduct of this expedition to lieutenant-colonel Dewbatel*, who had riſen to that command from a ſimple ſerjeant in the ſhort ſpace of four years. To him were allotted ſix cornetcies of Banditzen's cavalry, and 1500 *ſelected* muſqueteers, who ſerved on horſeback. Dewbatel made a march of fifty miles in four and twenty hours, and croſſing the Kintz, according to directions, the city being moſt acceſſible on that ſide, entered the poſtern-gate with great dexterity, and giving the garriſon on that part of Hanau called the old town, a very deſperate attack at five in the morning, it being now the firſt day of November, cut to pieces two companies of Imperial infantry; ſeized and ſecured the gate, which parted the old and new town, and made the count, to all outward appearances, a priſoner by force. Brandeis, a captain of infantry, governor of both towns, but reſiding in the new, would by no means, on the firſt intelligence, allow the enterprize to be practicable. It appearing to him almoſt morally impoſſible for men to have made ſuch an extraordinary march in ſo ſhort a time. Another circumſtance conſpired likewiſe to miſguide his judgment. He had unfortunately ſent, the day before, to demand a reinforcement from the garriſon of Aſchaffenberg, and concluded naturally, that theſe new comers were his own aſſociates. For this reaſon, when informed of the confuſion in the old town, he forbade his officers to take the alarm and ſound to arms. At break of day he perceived his error, and prepared to make a vigorous defence, having diſpatched one of his domeſtics, who croſſed the town-ditch by ſwimming, to the town of Steinheim, where was a conſiderable body of Imperialiſts†, ſufficient in number to give battle to the

* We have ſpoken of this enterprifing officer in a preceding note, and therein expreſſed our doubts, whether *Dewbatel*, *Tubadel*, *Dewal*, *Tubal*, *Hubalt*, and *Howbald*, were the ſame perſon or not.

† The regiment of Einot, and ſome companies belonging to other regiments.

Swedes,

Swedes, at the diſtance only of about ſixteen miles. Whether it was that the king's commander had an eye, or not, to this event, thus much is certain, he proteſted he would agree only to a momentary parley, and took care to give Brandeis, from the town walls, a ſhort interview with the count, who told him artfully, that being a priſoner, he ſhould not take upon him to preſcribe what he ought to do; but nevertheleſs, adviſed him to make the beſt terms he could. Upon this the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and reſign both colours and arms at the city gate, for Dewbatel told them all conditions muſt proceed from himſelf. The officers had their ſwords returned, and ſo had the ſoldiers. According to the uſage of that age, as the colours were delivered to the conqueror, their military oath to the emperor was ſuppoſed to be void; and of courſe moſt of the men enliſted themſelves into the Swediſh ſervice, excepting about forty papiſts, and all the officers. Amongſt the priſoners was Francis baron de Merci, whom we have mentioned in the expedition of the Lorrainers, then ſerjeant-major to the regiment of Piccolomini. He had no command, having retired hither, with ſeveral other of Tilly's officers, on account of the wounds he had received in the day's ſervice at Leipſic.

In conſequence of this ſpirited undertaking the king preferred Dewbatel to be colonel of his own regiment of guards, in the room of Teüffel, who had been lately killed; and giving him commiſſion to raiſe two or three new regiments, advanced him likewiſe to the government of the city he had juſt ſurprized. This officer in the end, however, proved very ungrateful to the memory of his patron and maſter, and left the Swediſh ſervice at a time when his aſſiſtance was moſt wanted. With regard to the count de Hanau, who had acceded to the king's party with ſo good a grace, his majeſty made him a preſent of a ſignory contiguous to his own territory, in terms ſo gracious, that the manner of conferring the favour far exceeded the favour itſelf.

The regal army being now greatly ſhattered, and a conſiderable number of native Swedes deſtroyed, ſeveral regiments, with their reſpective officers, were incorporated into one corps, and called a *Brigade* *; which ſaid *brigade*, if complete, conſiſted of 2016 men †, and carried the colours

* *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 28, 29.

† Before this period, his majeſty allowed ſeventy-two muſqueteers, and fifty-four pikemen to a company, and eight companies to a regiment, which, excluſive of officers, made preciſely 1008 common ſoldiers.

of the oldeſt colonel. Here the king improved his favourite *doctrine* of brigades, and formed five of theſe brigades, in his own army; namely, the brigade of *guards*, the *green*, which Hepburn commanded as ſenior colonel, the *blue*, the *white*, and the *red*. When a brigade is mentioned in the courſe of theſe wars, as it was commonly more or leſs incomplete, according to the fortune of a campaign, the reader muſt, at a medium, ſuppoſe it to contain about 1800 men. Be that as it will, at this firſt inſtitution, his majeſty's ſtrength was ſo diminiſhed, that he could only make theſe incorporated bodies of troops amount, each of them, ſomething more or leſs, to about 1500 perſons. The more entire regiments continued ſtill to be undiſturbed; and, as new corps were levying daily in various parts, care was taken to tranſplant into them the junior colonels from the ſeveral brigades.

Some few days before this reformation was made, his majeſty caſt his eyes on the town of Wertheim, and ſurprized in it the Italian colonel Piccolomini *, who there loſt good part of his regiment. Rottenberg upon the Tauber was taken next, and a body of 9000 Lorrainers were attacked in their retreat homewards,

* Octavio Piccolomini. This gallant young man, whoſe family at Sienna took its riſe from Catharine ſiſter of pope Pius II., proved afterwards a general of great repute. His father was maſter of the bedchamber to Coſmo, grand duke of Tuſcany, and general of his cavalry; and had ſerved with great reputation in the Low Countries, Hungary, Tranſylvania, and Barbary.

By the original picture I have ſeen of the ſon, he was gracefully made, and of a very agreeable countenance. He had the eyes of his country, of the fineſt ſort, bright, piercing, yet not ferocious. He dreſſed out of the pedantry of the then mode, and has ſo much the look of a fine gentleman and perſon of faſhion, that it ſeems to confirm an uncommon letter of Mazarine to him, which the cardinal writes with a politeneſs which ſeemed proper to Piccolomini, and tells him, that ſince it was the fate of war, that the French army ſhould be defeated, he had rather Piccolomini ſhould obtain that honour than any other general in Europe, being certain the priſoners would fall into the hands of a perſon of diſtinguiſhed manners and humanity.

He was not only of a robuſt and healthy conſtitution, but ſo very alert and dexterous in the art of horſemanſhip, that, completely cloathed in armour, which in thoſe days was none of the lighteſt, he could throw himſelf on the ſaddle of any common war-horſe without touching the ſtirrup. He perſonally ſaved the battle of Lutzen from concluding in a total overthrow. At the head of 1000 cuiraſſiers completely armed, he made good the very point, where Guſtavus in perſon made the moſt violent impreſſion. Broken by freſh ſupplies of the enemy, and reciprocally breaking them, he kept his troops in ſpirits till the 10th or 12th attack, nor ever departed from the ground, where he had the honour to be firſt placed, though covered all over with wounds, and three horſes had been killed under him. Wal-

homewards, with the loſs of Maſon, their commiſſary-general, whom the Swedes took priſoner, and their military cheſt. Meanwhile the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel co-operated vigorouſly with the king at the head of 10,000 men, and kept Gronsfelt in full employment about Paderborn. Roſtock at length capitulated, to the great joy of Guſtavus. The duke of Mechlenburg and Todt * had beſieged and blockaded it a long time: but Virmond the governor made a moſt obſtinate defence, and fought during the whole ſiege under *red* colours, which in thoſe days was conſidered as a mark of never liſtening to an accommodation. At length the citizens and garriſon began to mutiny, having loſt all hope, after the deciſion at Leipſic. Nevertheleſs, Virmond had addreſs enough to procure excellent conditions for himſelf and ſoldiers, and ſaved three thouſand two hundred men, who were conveyed to Wolfenbuttle, where, by Mansfelt's orders, he joined Boninghauſen. They then all acted againſt Banier; whilſt Oxenſtiern advanced to bring the king a reinforcement of 12,000 men; and the elector of Bavaria, on the other hand, aſtoniſhed at the progreſs made in Franconia, aſſembled

ſtein was ſo ſenſible, that ſuch a ſoldier was in effect an army, that next morning he ſent him, as a token of his eſteem, from his own private generoſity, a preſent of 1600l. ſterling. On account of this and other kindneſſes he never departed from his gratitude to the generaliſſimo, nor would he give any connivance to his aſſaſſination, though the emperor and his miniſters were the contrivers and cauſe of it. Great as this man was in the ſubaltern duties of war, his character afterwards did not riſe in proportion to his elevation: ſomething more may ſtill be wanting to form the commander in chief. However, we muſt obſerve, in honour to his memory, that he generally acted in conjunction with the archduke Leopold, and was often overruled and fettered by him. By peculiar good fortune he ſurvived the thirty years wars, though preſent in moſt actions of importance: and not only rencounters then, but pitched battles too, were much more frequent, and more bloody than they have been ſince.

He was thought a perſon of ſo much parts and addreſs, as to be ſent plenipotentiary to Nurenberg, in order to meet Charles Guſtavus, prince Palatine of Sweden, and make good the ſtipulations entered into at Munſter about drawing off the troops, and evacuating the various garriſons in the empire. Never did any work require more extenſive knowledge in detail, or greater patience and dexterity. Moſt of the generals on both ſides traverſed all advances towards a good underſtanding; inaſmuch as in thoſe days they lived by the ſword, and grew rich by the ſword to *ſuch a degree*, as, God be praiſed, has never happened ſince in the land-ſervice. Yet Piccolomini ſoon gave the finiſhing ſtroke to this immenſe and difficult undertaking. He then married Maria Benigna, daughter of the duke of Saxony, and died a year afterwards in the 56th year of his age. *Azioni egregie da generali e da ſoldati Italiani dall anno 1600 ſino al 1700*, 4 *Ven.* 1742.

* Todt, Achatius, (Ahaz) deſcended from a daughter of Eric, the degraded king of Sweden, whoſe epitaph was the following text of ſcripture; *Tranſlatum eſt regnum, et factum, eſt fratris ejus: a domino conſtitutum eſt ei.*

bled an army of 20,000 fighting men near Donawert, and offered a garrifon to the inhabitants of Ratifbon, which they declined. The people of Augfburg returned the fame excufe to Galas.

Having mentioned Roftock, I muft juft take notice of a ftrange accident, which happened there in the beginning of this year. One Jacob Vermeyer, a native of Ofnabrug, had conceived a mortal hatred againft the Imperial colonel Hatzfeld *, for which no reafon could be affigned. He artfully concealed his refentment a long time, and infinuated himfelf into that commander's good opinion, which emboldened him to afk for fome employment by way of amanuenfis. It happened one day, in the abfence of the domeftics, as that officer was intent on forting fome papers, that Vermeyer came behind him with an axe, which he procured for the purpofe, and, as he was ftooping, ftunned him with one blow, and then cutting off his head, carried it away in a cloth, hid it in a fenator's houfe, and concealed himfelf. Being difcovered, and queftioned why he had committed fo horrid a murther, he replied coolly, *that Hatzfeld had deferved it.* More than this not even the torture could extract from him †.

Before we return to Guftavus, it may not be amifs to look for a moment on what was doing by the elector of Saxony ‡: who, at Arnheim's inftigation, artfully chofe the reduction of Lufatia, which by the way the emperor had given him as his fhare of proteftant plunder about eight years before, and the invafion of Bohemia, for his departments. Having conquered all that he loft in Mifnia, he received an extraordinary declaration from his Imperial majefty by colonel Paradeifer; who, to fave appearances, had been difpatched to Dreſden in a miniſterial capacity, and acted under the interpofition of Cadretta, the Spaniſh ambaſſador then reſiding at Vienna. Cadretta, to uſe the language of thofe times, was, as we fuppofe, an *Italianized Spaniard*; for this memorial may be conſidered as an equal mixture of ſubtle falſhood and high Caſtilian rhodomontade; ſince it was hereby declared ‖, That Tilly had invaded Saxony *without orders* §, for which temerity he ſhould receive a proper reprimand one day or other; as the haſte of

* There was another colonel Hatzfeld, who was afterwards a general of fome renown.

† *Brachelii Hiſt. Noſtr. Tem.* p. 270.

‡ *Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation*, in Low Dutch, fol. part i. p. 149.

‖ *Soldat Suedois*, 178, *&c.*

§ Tilly declares expreſsly the contrary, in his letter from Halberſtadt, which we have publiſhed.

that

that man had forced the elector into the arms of a *mere stranger*, who could neither protect his friends, nor destroy his enemies, and upon whose precarious existence the whole fortune of a fatal war depended. That the house of Austria, on the contrary, confided in a strength which was insurmountable; and had resources to boast of that were inexhaustible; renowned likewise, and admired in all ages, for the hereditary character *d'une debonnaireté particulière*. Such are the author's * own words, and sorry I am, that I want an equivalent expression whereby to translate them. The memorial then proceeded as follows; namely, That to evince this latter assertion, more distinct orders were then dispatched to the Imperial commanders in Lusatia, and this was really the fact, namely, to withdraw their troops, and leave the country to the elector's devotion: beseeching him to remember the solemn oath he had taken to the emperor and empire, with a promise subjoined of making all matters easy to the once oppressed and afflicted protestants.

To these declarations the duke of Saxony, with respect to outward appearances, replied boldly and honestly enough. Also to a convention proposed, where Cadretta intended to be present in the character of a mediator, after having given, according to his custom, some good dinners and suppers, he besought colonel Paradeiser to inform the courts of Vienna and Madrid, as follows, That having incurred, than which nothing could be more true, the suspicions and reflections of all good protestants, he had served his Imperial majesty faithfully, and had been rewarded insincerely: That a declaration of this sort ought to have preceded, and not succeeded, the battle of Leipsic: That he knew the wariness of Tilly's old age too well, to suppose him capable of taking so rash a step without positive instructions; since if the victory of that day had once fallen to the share of the Imperial party, Cæsar, and not Cæsar's general, would have claimed the glory of breaking into Misnia, and laying all waste with fire and sword †. That he had joined Gustavus partly through resentment, and partly from a principle of self-preservation; nor was he at liberty to withdraw from him without incurring the imputation of ingratitude: so much the rather, as the accommodation proposed, for which, it must be confessed, Paradeiser appeared to be furnished with full authorities, tended not to the establishment

* *Frederic Spanheim*, then professor of theology at Geneva.

† *Soldat Suedois*, p. 183—188. *Le Vassor*, tom. vii. p. 60—63.

of an univerſal peace, but was only calculated to form a private union between the houſe of Auſtria and that of Dreſden. Nor was he to be informed, that a ſecret diſpoſition had been projected, whereby it was contrived to tranſfer the electoral bonnets of Brandenburg and Saxony to other wearers; concluding with this ſhort inſinuation, that it was much eaſier to *deſpiſe* Guſtavus than to *conquer* him; being a prince alike reſpectable in his friendſhips, and formidable in his animoſities *.

Nothing could be more pointedly worded than this ſpirited reply; and yet the Elector and Arnheim had, even *then*, a private inclination to become falſe to the cauſe of Sweden.

Meanwhile the prince we are ſpeaking of, having reduced Luſatia, where Tieffenbach and Goëtz made but an imperfect reſiſtance, entered Bohemia, and joined with old count Thurn, who was now lieutenant-general to Guſtavus, and commanded a little army of Swedes, on ſome occaſions, ſeparate from that of Arnheim, which union inclined the Bohemians to give the elector a more favourable reception; ſince, at the very inſtant he inveſted Prague, the inhabitants opened their gates with great cheerfulneſs, ſo that don Balthazar di Maradas, the chief Imperial commander in that kingdom, and count de Michna, firſt commiſſary-general, were obliged to eſcape with all the garriſon.

Walſtein, previouſly to this, returned to his palace juſt before the electoral army approached Prague, and, by the part he acted, ſmoothed the way for aſcending a ſecond time to his maſter's favour. He exhorted the officers and ſoldiers to perform their duty like men of honour, told them fine ſtories of aſſiſtance from Hungary and Poland, and threatened ſevere puniſhments to ſuch as ſhould behave with remiſſneſs or cowardice. At the ſame time he plainly ſaw, that the inhabitants were ill-affected towards his maſter, and that a garriſon trebly ſuperior to that at preſent was not ſufficient to defend ſuch an extent of walls. Nevertheleſs, to ſupport the ſpirit of his party, he made ſemblance firſt to enter into an accommodation with count Thurn, and left Prague under pretence of diverting the ſiege by concluding a deciſive treaty with Saxony; whereas, inſtead of attempting one project or the other, he pointed his journey

* *Chemnitius* de Bello Sueco-German. tom. i. 218. Indeed *the king of ſnow*, as the Spaniards and Auſtrians affected to call him, performed his wonders in due time, and plucked the beſt feathers from the wings of the Imperial eagle:

——— gelida rex Suevus ab Arcto
Incumbit, ſacramque aquilam melioribus alis
Expoliat ———

to

to Budweiſs and not the Saxon camp, having removed privately the whole *cancellaria*, or papers of ſtate.

The elector then took up his reſidence in this nobleman's palace, and deſtroyed the chapel called *Bella Victoria*, which had been erected in memory of the battle of Prague*. Count Thurn ſucceeded Michna in the poſſeſſion of his own houſe, which had been confiſcated; and cauſed the heads of his proteſtant friends, that had been fixed upon the town gates, to be decently buried in the church of the Huſſites. I muſt mention one remarkable circumſtance; namely, that the city of Prague was *loſt* and *retaken*, *changed* and *received its religion*, *the ſelfſame day*, at *eleven years* diſtance. Thus the marſhal Saxe took Prague at nearly an hundred years diſtance, the *very ſame day* that his anceſtor had taken it. The kingdom ſoon followed the example of the metropolis, with exception only of Pilſen, Budweiſs, and Tabor. The proſcribed nobility and gentry returned, and took poſſeſſion of their eſtates and houſes. The goods of ſuch Poliſh eccleſiaſtics, as abſented themſelves, were made a ſacrifice to the fury of the populace; which paid alſo very little reſpect to the Imperial ſoldiery. Upon this account Thurn iſſued a general protection in the name of Guſtavus†; and denounced ſevere puniſhments againſt all violators of the public peace. Though the people adored him as the genius of Liberty and their tutelar angel, yet two Imperial privy-counſellors could not eſcape their reſentment, for the multitude had been perſecuted and exaſperated beyond all imagination ſince the battle of Prague.

Guſtavus now began thoroughly to ſuſpect the elector of Saxony, who had waſted too much time at firſt ſetting out, under pretence of puniſhing his own ſubjects, and amuſed himſelf with feaſting and rioting in Walſtein's palace, when he ought to have been caſed in armour, at the head of his forces, in the middle of Auſtria. The vigilant Croatians miſſed little of taking him priſoner, whilſt he was idle enough, in the hurry of an important campaign, to amuſe himſelf with ſtag-hunting; upon which interruption, in order to enjoy his ſports and Baccharah wine with greater ſecurity, he retired nearer home, as far as Leütmeritz, leaving the conduct of the army to Arnheim, who gained ſome advantage over the Imperialiſts near Limburg, and placing Hofkirck, an Auſtrian baron, with a ſtrong garriſon at Prague. Thus ended an expedition, more famous for the effuſion of wine, than of human blood.

* *Mercure Francis*, tom. xvii. part ii. 123.
† *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. 204, &c.

While

While the elector of Saxony was thus employed, we will conſider, for a moment, the operations of the Swediſh and Imperial forces in other parts. Horn laid near Bamberg, between Guſtavus and Tilly, in order to cover his maſter's flanks, and watch the motions of the latter. Banier, Todt, Hamilton, Leſlie, the dukes of Mechlenburg and Lunenberg, not to mention the troops of Bremen, the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the chancellor Oxenſtiern, who indeed was now marching to eſcort the queen and join the king, all commanded little ſeparate armies in the northern and north-eaſt parts of Germany, and were oppoſed in their turns by no leſs perſons than Pappenheim, Tieffenbach, Goëtz, Gronsfelt, Boninghauſen, Mansfelt, and others. To enter into an abſtract only of their proceedings would make a multiplicity of wars, which the reader's mind could hardly comprehend; the king having at that time eight or nine ſeparate armies on foot, each of them in full employment againſt an equal number of enemies; independent of efforts made on both ſides in Suabia, where old ſir Patrick Ruthven, and the duke of Wirtemberg, oppoſed the elder Montecuculi, and commiſſary Oſſa.

Midſt the confuſion and tumult of wars, the landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt, who, not to degenerate from the character of his father, was always a ſecret well-wiſher to the courts of Vienna and Mentz, and found no ſmall advantage in playing ſo artful a game, made propoſals of accommodation betwixt all the contending parties then in the empire. Himſelf and the margrave of Culmbach were to be appointed the repreſentatives on the proteſtant ſide, and the archduke Leopold and the duke of Neuburg were to act the ſame parts in the catholic intereſts; but the whole project ſoon vaniſhed into air. At the ſame time the Engliſh ambaſſador *, then reſiding at Vienna, ſent his ſecretary, Richard Hurſt, to London, accompanied by a Capuchin friar, with inſtructions to make freſh propoſals concerning the reſtitution of the Palatinate. Couriers alſo were diſpatched upon the ſame errand to Madrid and Bruſſels. From all theſe proceedings nothing reſulted, except that the Engliſh laughers had their jeſt, and ſaid, that "the emperor could not be extremely warm in his circumſtances, when he was obliged to employ a plenipotentiary who was not maſter of a ſingle ſhirt †."

At this time her Swediſh majeſty arrived at Stetin; and the duke of Pomerania, with great politeneſs, paid his compli-

* Sir Robert Anſtruther. † *Memoires d'Electrice Palatine.*

ments

ments to her immediately, and beſought her to ſtay one day, and honour with her preſence a comedy and *ballet*, which he had appointed for her amuſement. She anſwered like the illuſtrious conſort of the Great Guſtavus; *that the ſtate of the times required prayers and public humiliations more than interludes and* bergamaſcos*. *That in the midſt of his feſtivities, ſhe ſhould be reflecting on the dangers which her huſband was hourly expoſed to, and conſequently be alone and abſent, although ſurrounded by* crowded theatres. Matters of public honour and ceremony being thus abruptly, but civilly decided, the duke made her majeſty a preſent of a rich caſket, and ſeveral valuable pictures in miniature; and the queen, not to be wanting in magnificence, ſent him back a vaſe and baſin of maſſy gold: and to exceed him, if poſſible, in politeneſs, ſent the ducheſs a fine coach and ſix horſes, that were moſt beautifully dappled. From Stetin ſhe paſſed on to Berlin, the place of her nativity, and thence to Dreſden.

We will now return to Guſtavus, who, till the town of Hanau was taken, had great doubts what ſteps to purſue: nor were his perplexities quite removed when Dewbatel conquered it; for though he had his choice of two routes, either to Nurenberg or Francfort, in the diſtricts round the former of which lay the temporal princes, and in the latter, the three ſpiritual electors, yet he could not eaſily determine which part of the alternative to embrace. Tilly well foreſaw, that each of theſe plans would occur to the king, for great generals want no intelligence, whereby to be informed of the nicer operations of a campaign, and therefore of courſe, when Guſtavus approached Nurenberg, he, in conſequence of that motion, filed off to Francfort; and when he perceived, that the king declined advancing to the former place, paſſed him by a forced march in the night, and placed his army directly in the road to the latter†. In this dilemma, where the ſword might not ſo conveniently take effect, for the Imperial general was extremely cautious and wary, the king applied himſelf a ſecond or third time to the arts of negotiation, and at length procured a final ratification of the treaty, which had been long agitating, on his ſide at leaſt, with the patricians of Nurenberg, whereby he gave his honour to relieve them or periſh, in caſe Tilly ſhould beſiege them.

His peace of mind being thus recovered, and all greater difficulties quieted, he appointed Axel Lilly to be governor

* That is to ſay, *maſques à la façon de Bergame*, a town in Italy. The word occurs both in Shakeſpeare and Johnſon.

† *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 20, &c.

of

of Wurtzburg, and leaving Horn as general, *by deputation*, in the circle of Franconia, embarked Torſtenſon on the Maine with all his artillery, and marched his army in two columns, on either ſide of the river, as far as Aſchaffenberg, himſelf leading *that* diviſion, which marched next to Tilly. The body of troops he then conducted amounted only to 7000 infantry, and 4000 horſe. He had few native Swedes with him, having ſent the major part to Horn, Banier, Leſlie*, Todt, and his other generals. Never army made a quieter march in an hoſtile country, for Horn was encamped at Bamberg betwixt his maſter and Tilly; ſo that one would have imagined the king was making a proceſſion in his own dominions, at the head of his ſubjects; inſomuch, that an old colonel in the Swediſh ſervice has declared, that the five days' march under Guſtavus from Wurtzburg to Aſchaffenberg, had more the aſpect of a journey of pleaſure than a military expedition.

At Aſchaffenberg, where the elector of Mentz had one of the fineſt palaces in the empire, was expected, on account of the wealth therein contained, a ſort of reſiſtance by no means contemptible; particularly as the garriſon conſiſted of one regiment of Tilly's old Burgundians, and twice the number of electoral forces; but they all diſlodged under the protection of the night, and Banier's regiment of infantry was made the garriſon.

The town of Steinheim was next taken by force, and 600 ſoldiers, who made two-thirds of the garriſon, entered into the Swediſh ſervice. His majeſty made a compliment of the caſtle and demeſnes round it to the count de Hanau's mother, unto whoſe family they antiently belonged: and this act of generoſity ſo attached that nobleman, who was no inconſiderable proteſtant prince, having five earldoms, and about 700 villages, under him†, that he, and the ſeventeen counts of Veteravia ‡, ſome of whom were Lutherans, and ſome Calviniſts, entered into a public treaty § with Guſtavus;—made over to him all their paſſes and fortreſſes; agreed to pay a contingent of £. 2500. a month during the wars, and recal ſuch ſubjects as then ſerved under

* Sir Alexander; an old Scottiſh general, governor of Stralſund when Guſtavus entered Germany.

† *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 35.

‡ Some of theſe families had more earldoms than one, as the Naſſaus, Wahlecks, Solmes's, Iſenbergs, &c.

§ It was not ſigned till the Swediſh army arrived at Francfort, and conſiſted of a long preamble by way of manifeſto, and eleven diſtinct articles that had been mutually exchanged.

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the emperor. They even had the boldneſs to aſſert, in their counterpart of articles given to Guſtavus, that this prince was compelled by mere force of conſcience to enter Germany; and that the houſe of Auſtria aimed at nothing leſs than univerſal tyranny over the minds and liberties of mankind; having ſeized the territories of the ſaid contractors, purely to ſhew what, and how much, arbitrary power can effect, either with or without reaſon, and beſtowed patrimonial inheritances, that were never forfeited, upon a ſet of *new* men, who till that time were hardly known to the empire.

From Steinheim the king advanced to Hanau, where he only ſupped, to the great mortification of the magiſtrates; and then cauſing all his drums to beat, marched ſeven miles farther that night, till he reached Offenbach-caſtle, ſituate at no great diſtance from Francfort. Here he reſted one day, having ſent the count de Solmes before to prepare his admiſſion. The magiſtrates then entreated Guſtavus to conſider their oaths to the emperor, and not only leave their town in a ſtate of neutrality, but pay ſome regard to their annual fairs, which were the chief means of their ſubſiſtence. The king replied, *That the tacit compact of their obligation to his Imperial majeſty had been already violated; that the word* neutrality *conveyed an odious ſound to his ears; and that he was ſhocked to be informed by them, that their fairs had more weight with them than their liberty, and their conſciences, ſince they conſidered things more in a private light as tradeſmen and merchants, than in a public light as members of the world and Chriſtians**. Upon this the commiſſioners interceded for time to conſider and conſult the elector of Mentz, their eccleſiaſtical ſovereign; but the king, who ſeized all incidents in their flight by him, cut them ſhort by obſerving, and here he raiſed his voice a little with a tone of authority, *That he could eaſily excuſe them from taking ſo much trouble: for being maſter of Aſchaffenberg, their prince's place of reſidence, there was no elector of Mentz, except Guſtavus; and that he would give them a more plenary and effectual abſolution in government matters than the aforeſaid prelate could pretend to do*†.

Upon this the magiſtrates conſented without delay, in the names of themſelves, and the people, not only to take an oath of fidelity, but to allow the Swediſh army ingreſs and egreſs, and admit 600 ſoldiers into Saxenhauſen, a pleaſing and elegant part of the ſuburbs, divided from the city by a large bridge.

* *Le Soldat Suedois*, p. 266. † *Ibidem.*

As this town might, in one reſpect, be conſidered the moſt renowned city in Germany, it being a common ſaying, That "he who poſſeſſes Francfort a year and a day is maſter of the empire," the king, in order to make his public entrance and proceſſion with greater ſolemnity, paſſed through it, riding all the way with his head uncovered; bowing to the better ſort of people as they ſaluted him, and ſpeaking courteouſly to the merchants, tradeſmen, and populace*. This cavalcade was preceded by fifty-ſix pieces of artillery, the more heavy cannon being carried down the Maine in boats, and then followed ſeventy-four enſigns of foot, and forty-five cornetcies of horſe. The whole ceremony being performed with ſlowneſs and regularity, a larger body of forces than this could not march through the town in one day; and of courſe, to preſerve the greater decorum, the next morning twenty-ſix more troops of cavalry cloſed the proceſſion. All of them together, according to the beſt calculation I can make, not including the corps that guarded the artillery along the river, amounted to about 14,000 effective men: ſome of which the king had gleaned up in the ſhort ſpace ſince he left Wurtzburg. Only two ſoldiers, in their march from Wurtzburg, quitted the army for a moment in order to pilfer; and both were condemned, by martial law, to ſuffer death the next day.

The magiſtracy fitted up the Imperial palace of Braunfels† to receive the king, who dined there the very day he entered the town, making choice of the ſame room where the emperor eats at his coronation. When they preſſed him to ſleep there the enſuing night, as the place of reſidence during his ſtay, he declined the requeſt, and courteouſly told them, *That he could repoſe himſelf contentedly in the open fields, and deſired no other apartments than what his pioneers made for him*; adding, *that the body of an army could not ſubſiſt without its head*; *and that he was obliged to take his chance in common with*

* It was uſually his cuſtom to diſcourſe with all the town's people, that flocked round him, and aſk them a thouſand little queſtions, that meant nothing but affability. He diſliked flattery and compliments; and when thoſe, who affected the courtly and polite ſtyle, accoſted him in ſuch language, he generally deſired them with a ſmile, *to reſerve that ſort of diſcourſe for her majeſty and her maids of honour.*

† Guſtavus, who afterwards lodged there, was ſo delighted with it, that he aſked his generals one day, if they ſaw any defect in it? When they returned their anſwer in the negative, he replied gravely, *that he perceived one, which quite diſſatisfied him; for as the palace was not built upon wheels, he could not poſſibly conceive to roll it to the ſea-ſhore of the Baltic, and thence tranſport it to the city of Stockholm.*

the meaneſt ſoldier that ſerved under him *. This was at that time nothing more nor leſs than a political pretext. It was his intention, with the moſt profound ſecrecy, to inveſt the ſtrong town of Hoëchſt; which he ſurrounded by ten o'clock that evening, as it was at no great diſtance from Francfort, and made himſelf maſter of it the day ſucceeding. For this reaſon, it was under pretence of doing himſelf and the city an honour, that he marched his forces through the town, and made them ſtand to their arms at the oppoſite gate till night came on, and then, without giving the neighbourhood the leaſt apprehenſions, conducted them unexpectedly to the walls of Hoëchſt.

It was here that George, the landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, though others, it muſt be confeſſed, ſuppoſe the place to be Steinheim, which appears to me not ſo probable, ſent a meſſage of propoſals, by one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, to the king; who being ſomewhat diſpleaſed at an application ſo devoid of ceremony, aſked Swalbach, for that was the perſon's name, not without a certain degree of warmth, *if his maſter thought it beneath him to make a viſit in perſon?* Upon this, the landgrave, whoſe character we have touched upon in a preceding paragraph, poſted away to Francfort, where his majeſty, who by this time was returned thither, took the opportunity to inſinuate, during the courſe of a repaſt, *That it might have proved more prudent for him to have joined the other proteſtant princes, who entered into the Leipſic confederation, and truſted to a manly and ſpirited reſolution, than thus to have played a ſeparate clandeſtine game, and lent an ear to the vain and illuſory promiſes of the court of Vienna* †. The landgrave was one of thoſe men who have always *more laſt words* to ſay, ſo that by ſhifting backwards and forwards, reaſoning and confirming his reaſonings over and over, with abundance of reſervations, excuſes, ſubterfuges, palliations, and promiſes, &c., he tormented Guſtavus to ſuch a degree, that the latter, merely for the ſake of holding this Proteus in any ſhape, who happened to be ſon-in-law to the elector of Saxony, a prince, who then required to be dexterouſly managed ‡, conſented to allow him a ſort of neutrality, and abſolved him from paying the common military contingent, which all other contracting powers had agreed to furniſh. In conſequence of this, the landgrave aſſigned to the Swedes the ſtrong caſtle of Ruſſelheim, in much the ſame manner as has been mentioned before with regard to

* *Le Soldat Suedois*, p. 269. † Ibid. p. 272.

‡ *Puffendorf* de Rebus Suecicis, l. iii. p. 54.

Cuſtrin

Cuſtrin and Spandau, and ceded to his majeſty free poſſeſſion of all the forts and paſſages in his territories*.

At Francfort, a more explicit ſort of perſonage joined Guſtavus, who for one day had made a ſecond journey to Hoëchſt, in order to return God thanks for his victories without the interruption of a crowd of ſpectators; and that was William, landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; who conducted with him all the troops he could conveniently ſpare, amounting perhaps in the whole to about 6000 foot, and 3000 horſe. This prince had not been inactive whilſt Tilly attempted to raiſe the ſiege of Marienberg: for during that interval he made himſelf maſter of Minden and Goëttingen, and advanced thence into the Palatinate, where he ſurprized the town of Vacha.

A treaty being now ſigned betwixt his majeſty and the people of Francfort†, great care was immediately taken of the trade and commerce of this famous city; for the king publiſhed an order with relation to the two annual fairs, wherein he allowed an impartial toleration of religion to all mankind, granting the merchants of every ſect and perſuaſion, Jews as well as Chriſtians, free unmoleſted paſſage for themſelves and their goods, and ſignifying the ſame under pain of the higheſt diſpleaſure to all his commanders. He confirmed it next year by a ſecond edict, giving his generals to underſtand, in their ſeveral diſtricts, that if any travellers were plundered, or their effects detained by force, they themſelves ſhould be anſwerable for the loſs in their own perſons‡. Hence it happened, in conſequence of this extraordinary care and generoſity, that the city of Francfort, for the ſpace of three years, engroſſed great part of the *wealth* and *ſubſtance* of the four upper circles in the German empire.

The poſſeſſion of a town like Francfort, without the loſs of a ſingle perſon, produced congratulations and compliments to his majeſty from all quarters; and upon this occaſion, ſome of thoſe court-ſycophants, who are always buzzing in royal ears, told him with a fooliſh countenance of admiration, that he reſembled Alexander the Great, not only in the greatneſs, but in the rapidity of his conqueſts; adding moreover, with a particular emphaſis that he poſſeſſed, or had at his devotion, the two places, where the Imperial crown was kept, and where the emperor received his conſecration. Upon this the king, who often dealt in the ironical ſtyle, replied

* *Chemnit.* tom. i. p. 200. † Ibid. p. 202.
‡ Ibid. p. 205.

gravely,

gravely, and without ſeeming to be affected, *That hitherto, God be praiſed, he had not been ambitious, like the deſtructive and ravaging heroes of antiquity; but contented himſelf with that diminutive ſpot, which lies wedged in between the Rhine and the Baltic**.

Whilſt things went on thus peaceably at Francfort, Tilly ravaged the marquiſate of Anſpach, and found in and near the capital abundance of arms, and a conſiderable number of excellent horſes. In this irruption, the very tombs and vaults of the reigning family were plundered; nor was the *cordon* of diamonds ſpared, which decorated the body of the old general, who, though he had commanded againſt the emperor at the battle of Prague, yet afterwards, by means of his recantation, merited better terms from the troops of the houſe of Auſtria. Tilly thence ſent the adminiſtrator of Magdeburg, whom he had carried round the empire, as a trophy ever ſince the ſtorming of Magdeburg, to Ingolſtadt; and here the coldneſs between him and Pappenheim, to whoſe impetuoſity he attributed the ill ſucceſs at Leipſic, proceeded to ſuch diſguſt and diſagreement, that the latter thought fit to retire with a ſeparate army into Weſtphalia, and left the ſiege of Nurenberg to Tilly, who hoped thereby to draw Guſtavus from the banks of the Rhine; but the patricians of Nurenberg had raiſed a little army in their own defence, and received a count de Solmes as governor on the part of Sweden. The Imperial general ſummoned the magiſtrates to ſurrender their city in his maſter's name, and demanded £.15,000. by way of contribution. The only anſwer made, conſiſted of a briſk diſcharge of artillery, ſo that one of the cannon-balls pierced the horſe-litter where Tilly ſate. Being partly diſappointed at ſuch a reſiſtance, for the town had lately given Aldringer aſſurances of fidelity and loyalty, and partly chagrined, as a priſoner in the Swediſh intereſts had ſet fire to his magazine of powder, he found himſelf obliged to direct his intentions to ſome ſecond object; or, in other words, to diſpoſe his troops into winter-quarters; part filing off towards Bohemia to watch the Saxons, and the reſt being diſperſed through the Upper Palatinate. As far as we can now diſcover, he had no apparent reaſons for his reſolution, excepting that he hoped, as a report was then ſpread of Walſtein's being recalled, to throw the king upon *that* general's hands, and entice him far off from the metropolis of his friend and patron, the duke of Bavaria. If this was the real intention, for

* *Fred. Spanheim*, Soldat Suedois, p. 275.

many think he feared to engage the king in a ſecond pitched battle*, it proved afterwards to be either ill contrived or unfortunate; for it gave Guſtavus an idea of entering into Bavaria, part of which by this movement was left naked and defenceleſs, ſome weeks ſooner than he firſt propoſed. Indeed, from the beginning to the end of this affair, he ſhewed himſelf to be no way puzzled with Tilly's ſhifting; well aware that Walſtein could perform but little till the ſpring enſuing. Of courſe, the inſtant he received the news that Nurenberg was inveſted, he diſpatched the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel with his army to watch Tilly's motions; declaring ſolemnly he would himſelf march to raiſe the ſiege in caſe there appeared any occaſion; and the moment the Imperial forces decamped towards Bohemia and the Higher Palatinate, he formed the ſcheme of croſſing the Danube in thoſe places where it was weakly defended.

It is now high time to obſerve, that the loſs of the battle of Leipſic had given the emperor inexpreſſible uneaſineſs, as it had ruined the rich harveſts of twelve the moſt proſperous, though not the moſt glorious, campaigns, that are to be met with in hiſtory. Upon reviewing what had preceded, he found himſelf without reſource of men and money. Many of the veteran legions, which in the courſe of *one* war are hardly ever to be replaced, had been careleſsly and wantonly diſbanded; and his torrent of ſucceſſes had been uninterrupted to ſuch a degree, that none of his miniſters thought it neceſſary to lay up proviſion of wealth in the exchequer. The civil and military officers lived by plunder, extortion, and confiſcation, and arrogantly concluded that their incomes could never be exhauſted.

Prodigies and omens, according to the interpretation of thoſe times, increaſed the horrors of a ſuperſtitious prince. The eruption of Mount Veſuvius, which chanced to happen ſoon after the battle of Leipſic, put all Europe into a new conſternation †. A woman was delivered of a ſtrange monſter near Vienna; and one of the emperor's counſellors of ſtate dropt down dead at his feet, as they were diſcourſing about a tower ‡, which had been erected as a trophy to his

* *Galeazzo Gualdo*, part i. l. 2. 4°. Bologn. 1641.

† Nani, Hiſtoria Veneta, tom. viii. ‡ The inſcription was,

TROPHÆUM
DEO VICTORI OPT. MAX.
IN MEMORIAM B. VIRG. MARIÆ, SS. IGNATII,
ET FRANCISCI XAVERII;
FERDINAND. II. IMPERAT.
MDC.XXVII.

The tower belonged to the Jeſuits new college at Prague.

glory;

glory; and, beſides prodigies, Maximilian, elector of Bavaria, was attempting to negotiate a ſeparate treaty with France. Upon this, he began to talk in a new ſtyle to Anſtruther, the Engliſh ambaſſador, about the reſtitution of the Palatinate; paid his court to Guſtavus, by means of the landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt; made applications to the elector of Saxony, through the interpoſition of the Spaniſh ambaſſador: and diſpatching, laſtly, the baron Curtius with freſh propoſals to the court of Verſailles, ordered him to expreſs himſelf in a very different ſtyle from what the court of Furſtenberg had formerly uſed, after the reduction of Mantua. Gabriel Oxenſtiern, the Swediſh plenipotentiary, was much better received; for France knew how to diſtinguiſh between the pretended intereſts of religion, and the real advantages of the houſe of Auſtria *.

In the next place, the emperor reformed all the offices of his court, and aboliſhed thoſe that were ſuperfluous. He reduced the number of the noblemen of his bedchamber from twenty-nine to ſix; and humbly requeſted contributions from all the princes of his own houſe, as alſo from the princes and ſtates of Italy, and the pope. The king of Spain and the king of Hungary, in conjunction with his conſort, furniſhed him each with £.150,000. The grand duke of Tuſcany ſubſcribed very generouſly; but when the Hungarian cardinal Paſman † was ſent to make an eſſay on the pope's purſe, the holy father ‡, artfully enough, refuſed to receive a *cardinal* as an *ambaſſador*; and inſiſted moreover, that the preſent war could not be conſidered *a war of religion*. Paſman replied, like a man of probity, ability, and ſpirit; for he was not only a profound politician, but, which was then rare, as well as now, a politician that led an exemplary and irreproachable life; and of courſe the public paid great regard to all he ſaid and did. He told the pope in ſo many words, That he valued himſelf on having ſpirit enough to engage *in ſecular matters*, when they were ſo *nearly connected* with his duty as a *Chriſtian*; and juſtified himſelf with ſo much firmneſs, that Urban immediately granted him an audience; ſagaciouſly foreſeeing, that it was leſs

* *Memoires d'Electrice Palatine*, &c. 306.

† Archbiſhop of Gran, or Strigonium. Some ſay his family name was Harrach, and that he was brother-in-law to Walſtein. The baron de Rabata, who paid his viſit to the other Italian princes, attended him.—*Le Vaſſor*, tom. vii. 110.

‡ Urban VIII. who had been nuncio to Clement VIII. in France, and held Lewis XIII. at the baptiſmal font.

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dangerous to *hear* his arguments, than to reject them *unheard*. In conſequence of this, the unſucceſsful prelate had only the empty ſatisfaction to proteſt aloud to all mankind, "That the holy and infallible father had extracted more notions of doctrines from *Tacitus* and *Machiavel*, than from the *Evangeliſts* and the *Apoſtles*."

The emperor then condeſcended to aſk ſupplies from his own ſubjects. Cardinal Ditrichſtein * ſubſcribed eight thouſand pounds; the prince of Eggenberg † fifty thouſand; count Michna ſixteen thouſand; the biſhop of Vienna ‡ thirteen thouſand; and Stralendorf ‖, vice-chancellor of the empire, nine thouſand pounds.

As Tilly grew old, and was neglected by the army; as he was unſucceſsful in his laſt great campaign, and devoted beſides to the Bavarian intereſts; one ſupreme commander was wanted, to make ſome counterpoiſe at leaſt, againſt the powerful good fortune of Guſtavus. The Spaniſh faction propoſed Ferdinand, king of Hungary, the emperor's ſon; who had married the infanta, ſiſter of Philip IV. and had patronized and ſtrengthened the intereſts of Madrid at the court of Vienna. The German party recommended Walſtein, as a general of great experience and unbounded generoſity; for which reaſon he was peculiarly happy in levying troops at the ſhorteſt notice, that could be imagined. Indeed, if we except Pappenheim, Tilly being ſuppoſed to be out of the queſtion, there was no alternative of choice: and Pappenheim, to give him his due, deſpiſed courtiers, court applications, and court intrigues. He wanted to be *illuſtrious*, but not *rich*. *Glory* was his *object*, and *that* he procured by the point of his ſword. Of courſe, in all this caballing, and all theſe diſtreſſes, not unhappily perhaps even for Guſtavus, HE was neither recommended by a ſingle perſon, nor even thought of; yet, deriving his reputation *only* from *himſelf*,

* Francis, cardinal and prince of Ditrichſtein, biſhop of Olmutz, protector of the hereditary dominions, commiſſary-general and plenipotentiary-governor of Moravia, &c. See more in a preceding note.

† John, duke of Crommau, and prince of Eggenberg; one of the fourteen cabinet counſellors, director of the council, knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, hereditary mareéchal of both the Auſtrias, &c. &c. *Court Kalendar of Vienna*, 1632. It was he who adviſed the Mantuan war. *Pagamino Gaudentio*; *Singolarita delle guerre di Germania*, 171.

‡ Antony, prince and abbot of Crembs-Munſter, privy-counſellor, and director of the privy-council. He had great grants out of the forfeited lands in Franconia.

‖ Peter Henry, baron, privy-counſellor, vice-preſident of the aulic council, &c. &c.

he

he never once murmured or remonſtrated; never once entertained a thought of reſigning, or quitting the ſervice; but quietly, patiently, and ſteadily, performed his duty; and died, as he lived, a faithful ſubject, an inferior commander, but a HERO. How little do princes know their true friends! Had it not been for Pappenheim, it is probable, the emperor had been dethroned, and wandered round the world like a poor proſcribed elector Palatine. Pappenheim always knew this, and yet ſerved him. I ſay he *knew* it, as appears from the dying meſſage he ſent to Walſtein.

Charles of Lorrain wiſhed, without ſucceſs, for Walſtein's employment, as we obſerved before; and count Furſtenberg, who had ſerved under Tilly, amuſed himſelf with the hope of being choſen a ſort of generaliſſimo, by the help of his kinſman of the ſame name, who was then preſident in the cabinet of the king of Hungary; for he aſpired to no other poſt than to be military counſellor and director to that prince; but, miſcarrying in this project, he reſigned his commiſſion and retired from affairs.

The Spaniards were much ſtartled with the thoughts of Walſtein's recall; for they formerly, jointly with the elector of Bavaria, had contrived his diſgrace: nevertheleſs, like good courtiers, they ſubmitted with ſeeming complacency; and, to diſſemble better their conſciouſneſs of paſt affronts, made him a compliment of the *order* of the Golden Fleece; for they knew the ſpirit of the man, and his vindictive temper. They ſaw likewiſe, that Ferdinand was young and inexperienced, and that he could not make a campaign without vaſt expence.

To pay court ſtill further to the generaliſſimo, who loved no foreign troops except Italians, whoſe quickneſs of parts he admired, and whoſe connexions with their reſpective princes he knew to be inconſiderable, they made him an offer, by the capuchin Zuiroga, to pay annually £.100,000. into the military cheſt, by way of equivalent for a body of forces, that were to have marched from the Low Countries *; which alternative he thought fit to embrace. Thus ended this cabal of faction; and moſt readers will be apt to imagine, that the German party prevailed by mere ſuperiority of reaſon. Perhaps neither *their* repreſentations, nor *thoſe* of the Spaniards, determined the important affair in queſtion; for it is probable, the emperor gave the preference to Walſtein purpoſely on account of a favourable horoſcope, which his aſtrologer had erected for that general: and the rather,

* *Le Vaſſor*, tom. vii. 135.

becauſe it is well known, he was very unwilling to humble himſelf before a ſubject, and ſubmit to aſk his pardon *.

Upon this, Maximilian, count Walſtein, maſter of the horſe to the king of Hungary, who was the general's nephew and favourite; the baron de Queſtenberg †, privy-counſellor and aulic-chancellor, who had been, and ſtill continued his patron at court; and the prince of Eggenberg, were all diſpatched to him with full authorities to make him an offer of the principal command, and a ſalary of £.100,000. a year ‡. Walſtein was then at his palace at Znaïm in Moravia, the Saxons having diſlodged him from his fine places of reſidence at Prague, and in Sileſia. He coldly declined a viſit to Vienna, pretending humility, and proteſting the title of *his highneſs*, as duke of Mechlenburg, would offend his ears; ſince it would be a ſenſible mortification to him, to be treated upon the footing of a prince of the empire. This was mere grimace and affectation; for few people were deſirous of giving him the title, and many conteſted it.

He then entertained them with a tedious homily on the inſtability of human greatneſs, the charms and advantages of retirement and ſelf-recollection, and the vanity of ambition. He lamented the ill ſucceſs of his maſter's arms, and inveighed bitterly againſt his own perſonal enemies; obſerving, haughtily enough, that if he undertook to remedy all the blunders of Tilly, and the elector of Bavaria, he ſhould juſtly merit to have his name fixed, by way of infamy, to every gibbet in the empire. Adding, that the emperor had cut off his right-arm, and now wanted to fight a duel hand to hand with the Great Guſtavus. He nevertheleſs condeſcended, under the name of the king of Hungary §, and not otherwiſe, to undertake the command for three

* *Puffendorf de Rebus Suecicis*, fol. p. 58.

† The very perſon, who formerly carried him his diſmiſſion, when he had been caſhiered by the intrigues of the diet at Ratiſbon. He was a miniſter of parts, and acquitted himſelf very ably in his embaſſy to England, after the death of Guſtavus.

‡ *Le Soldat Suedois*, 298. *Mercure Franc.* tom. xviii. p. 94. Strictly ſpeaking, the ſum amounted to 108,000l. *per annum*; but it was agreed to pay him 9000l. or 100,000 florins, at the end of each month. This ſalary carries with it the ſhew of a very high and haughty demand; yet whoever coolly conſiders the propoſals, which this man makes the emperor in the next page, and under which his Imperial majeſty thought fit to acquieſce, will not be ſtartled at the ſight of a ſtipend ſo very extraordinary at its firſt appearance.

§ This prince took the ſupreme command of the army upon him after Walſtein's death, and ſucceeded his father to the Imperial throne, in 1637, under the title of Ferdinand III.

months;

months; and at length ſeeming to be fatigued, and over-perſuaded by the ſolicitation of his friends, accepted the employ, as a ſort of *perpetual dictatorſhip*; the terms of which, conſidering them to proceed from a diſgraced ſubject to the firſt monarch in Europe, are ſuch perhaps as can be hardly *equalled* in hiſtory. He was to be *Spaniſh* and *Imperial* generaliſſimo in Germany, and ſole maſter in concluding a *peace*—His Imperial majeſty, and the king of Hungary his ſon, were reſtricted *never* to enter the camp;—and his *rewards* were to be given him, either in the lands he conquered, or in the hereditary dominions;——all confiſcations were to be at his *diſpoſal*, and that without the *concurrence* of the *chamber of Spires*, or the *Imperial council*—He was to *grant* protections, paſſports, and pardons, without *dependency*——His demands for proviſions and money, were always to be *anſwered*;——and, in caſe of a *retreat*, the *hereditary dominions* were to be open for the reception of his army*. All this could hardly have been granted, except the court of Vienna had reſolved to murder him when their turn was ſerved.

He then, in his letter to the emperor, told him, after having pauſed nearly ſix weeks, on the propoſals that had been made him, namely, from the beginning of November till the middle of December, that, for his own part, he had been over-perſuaded into compliance, and ſacrificed his private judgment to the partiality and affection of prince Eggenberg; indirectly reminding his maſter, that his actions, whether more or leſs meritorious, had not been repaid with any proportionate acknowledgments or remunerations†; and that with reſpect to himſelf, he felt great unwillingneſs to hazard his perſon, his quiet, and his honour, a ſecond time; adding further, that his principal wiſh was, to ſee a good peace ſoon eſtabliſhed; and far from any vanity of conducting great armies, and making a figure in future hiſtory, he choſe rather to collect this body of troops, and then reſign the command into the hands of the king of Hungary. In ſhort, which is a caſe not very common, he bore his proſperity with much greater philoſophy and diſſimulation, than he did his adverſity; though

* See *Chemnitz*, tom. i. 242.

† This was talking in a high ſtyle; for in a few years, from a ſimple gentleman and page, he had been created generaliſſimo of the Imperial forces, duke of Fridland, Sagan, and Glogau, with rich donatio s in land, and the power of coining money, in gold as well as ſilver; and inveſted, laſtly, with a principality of the empire, whoſe revenue, in times of peace, might amount to 100,000l. a year.

in the latter he had acquitted himſelf to the admiration of all courtiers and politicians.

His propoſals to the miniſtry for ſupplies of money were magnificent and extravagant like himſelf. He demanded three millions for raiſing, equipping, and maintaining an army of 70,000 men. He propoſed to have five regiments of Walloon cuiraſſiers completely armed; and had another project, of levying ten regiments of Coſſacks: but this ſcheme, if I remember right, never took place. However, except I am much miſtaken, Uladiſlaüs, king of Poland, made a promiſe of ſending ſuch a ſupply to the Imperial army.

About this time a report was current, that when the emperor lamented to him, that he could not raiſe a ſufficient number of forces, wherewith to oppoſe Guſtavus in the full career of his proſperity; he aſked his Imperial majeſty, how many men he deſired to levy? The quantity of troops wiſhed for, being ſpecified; Walſtein replied, with great vivacity, *Let me beſeech you, Ceſar, to raiſe juſt double that number: it is true you cannot maintain* 50,000 *freſh men*; *but* 100.000 *freſh men will ſupport themſelves in the enemies' countries**. Be this as it may, he requeſted in the laſt place, and that favour had not been granted in the preceding part of the war, that twelve regiments ſhould be quartered in Moravia, fourteen in Sileſia, ſix in Upper Auſtria, as many in the Lower, and the reſt in Bohemia: for the empire was devoured from one end to the other; and his intent was, that his men and his horſes ſhould be ſupported and maintained in good heart and high ſpirits. Never did a ſubject open a campaign with ſuch powers and advantages; and as he knew, that great numbers of Imperial officers and ſoldiers ſerved under Guſtavus, he publiſhed a placard to announce a general amneſty; and that all of them ſhould be received by him with open arms. Upon this the emperor invited him to make his appearance at the public diet, that he might in perſon receive a confirmation and ſanction of his new command from the electors and princes of the empire, there aſſembled; in reply to which propoſal, Walſtein alledged, that he wanted no countenance but from his own maſter; and then, to preſerve decencies a little, made a viſit for a month, under pretence of ill health †, to the famous *Caroline* baths ‡ near Egra.

The

* *Reflections Militaires & Politiques* de Santa Cruz, tom. iv. p. 7.

† *Itinerarium Thomæ Carve*, &c. tom. i. 81. We ſhall ſpeak more of this ſcarce book in a ſucceeding note.

‡ *Carlſbad*; in Latin *Thermæ Carolinæ*. Theſe waters are eſteemed to be ſome

The Spaniards expreſſed tranſports of joy, having taken a little time to digeſt their chagrin and reſentments, upon this recall of Walſtein: for the ſame natural acuteneſs and ſubtilty, which made them in the preceding century the inventors and finiſhers of *ſcholaſtic* learning, rendered them likewiſe in this age the maſters of civil artifice and negotiation; ſince in truth they in ſome reſpect governed England, France, Germany, and all Europe. Even the elector of Bavaria affected to put on a good countenance, in order to conceal a very afflicted heart.

Upon this, Walſtein careſſed all the officers of note, that had ſerved under him; as Gallas, whom he had made his deputy or lieutenant-general, Montecuculi the elder, Tieffenbach, againſt whom he felt ſome diſguſt. Baltazar di Maradas, Holk, Piccolomini, Terſica * his brother-in-law, and Iſolani general of the Croatians; giving them commiſſions to levy a conſiderable body of freſh forces, and to recall all thoſe, if poſſible, who had quitted the Imperial enſigns; and appointing Znaïm in Moravia for the general place of rendezvous. He then furniſhed the above-named officers with large ſums of money out of his own coffers; and, in three months time got together 30,000 approved troops, moſt of them veteran ſoldiers, with a good train of artillery: for although he was remarkably ſevere in his puniſhments, yet the men of ſervice were all ambitious to act under him, for he rewarded with a bounty rarely to be met with in a ſovereign prince. By way of diſplaying the extent of his power upon his re-eſtabliſhment, he made ſome alterations, till then unheard of, amongſt the ſubordinate generals, who before that time were very few; one only being allotted to each particular army, and therefore, without conſulting the emperor or Imperial miniſtry, he created at once four generals of artillery, and eight ſerjeant-major-generals *di battaglia*; which latter officers, as we ſhall mention them upon various occaſions, had command over all colonels, were inveſted with the power of raiſing recruits, and diſpoſed and ranged the troops in the day of battle †.

It

ſome of the beſt in Europe, both externally and internally. They were diſcovered anno 1370, in the reign of Charles IV. by means of a little ſpaniel, who, as he was purſuing his game, burnt his feet in croſſing the ſource, and howled exceedingly. The accommodations there for ſtrangers are very paſſable; the country round romantic; and the proviſions excellent.

* So the Latin and Italian writers call him; but his true name was Tertzky, and ſuch name we ſhall give him, in the ſubſequent part of this ſtory.

† *Hiſt. delle Guerre di Ferd. II. &c.* by Galeazzo Gualdo, p. 59.

It may be adviſable now to ſay ſomething, more at large, concerning the life and conduct of this extraordinary phenomenon, previous to the time our period of hiſtory commences. Sarraſin, it is true, in a very ſpirited eſſay *, performed a part of this taſk for me, about a century ago; but as I have found nothing amongſt my materials, whereby to corroborate the better half of what he aſſerts, it is my duty to conſider him in the character of a lively writer, whoſe principal view was to ſurprize and aſtoniſh the reader. Of courſe it is probable, if I may be allowed to indulge a private thought, and hazard a ſlight conjecture, that he, who was at that period a French reſident in Germany †, proceeded upon the groundwork hereafter mentioned. At the time this general's diſgrace was contriving at the diet of Ratiſbon, 1630, there was a little pamphlet ‡ handed about by the Spaniſh, French, and Bavarian faction, whether publiſhed or not, I want authority to ſay, which contained an exaggerated detail of Walſtein's life and actions; of his eſtates, buildings, and equipage; of his humours, and ſeverities; extravagancies, and profuſions. As this eſſay was compiled chiefly *ad invidiam*, with a view to promote the intrigues of a party; it is natural to conclude, that though it contained many ſtriking truths, yet it overcharged matters in various inſtances. Wherefore under this claſs may be placed the following aſſertions in Sarraſin, De Prade, and others, that his palace was built on the ruins of an hundred houſes, and was the moſt magnificent ſtructure that belonged to a ſubject: that the ſtable ſurpaſſed all deſcription: that each horſe, as the *Inamorato*, the *Orlando*, the *Belladonna*, the *Spetzaferro*, &c. had a rack and manger of poliſhed ſteel; that the ſtalls were divided by intercolumniations of Bohemian marble ‖; and that behind each horſe was placed its picture painted in full proportion by the beſt Italian and German maſters: that Walſtein had ordered an officer to be put to death for appearing at his levee with *jingling ſpurs*, and hung a valet de chambre for preſuming to wake him without directions §.

* *La Conſpiration de Walſtein.*

† This appears from the MS. papers of Sir Thomas Roe, who correſponded with him.

‡ See *a Relation of the diet of Ratiſbon*, in the year 1630, faithfully tranſlated out of the Latin printed copy, with marginal notes, 4°. London, 1632, containing ten pages.

‖ The Bohemian marble equals, if not exceeds, any ſort that is now found; of which the curious, who paſs through Tuſcany, may ſee a proof in the chapel of St. Laurence.

§ He only ſtruck him. *Galeazzo Gualdo*, 42.

If

If the palace of Walſtein, now at Prague, be the place in queſtion, it is nothing more than a nobleman's fine houſe; nor were the offices and gardens uncommonly extenſive, even at that time, for a perſon of Walſtein's rank and fortunes. The counteſs of Walſtein very politely allowed the author to examine all the apartments, where nothing ſtruck him of the extraordinary kind, either in the ſize of the rooms, or in their number, or magnificence. The ſtables are good, and that is all: and as to the pictures of the horſes, the moſt knowing perſons at Prague appeared to have heard leſs of them than the enquirer.

Probably, the original palace might be ruined, or granted away to ſome other family upon the general's diſgrace; though, if I miſtake not, the prince of Furſtenberg once told me, that Walſtein's land poſſeſſions, at leaſt, were permitted to deſcend to his ſucceſſors; and that his wife, born counteſs of Walſtein, enjoyed a very conſiderable part of her anceſtor's eſtates *. Nevertheleſs, Carve, who ſaw this place in the days of its owner's proſperity, tells us, that the ſaloon was furniſhed with excellent paintings, and the cabinet moſt richly carved and gilt. In the antichamber ſtood fifty guards, all cloathed in one ſumptuous uniform; and more immediately round the general's perſon attended daily ſix barons and ſix knights, as likewiſe threeſcore pages, the ſons of gentlemen, who ſtrove to place them in the way of fortune: for theſe young people were all inſtructed in the manners of a court, and the military exerciſes. At the innermoſt door of the antichamber were placed four perſons in the character of gentlemen-uſhers, who aſked the title, quality, and buſineſs of viſitants, and introduced them accordingly. Ten halberdiers conſtantly made the tour of the diſtrict round the palace; for Walſtein was as impatient of noiſe as any humoriſt that hath ever been repreſented upon a public theatre. Whenever he made a journey, which was uſually on matters of buſineſs, for he loved ſolitude, he affected to be attended by fifty coaches, drawn by ſix horſes; and as many waggons carried his plate, and the equipage of his tents and kitchens, He had moreover ten glaſs coaches of ſtate, which fifty grooms attended, each mounted on a fine ſteed, and leading another †. Theſe horſes were all lodged, at

* Nearly fifteen thouſand pounds a year.

† I have ſeen myſelf a certain *con-commiſſary*, and the reader, who knows the empire, may eaſily gueſs *where*, whoſe brother then acted as a *negotiant*, ride out for a ſingle mile to take the air, attended by an empty coach and ſix, two running footmen, and ſix grooms, each leading a fine horſe: which, all things conſidered, makes Walſtein's affectation leſs extraordinary.

Prague,

Prague, in one magnificent ſtable, adorned with marble mangers, into each of which a *jet d'eau* conveyed clear water at pleaſure. The garden was large, and elegantly decorated with ſtatues, fountains, and fiſh-ponds. In the midſt of it ſtood a large aviary, incloſed above and round with an arabeſque fret-work of gilt wire. His table likewiſe was ſerved magnificently; and the writers of that age mention one *uncommon* piece of pomp attending it, namely, that he had clean cloths and napkins curiouſly folded and impreſſed at every freſh repaſt. He erected a ſecond palace at Gedſin, upon the ſame principle with that at Prague, except that it was adorned with a large park, which afforded range to 300 horſes, a tower being erected in the middle, where a groom always lodged, who ſummoned them morning and evening with the ſound of a bugle-horn to come to the ſtables to be cleaned, and eat their food. He purpoſed to have performed greater wonders ſtill at the caſtle of Sagan, had not death prevented him *.

With reſpect to Walſtein's education and life †, what appears to me confirmed by good authority is, that he was born the ſon of a Bohemian knight, and educated a proteſtant. He was of a ſpirited and turbulent diſpoſition from his childhood, and mortally hated all literature and private tutors. Upon this, his father placed him as a companion with the children of the marquis of Burgau, ſon of Ferdinand, archduke of Auſtria. Here he ſtayed ſome years, and minded religious matters no more than claſſical ones; for ſitting one day at a ſermon preached in the family, the chapel being at the top of the houſe, he dropped aſleep, and tumbled out at a window, which had been opened on account of the violent heat: but receiving no ſort of harm from ſo ſtupendous a fall, he, who from his childhood was ſingular in all things, took occaſion from this event to conform immediately to the popiſh religion. He then made the tour of France, Holland, England, and Italy, and fixed at Padua, fully convinced of the expediency and advantages of learning. Here he applied himſelf to claſſical and hiſtorical erudition with infinite aſſiduity, making judicial aſtrology his recreation and amuſement. Previous to this, he had ſtudied at Altdorf near Nurenberg, where a new priſon had been erected for offending ſtudents; and the rector of the univerſity, *in terrorem*, had given orders, that it ſhould take its name from the party who ſhould firſt be confined therein. Walſtein's impetuoſity ſoon made him a delinquent, and, as the

* *Itinerariam Thomæ Carve*, tom. i. p. 90, &c.

† Vita Walſteinii ex Italic. Galeacii Gualdo, 8°. Roſtoch, 1668.

beadles

beadles were conducting kim into this apartment, he made a ſtop at the entrance under ſome pretence; kicked a little ſpaniel, that belonged to him, into the room, and ſhut the door; "Now, gentlemen, ſaid he, the priſon muſt take the dog's name, and not Walſtein's." Returning home from his travels, more ambitious than rich, he paid his addreſſes to a Bohemian widow advanced in years, but an heireſs in her own right, and with a good fortune; for Bohemia, next to England, makes the beſt proviſion for the fair ſex of any country in the world. At length, getting the better of a rival greatly ſuperior to himſelf in birth and wealth, he had the good ſucceſs to marry her; but having no children, jealouſies enſued, and our adventurer was ſuppoſed to ſuffer conſiderably from the effects of a philtre, which the incenſed lady contrived to give him. Nevertheleſs, at her death he found himſelf maſter, without exception, of her whole fortune, which was a very conſiderable one; and in the Venetian war he raiſed a regiment at his own expence, and carried it to the ſervice of the archduke, where he behaved with great reputation, and was created a baron by the emperor. He was then made governor of Moravia, and being accuſed of having received bribes, and acting in a very arbitrary manner, procured his peace at court by a timely ſacrifice of ſix-dollars in abundance to the miniſtry*. The proteſtant party fixed their eyes, principally, upon him at the firſt breaking out of the Bohemian troubles; but he attached himſelf immoveably to the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria, and underwent a confiſcation of his goods and eſtates in Bohemia; where, ſome aſſure us, he performed a notable piece of ſervice to the emperor by pure chance; for having raiſed a company of cuiraſſiers at his own expence, he happened to enter Prague juſt at the inſtant when count Thurn and an armed band of nobility forced their way into the palace, where they propoſed terms of very hard digeſtion to the viceroy, the prince of Lichtenſtein; and the count particularly, at the end of his remonſtrance, pointed with his right hand to the hilt of the ſword, which hung by his ſide: but upon hearing the ſudden trampling of horſes, he and his followers ſuppoſed themſelves to be betrayed, and betook themſelves to flight. Walſtein then marched 5000 Moravians to join Bucquoy, the Im-

* He was cited to Vienna, it is thought, by the prince of Lichtenſtein, then viceroy of Bohemia: and count Nogaroſa, firſt colonel under him, uſed to declare, that he refunded ten thouſand pounds on this occaſion. *Arndii Vita Wallenſteinii*, p. 31.

perial

perial general; but they all deſerted him upon being informed what meaſures their countrymen had taken at home in defence of their liberties. However, Walſtein poſted on to Vienna with the military cheſt: and upon this the Moravians ſeized the cardinal Ditrichſtein, who was then amongſt them, by way of pledge. Some authors likewiſe obſerve, that at the beginning of theſe civil diſcords and diſſenſions, he made his maſter an offer of levying a body of 30,000 men at his own expence, upon condition, that he was made a general *. This account can hardly be looked upon as true. Nevertheleſs, it is certain, that in 1621, he defeated a part of Gabriel Bethlem's cavalry in Moravia, and being accuſed a ſecond time at court, reſtored himſelf into favour by the ſame means he practiſed before, and cultivated the good graces of count Harrach †, one of the Auſtrian prime-miniſters and grand maréchal of the court, with ſo much addreſs, that he eſpouſed his daughter with an immenſe fortune: which was nevertheleſs exceeded by her beauty, piety, and virtue. It was he alone, who made the peace of Lubec, thereby reconciling the emperor and king of Denmark: which great event, in caſe a Guſtavus had not exiſted, might have erected the houſe of Auſtria into an univerſal monarchy: and, on this account, he was created duke of Fridland and Sagan, and received afterwards the inveſtiture of the duchy of Mechlenburg. From this moment he roſe apace in military command, and ſucceeded the marquis of Montenegro on his diſmiſſal. What relates to him from that period, has, and will appear, in the courſe of this hiſtory, except only the affair of his aſſaſſination, which happened two years after the death of Guſtavus.

It is remarkable of Walſtein, that he roſe upon no man's ruin; and as to treaſon, ſuppoſing there was *any*, moſt people imagine he caſt himſelf down the precipice, merely-becauſe he diſcovered his deſtruction to be inevitable; and with regard to his firſt diſgrace at Ratiſbon, it was partly owing to the private contrivances of cardinal Kleſel, who, on being recalled from exile, concerned himſelf in no other political matter ‡.

Walſtein,

* At that time the poſt of a field-general was very great; for the commander of one army had under him only a lieutenant-general, who was probably ſerjeant-major *di battaglia*, and general of artillery, and then came the colonels.

† Leonard Charles; who was alſo hereditary maſter of the horſe for Lower Auſtria. *Court Calendar of Vienna*, 1632.

‡ This cardinal, as we have obſerved elſewhere, was biſhop of Vienna, prime-miniſter, and favourite to the emperors Rodolphus and Mathias,

Walſtein, though bred in courts, deteſted all court promiſes and compliments; often inſiſting, that rewards magnificently beſtowed, and diſcipline, by which he meant puniſhments, ſeverely kept up and obſerved, were the only machines requiſite to keep an army in order and credit. It was a maxim alſo with him, that a commander in chief ſhould never familiarize himſelf with his generals: and for this reaſon, without being an humoriſt in the preſent caſe, as ſome have repreſented him, but purely to keep his officers at ſomething more than a reſpectful diſtance, he affected to eat alone, and profeſſed a ſort of natural antipathy to noiſe: inſomuch, that his generals and colonels, when they went to his levee, ſilenced the muſic of their ſpurs, large jingling rowels being then in uſe, by the application of a bit of ſilk twiſt, in order to pay court to their commander's ſingularity.

He loved to be obeyed in the meaneſt trifle: and having ſignified one day, that he preferred a plain red ſcarf to any other, an inferior officer, upon hearing the report, took off a very rich ſcarf, embroidered with gold, and trampled it that moment in the dirt. Walſtein ſent for him forthwith, and made him a colonel. Nevertheleſs, he had ſome ſeverities and particularities, that bordered upon madneſs: for when any perſon made a noiſe, he uſed to cry, *Hang that brute*; and diſcarded an horſe-officer for appearing in his preſence-chamber without his boots.

He had a magnificence and generoſity beyond whatever appeared in any ſubject. He ſent Piccolomini £.1600. the day after the battle of Lutzen: and as Iſolani, with his Croatians, had haraſſed Guſtavus extremely in his camp near Nurenberg, he made him a preſent of £.600. and a fine Spaniſh horſe. When an officer had performed any remarkable ſervice, it was cuſtomary for the commiſſary-general to give him an entertainment, and there was a ſort of honorary wine allowed by the government, or the commander in chief, on the occaſion. After this repaſt at count Michna's, for he was then commiſſary-general, cards and dice were produced, and Iſolani loſt all his money. Walſtein heard of it, and ſent him, whilſt he continued in company, £.300. more; which ſo aſtoniſhed the Croatian commander, that he vowed he would never gamble from that moment, and haſtened directly to the general's tent to return his thanks.

At

but diſplaced by Ferdinand. He was recalled ſome years before his death; but declined all concern with ſtate affairs, except in the inſtance here alluded to. Gregory XIV. paſſed an ample juſtification in his favour, which was one of the laſt acts he ſigned, having had his cauſe under deliberation four years. He died in 1630, aged 77.

At that inſtant advice came in, that a Swediſh convoy was marching from Wurtzburg. Iſolani, without orders, for he knew Walſtein loved to be anticipated upon ſuch occaſions, leaped on his horſe, which waited at the tent door, conducted a body of troops, that ſtood always in readineſs, and beat the enemy.

When Peroni, the manager of his family, hired Battiſta Seni at Vienna to be his *aſtrologer extraordinary*, and agreed with him for a penſion of ſeven pounds ten ſhillings a month, Walſtein told him, with a countenance of anger, that he was not to exerciſe his Florentine economy under his roof, and particularly towards men of letters. He then ordered Seni ſixty pounds for the expence of his journey, which was only forty miles, allowed him ever afterwards a coach and ſix horſes, and paid him his annual ſalary of three hundred and fifty pounds beforehand.

He maintained the ſubordination of diſcipline with religious exactneſs, and degraded more inferior officers than one for ſlight degrees of negligence; ſo that the higher ſort found themſelves obliged to ſtudy his looks as well as his words, for he affected taciturnity upon all occaſions, except eſſential ones. He copied Scipio in rewards, and Hannibal in puniſhments: he loved ſpirit in a military man, even at a time when it was culpable to ſhew it, and releaſed a Walloon captain, who choſe rather to die by a manly reſiſtance, than ſubmit to bodily chaſtiſement. The ſtory in a few words was thus. This officer conducted the part of an eſcort which attended Walſtein, but riding to ſee ſomething out of the high road, the general ordered a perſon ſuperior in command to ſtrike him; upon which the Walloon drew his ſword, and attacked him and his ſervants. Walſtein then with a nod put a ſtop to all further proceedings; and as he diſcovered ſo high a ſpirit in the delinquent, not only forgave him, but made him a preſent of £.200.*

As to his religion, he had abjured *one*, and practiſed the *other*, as the catholics thought, very imperfectly: for he diſliked many ceremonies in the popiſh church, and deteſted the jeſuits above all men, conſtantly inſinuating, that perſecution ought ever to give place to civil prudence. He loved the ſplendor of a magnificent table, but reſtrained himſelf to ſtrict moderation both in eating and drinking. With reſpect to the fair ſex, he never indulged any unlawful amours: nor was *that* the faſhion of military men in the age I am ſpeaking of. Indeed the ſervice was ſo ſharp, and ſo uninterrupted, that there was no time for them, nor was it cuſtomary then for officers to ſpend the winter ſeaſon luxuri-

* *Galeazzo Gualdo*, p. 43.

ouſly

ouſly in their own metropolis. We read but of two commanders in the Imperial and Swediſh ſervice, who kept their paramours, and thoſe were Holk and Coningſmarc; which latter durſt not have done ſo, till many years after the death of Guſtavus. Nor did two men ever more miſtake themſelves in the talents of gallantry; for Holk was disfigured with the loſs of an eye, and Coningſmarc was ugly beyond deſcription. Now it is plain their brother generals envied them not theſe ſort of pleaſures, but rather conſidered ſuch intercourſes as beneath the attention of an able and vigilant officer: for when Coningſmarc quarrelled with the maréchal de Guébriant, and ſeparated his forces from him in a very abrupt and rude manner, the maréchal ſaid aloud, at the head of his troops, "Let him go—I wiſh him and his whores a good journey—I want the aſſiſtance of no ſuch heroes as himſelf;—but let him take his army of ſtrumpets with him."

We find * in Walſtein the ſame diſapprobation on a like occaſion. For when he was at Prague or Znaïm, one of his generals, ſuppoſed to be Holk, ſent him a letter to requeſt the favour of paſſing a few days with him; to whom Walſtein, underſtanding that Holk's miſtreſs bore him company, returned this ſhort meſſage; "That he and his lady would be pleaſed to point their courſe to his other palace at Gedſin; for as he was erecting a fine edifice there, and purpoſed to people the village adjoining, he thought that place in Bohemia the moſt proper for them, and moſt agreeable to their inclinations."

We may obſerve further with regard to Walſtein, that he allowed no precedence of quality throughout the army, not even in princes; but ordered each officer to take his place according to the military rank and ſtation then ſubſiſting. He knew the value of good *intelligence*, and never ſpared his purſe upon that head: inſomuch that Chieſa, one of his favourite colonels, tells us, that he had obſerved him more than once appropriate a thouſand pounds a month to ſuch purpoſes: and hence it was, that he apprized the emperor minutely of Guſtavus's invaſion, when the Auſtrian and Spaniſh politicians had never once dreamt of ſuch a viſit. He loved an enemy, if he was a brave man; and on this account himſelf walked at Pappenheim's funeral proceſſion.

* *Hiſt. du maréchal de Guébriant*, par Jean de Laboreur, fol. Par. 1684. The ſame author wrote the *curious voyage* of Madam the maréchale Guébriant, ambaſſadreſs extraordinary and plenipotentiary into Poland, 4°. Par. 1648.

That he had arrogance is not to be diſputed; for he once declared, that he would ſcourge Guſtavus out of Germany: nor was it uncommon for him to reject a colonel, who brought to him the Imperial recommendation in his pocket. When ſome ſycophants, a ſet of men he mortally hated, attempted to ruin an officer, who had forgot to return him thanks for a commiſſion lately beſtowed, his anſwer was, That "the poor man is ſo overcome with gratitude, that he has not power to return his acknowledgments."

He was rather ſucceſsful, than great or inventive in the art of war, and much better qualified to raiſe and ſubſiſt an army, in which talents he was admirable, than to conduct it ſcientifically in the day of battle. He fought upon the Low-Country principles, of ranging men in great ſquare maſſes, but placed much confidence in the ſize and number of his field-artillery. His character, for perſonal courage, has been depreciated by ſome, becauſe he ſate in a horſe-litter during the important deciſion at Lutzen; but it is probable a fit of the gout compelled him to appear in that ſituation. Some likewiſe have impeached him of cruelty, and alledge as a proof the courts-martial, which he held at Prague after the defeat above mentioned. But the generality of writers are inclined to conjecture, that the philtre which his firſt wife gave him, diſcompoſed his intellects to a certain degree. However that may be, true it is, Guſtavus always conſidered him as diſturbed in his intellects: and this perhaps may account for his boaſting to take Stralſund, "though it hung from heaven by an adamantine chain;" and for the extraordinary anſwer likewiſe, which he gave an officer, who told him, by miſtake, that the king of Sweden had ſtormed an old caſtle * thought to be inacceſſible, which made a part of his camp near Nurenberg; "Sir," ſaid he, abruptly, "the Supreme Being cannot take that caſtle:" a profaneneſs of expreſſion, which nothing would have allowed me to inſert here, had it not been my purpoſe to ſuggeſt that Walſtein approached very near the verge of madneſs.

As he rarely ſpoke in company, but kept his attention fixed on other men's diſcourſe, Sarraſin has given him the character of being *at once penetrating and impenetrable*; which is a pretty antitheſis, but not founded on truth, in regard to Walſtein, who had the *penſieri ſtretti*, but not the *ſciolto viſo*. Guſtavus, Oxenſtiern, and Richelieu, were bold and open; Walſtein, Gondemar, and Mazarin, were reſerved and ſhy; for they had not parts to be great! and when true greatneſs is

* Altenberg.

wanting,

wanting, then low cunning muſt ſhuffle and diſtribute the cards as well as it can.

To give the finiſhing hand to this digreſſion: the Imperial general, after the death of Guſtavus, grew ſo powerful, that the court of Vienna from that moment determined to put an end to his authority, or his exiſtence; and after reflecting two years, decided at length in favour of an *aſſaſſination*, attended with circumſtances ſo extraordinary, that it has been repreſented on public theatres in more countries than one *. To bring the ſtory into a ſhorter compaſs, I muſt obſerve, as I have ſuggeſted before, that when Walſtein found his ruin unavoidable, he tried to ſecure himſelf by the fidelity of his ſoldiers, and made diſtant attempts, as ſome ſay, to feel the pulſes of the Swedes and Saxons: for the emperor and his miniſters had raiſed him *ſo high*, and were ſo much *obliged to him*, that they had no expedient remaining, as *politicians*, but to *kill* him. To enter into the whole point minutely would demand a diſtinct work; for no part of hiſtory is leſs known than the ſuppoſed defection and treaſon of Walſtein; ſince the accounts are ſo various, the repugnancies ſo manifeſt, and the methods of acting on his ſide ſo abſurd and hazardous, that no man can pronounce any thing with the leaſt degree of certainty on *that* ſide of the queſtion, except, in caſe there was a real intention to rebel, any original writings are preſerved in the archives of Vienna and Dreſden. Such papers, after all my enquiries, I never could hear of. M. Baron de Firmian put Carve's † book into my hands as the only real aſſiſtance that could be given me; and I aſked this favour of him with ſome earneſtneſs, becauſe my friend M. de Voltaire has declared, "that the conſpiracy of Walſtein is received as

* There is an Engliſh tragedy on the ſubject. No plot, I know of, falls ſo well within the compaſs of the *three unities*, as the death of Walſtein.

† The title of this work is as follows: *Itinerarium* R. D. THOMÆ CARVE, *Tripperarienſis, Sacellani majoris in fortiſſima juxta ac nobiliſſima legione Domini Colonelli D. Walteri* DEVEROUX, *ſub ſacra Ceſaréa majeſtate ſtipendia merentis; cum hiſtoria facti Butleri, Gordon, Leſly & aliorum.* Impenſis auctoris, Mogunt. 1639 and 1641. Tom. ii. 12°.

This curious and very ſcarce book was firſt ſhown me at Vienna, and then given me, by Charles, baron de FIRMIAN, nephew to the late archbiſhop of Saltzburg, aulic counſellor, &c. and Imperial miniſter now in Spain; to which excellent perſon, who, without flattery, may be pronounced one of the beſt hiſtorians in the empire, I acknowledge myſelf in this, and many other reſpects, to have ſingular obligations.——I ſaw another work of Carve's at Vienna, entitled, *Lyra, ſeu Anacephaloſis Hibernica, in qua de origine, nomine, moribus gentis Hibernicæ tractatur; nec non annales Hiberniæ ab anno* 1148 *ad* 1650. Viennæ, 4°. 1664, and Sultzbaci, 4°. 1666.

an hiſtorical fact, and yet the world hath been long ignorant of what kind it was."

That Walſtein was of a violent and overbearing temper is very certain. It is plain alſo, that he thought himſelf diſreſpected and ill uſed *, after the death of Guſtavus; for then the houſe of Auſtria did not much want him. It ſeems probable likewiſe that he intended to continue generaliſſimo againſt his *maſter's will*, but it no where appears that he had thoughts of *injuring him*; for, could that have been proved, a legal decapitation would have been more decent, and full as effectual.

Carve cooks up a treaty in form between Walſtein and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg †; but the point is, how he came by it; for there is neither date, nor ſignature. We ſuppoſe therefore that what he has amaſſed together, was the common language of the court-party at that time.

As the report of Walſtein's diſgrace was whiſpered abroad more or leſs in every place, it may be true, that the major part of his officers ſent a proteſt to him againſt his reſignation; and Carve ſays that Leſlie and three colonels carried it. In this paper it was declared, that they would juſtify his non-reſignation at the expence of their lives and fortunes; and though ſuch an action would have been criminal in another country, yet it muſt be remembered, that when Walſtein accepted the poſt of generaliſſimo, he inſiſted, and the emperor agreed, that all the army ſhould take an oath of fidelity and obedience to him. In confirmation of which there is a remarkable paſſage on the occaſion in the emperor's letter to the army, dated Jan, 24, 1634:

"Having been informed, ſays he, that ſome of our principal commanders *gave into propoſals and conceſſions ſomewhat further than became them*, yet, as we eaſily perceive, that they were induced ſo to do by flattering promiſes, and a falſe conception of things, we of courſe graciouſly pardon them, as alſo every thing which *by chance* they may have done either againſt us or our authority; two perſons only excepted, whom we ſhall examine and puniſh."

Who theſe two perſons were, appears not from hiſtory. It is probable they were a couple of Walſtein's friends in the cabinet or aulic council; for we find each military officer of note ſtill continued in his employment.

* Amongſt other things Walſtein had aſked the title of count for his friend colonel Illo, but was peremptorily refuſed.

† Any proof of this ſort would have laid the foundation of a juſtifiable proceſs in forms of law.

We will now endeavour to trace our ſtory ſomewhat nearer its ſource: taking Carve's account to be in many reſpects the moſt authentic; for he was chaplain to Devoreux who killed Walſtein. Nevertheleſs his whole narrative muſt be read with caution, for it was natural in him, from his *religion* as well as *private obligations*, to favour the houſe of Auſtria and her agents, and therefore it is that I have followed ſome hiſtorians that are leſs prejudiced than Carve; the whole of what they ſay amounting to this.

It being determined at Vienna, to make Walſtein a ſacrifice, care was taken to ſound the inclinations of the generals. Galas and Piccolomini, both Italians, and officers of repute then ſerving under him, refuſed, the firſt gently, and the other peremptorily, to have any hand in ſo unſoldierlike an action; but the former, as I obſerved, expreſſed a ſort of acquieſcence, in caſe *other* perſons might be found who would undertake the taſk; and of courſe withdrew from his general under various pretences.

It was now high time for the Imperial miniſtry to ruffle Walſtein's temper, in order to force him into ſome acts of extravagance. Of courſe a ſnare was ſpread for him, and that not unartfully*; for the emperor commanded him, under pretence of favouring the hereditary dominions, as the power of the Swedes was conſiderably weakened, and as the elector of Saxony began to waver in his friendſhip towards them, to diſpatch a ſmall army againſt duke Bernard, near Paſſau, and appropriate 6000 choſen cavalry, to act under the cardinal infant in the Low-Countries; than which no ſcheme could be better calculated, either with a view to weaken Walſtein's hands, or facilitate the aſſaſſination that was then projected. The Imperial general *now comprehended*, what before he *ſuſpected only*; but, diſſembling his more private thoughts, contented himſelf with exclaiming, that his abilities as a ſoldier were called in queſtion; and that his poor troops would be haraſſed and ſtarved; which affected the colonels that were with him, ſo deeply, eſpecially ſuch as were his friends and favourites, that they made him an offer, as we obſerved before, of *not* deſerting him, under any affront or diſgrace. This happened at Pilſen, Jan. 12, 1634.

Walſtein then, for ſome ſecret reaſons preferring Egra†, made a viſit to it in the Chriſtmas holidays; and as he

* *Brachelii* Hiſt. noſtr. Temp. p. 309.

† *M. de Voltaire*, in his *Annals of the Empire*, tom. ii. ſays, Walſtein reſided at Egra; but he only ſlept there one night.

always confided more in foreigners than native Germans, ordered colonel James Butler, not him who behaved so well at Francfort upon the Oder, to attend him with an escort of horse and infantry, all Irish. John Gordon at that time commanded the garrison of Egra, an officer in whom Walstein placed no small confidence, as he had raised him from a private foot soldier *, and made him lieutenant-colonel of his brother's †, Tertzky's regiment; and in conjunction with Gordon, Leslie, who served in the capacity of watch-master general ‡, acted in the same regiment.

By this time Walstein began to feel great uneasiness; for Galas, who had engaged to bring Aldringer with him from Vienna, was not arrived; Piccolomini and Coloredo had both absented themselves upon various reasons or pretences; and therefore, before he left Pilsen he sent for Gordon and Leslie separately, in order to fix them more in his interests. Here it must be observed, that Leslie had received some private intelligence from Vienna, relating to the storm that then hung over Walstein's head: but kept the affair in his own breast §.

Leslie now being better instructed, and hoping to penetrate farther into the general's designs, received with no small satisfaction a message from Walstein, with an invitation to visit him at Pilsen; but, after having travelled nine miles, he met his general coming to Egra in his horse-litter according to custom; and escorted by colonel James Butler, with 50 horsemen and 200 infantry, all of Butler's Irish regiment of dragoons. Walstein saluted Leslie in the most cordial manner, and after a little private discourse sent him back to Egra to prepare things for his reception.

As Walstein travelled slowly and with no small solemnity, Leslie returned, and, bringing Gordon with him, conducted

* *Puffendorf*, p. 139.—Gordon, says Paganino Gaudentio, might have answered the proposals of the Imperial ministry more nobly, and more honestly, in the words of Grillon, colonel of the guards to Henry III. who, being requested to murder the duke of Guise, replied frankly, that he was a soldier of honour, and would never imbrue his hands in the blood of a person from whom he had received many signal benefits. *Le Singolarita delle Guerre di Germanid*, 4°. 1640.

"Gordon" (says Carve) "was *nobilissima prosapia oriundus*. He had many relations of his own name in the Imperial service: *e.g.* one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, one watch-master, &c." *Itin.* tom. i. p. 56.

† Tertzky and Walstein married two daughters of count Harrach.

‡ M. de Voltaire calls him *Lacy*, which is a common French negligence in spelling *proper* names; and by mistake makes him captain of the guard to Walstein. (*Annales d'Empire*, tom. ii.)

§ *Itinerarium*, tom. i. p. 95.

their

their general to his lodgings; where being aſked to ſtay, they converſed an hour or more with Walſtein, who then unboſomed himſelf, and complained with ſome acrimony of his ill-uſage. In conſequence thereof, Leſlie, who ſeemed to anſwer for Gordon and Butler, told him, that all the world, and eſpecially ſtrangers, had partaken of his liberalities; that he had left his country to advance his fortunes; and that upon ſuppoſition his oath to the emperor was rendered void, he would ſerve a ſecond maſter with like fidelity*. Meanwhile, Butler felt ſome ſurprize within himſelf at this diſcourſe; and as they walked from the general's apartments to the caſtle, dropped ſome random hints in Walſtein's favour, for he ſuſpected both his friends, as they were rigid proteſtants; to which Gordon replied with ſome emotion, and as being governor of the town, he was then the principal perſon amongſt them; "You, gentlemen, may do as you pleaſe; but death itſelf ſhall never alienate me from my duty and affection to the emperor:" upon which, Butler produced a letter from Galas, wherein his Imperial majeſty authoriſed all his officers to withdraw their *allegiance* † from Walſtein

The conſpirators having thus underſtood each other, determined to deſtroy their general without delay. It was firſt reſolved to poiſon ‡, or ſend him and his aſſociates priſoners to Vienna; but immediate death was then conſidered as a more effectual way of going to work §. Upon this, Gordon was pitched upon to give a public ſupper in the caſtle, it being then the feſtival days ſucceeding Chriſtmas; and Butler was deſired to bring Walſtein's four favourites, namely, the colonels Tertzky, Illo, Kinſky, and Nieman, which latter was the general's ſecretary. As the caſtle was a fortification within a fortification, no place could be more convenient for the perpetration of ſuch an action; and Gordon took care, not only to fill it, more or leſs, with ſuch ſoldiers as he could beſt confide in, but, after the cloſe of the evening, conveyed ſecretly into the caſtle, by a poſtern gate, captain Walter Devoreux, and watch-maſter Robert Geraldine, at the head of fifteen men, ſelected for ſo deſperate

* *Carve*, ut ſupra.

† This particular expreſſion was made uſe of, becauſe all the generals, officers, and ſoldiers, had taken an oath to Walſtein, by the emperor's orders, when he was inveſted the ſecond time with the ſupreme command.

‡ *Carve*, tom. i. p. 103.

§ Mutarunt tunc paulo poſt id conſilii, ſtatueruntq; jurati omnes morte plectere: ut totum malum ſimul tolleretur. *Ibid.* The ſame author owns afterwards, that Butler acknowledged to the garriſon and his own regiment, that the fact was committed JUSSU CÆSARIS.

an enterprise *; whilst captain Edmond Burk, with an hundred soldiers, was ordered to keep the streets quiet. This had no suspicious appearance, for Walstein above all things hated noise. Burk at the same time had private instructions to crush any mutiny or insurrection in its infancy; in case the soldiers should resent the deaths either of their general, or colonel; for Tertzky's whole regiment of dragoons laid then in the town. Burk well knew what he was to do, but it is probable his soldiers did not: for if any one man had betrayed the conspiracy to Walstein, whose generosity, to say the least of it, was equal, if not superior to that of an emperor, the general himself might not only have escaped, but destroyed all the conspirators, and perhaps the house of Austria likewise. Burk, through a sort of soldierlike punctiliousness, right or wrong, kept his promise inviolable, as also the secret with which he was intrusted.

In the course of the desert, at about half an hour after ten, Gordon, or Leslie, proposed the health of the elector of Saxony; upon which, the better to conceal their intentions, Butler professed to be greatly surprized, and declared he would drink to no man's prosperity, who was an enemy to *Cæsar*. On a sudden the conversation grew loud and vehement, which being agreed upon as a signal to Devoreux and Geraldine, in an instant two doors opened on either side of the room, and Devoreux and Geraldine entered; the latter with a partisan in his hand, and the former with a sword, attended each by seven or eight soldiers, who had their swords drawn. *Long live Ferdinand the second!* cried Devoreux, *And long prosper the house of Austria!* replied Geraldine. Butler, Gordon, and Leslie, seized the candles, and held them aloft. The table then was overturned in a moment, whilst Illo had presence of mind to fly to his sword, which hung up against the wall; but in reaching it, was pierced through the body, and expired with it undrawn in his hand. Tertzky was equally brave, and more fortunate; for, seizing his sword, which hung up in the same manner, he planted himself in a corner, maintained the combat so long till he killed three of the assailants, the idea of his being invulnerable †, greatly

* Walstein, as generalissimo, had issued out the watch-word of the night; but to carry on their purposes the better, the conspirators changed it with respect to their party.

† Some historians give Tertzky's resistance to Illo, and Illo's to Tertzky; but the character agrees best with Tertzky, who, on account of his presence of mind, and intrepidity, was reputed to be *gefrorn*. *Bertius de Bellis Germ.* 4°. 545. Having mentioned this popular error of the age more than once,

greatly diſmaying them, and in the pauſes of his defence, for he fought like an enraged lion, beſought the ſoldiers, *to deſiſt for a moment, and he would "undertake, hand to hand, Gordon and Leſlie*;*" for Butler appeared to him to be honeſt; *"after that, gentlemen, you are a great many in number, and have full power and liberty to kill me. But, Gordon,* ſaid he, looking ſternly on him, *"is this the way of giving your friends a ſupper?*†" Kinſky reſiſted manfully, but unſucceſsfully. Nieman made an effort to eſcape, but was ſeized in the attempt. He begged hard for his life, and deſired to be conſidered in the character of an amanuenſis, rather than a ſoldier; but the conſpirators had no ears for ſuch diſtinctions. A duke of Lerida was mortally wounded by Tertzky in the conflict, whom we ſuppoſe to have been a young volunteer in the emperor's army ‡.

In an inſtant, Devoreux, to whom the honour of murdering Walſtein had been allotted, to uſe Carve's words, having broken his ſword in the late rencounter, ſnatched a partiſan from one of the ſoldiers, and taking with him thirty freſh men, which had been concealed for that purpoſe, flew directly to the general's lodgings; when, juſt as he entered the porch, a muſquet, which belonged to one of his followers, happened to go off, but gave no alarm to the domeſtics within. Knocking abruptly at the outward door, the porter admitted him; but knowing his maſter's delicacy in regard to noiſe, bid him take care what he did; "Friend, ſaid Devoreux, this is a time *for noiſe, and not for ſleeping*:" and upon that, all his ſoldiers ruſhed in after him. He then haſtened

once, it may not be unentertaining juſt to obſerve, how the invulnerability here ſpoken of was obtained; and to what degree the incantation extended. The party, requiring to be *frozen*, procured a magician to mark his body with taliſmanical ſignatures; and whenever any immediate danger was expected to approach, ſwallowed four paper pills, containing each an enchanted verſe, of which the tutelary effects laſted ſix times the ſame number of hours. During that period, neither ball, nor ſword, &c. entered the fleſh; and the contuſions being touched by a penknife, and ſqueezed, healed themſelves immediately.

Nor did the death of Tertzky diſprove the belief of his being *gefrorn*; for, ſaid the wiſe maintainers of that doctrine, as he came to a *friendly* entertainment, he had no need to ſwallow a doſe of paper labels by way of precaution.

M. de Voltaire, contrary to all hiſtory, tells us, that Walſtein's friends were *ſtrangled*. Ann. d'Emp. tom. ii.

* Theſe two officers were proteſtants. *Ab orthodoxa diſſentientes fide.* CARVE.

† *Merc. Fran.*

‡ Carve ſays, that amongſt all theſe people who had an hand in Walſtein's death, &c. and whom he calls *gloriæ ſocios*, there was no German nor Italian, and only one Spaniard; whom we ſuppoſe to be the young duke here mentioned. How he happened to be one of the party, ſeems to be accounted for in the *Military Eſſay*.

up

up the ſtaircaſe, and finding the door faſtened, for Walſtein, who had heard the muſquet, and the confuſion below, had doubly bolted it, demanded where the gentleman of the bedchamber was, who kept the key? but that perſon not appearing, he knocked rudely at the door with great furiouſneſs*. Meanwhile, the report of what happened had reached the neighbouring apartments, where Tertzky's and Illo's wives were lodged, who made the ſtreets reſound with their ſhrieks and lamentations; and therefore whilſt Devoreux remained in ſuſpenſe at the chamber-door, Walſtein examined the windows in hopes to eſcape; but ſoon recollected the depth to be ſuch, that it was impoſſible for him to ſave his life by an attempt of that nature. He then put his head twice out of the caſement, and cried aloud, "Is no man my friend? Will no one aſſiſt me?" Upon which, Devoreux, growing impatient, knocked thrice, but received no anſwer. He then commanded his ſoldiers, who made five attempts without ſucceſs, to burſt the door; but applying himſelf to the taſk with them, and directing his ſtrength juſt againſt the lock, he flung it into the room with great vehemence.

As Walſtein's gentleman of the bedchamber was retired, it is concluded that the general had compoſed himſelf to reſt, and was alarmed by the noiſe. When the aſſaſſins broke in, he ſtood in his night-gown and ſhirt near a table; and, which is very remarkable, had neither ſword nor piſtols with him; which looks as if he was not conſcious of any rebellion, or feared a deſign againſt his life. He truſted to human gratitude and promiſes, but in the event found them mere chimeras. The worſt which he thought could befal him, was to be ſent a ſtate-priſoner to Vienna; for had he entertained any ſuſpicions, he had Tertzky's favourite regiment of dragoons then in the town. On the contrary, he had not a ſentinel at the door of his lodgings, though at all other times he uſed to mount a guard of an hundred men; nay, what is more, he had hardly a ſervant about his perſon. Thus he fulfilled the old Latin ſaying, *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat*; or, as it is more elegantly expreſſed by a poet of our own country;

> For thoſe whom Heaven for ruin hath deſign'd,
> It fits for fate, and firſt deſtroys the mind.
>
> DRYDEN.

When Devoreux broke into the chamber, he accoſted him abruptly thus; *Are not you the betrayer of the emperor, and the*

* The author of the *Mercure François* ſays, that Butler attended below.

empire?

empire? To which no anſwer was returned. He then made him an offer of a few moments to ſay his prayers; but Walſtein extended his arms in order to open his naked breaſt, and received Devoreux's partiſan through his heart; having not ſpoken one word from firſt to laſt, and expiring with a groan which terrified all the accomplices that ſtood round. Ferdinand II. who was really his murderer, ordered 3000 maſſes to be ſaid for his ſoul, and thus the tragedy ended.

The actors in it were rewarded as follows: Butler and Devoreux haſtened immediately to Vienna. The emperor was at church. I ſuppoſe the ſervice was juſt over; though Carve does not mention that circumſtance. Upon ſeeing Butler, he cried out, *Deus conſervet & benedicat dilectum nobis caput, Butlerum noſtrum.* He then carried the two officers into his palace, and ordered the archbiſhop of Vienna, who had performed divine ſervice that morning, to place a magnificent gold chain on Butler's neck, and add thereto his benediction. Next he gave him his medal, ſaying at the ſame time, "You ſhall wear this in memory of an emperor, whom you preſerved from ruin, as well as all his family." He then created him a count; gave him the gold key of the bed-chamber, and large confiſcated demeſnes in Bohemia *. Another gold chain was beſtowed on captain Devoreux; beſides other ample rewards; which, to preſerve *a little, a very little decency,* were kept ſecret †.

* We have ſpoken of this officer and his brother in the ſtorming of Francfort upon the Oder, vol. i. and have obſerved there, that the king of Sweden, probably for juſt reaſons, had a perſonal hatred to him. He enjoyed his countſhip, and the large confiſcations made over to him, not above one year after Walſtein's death: for Carve left Ireland in Auguſt 1634, as appears by the Apoſtolic vicar's teſtimonial, and having wandered over Poland, Bohemia, and great part of Germany, found our James Butler dead in the dutchy of Wirtemberg. Carve, by the way, was ſent for from Ireland, to be made chaplain to Butler's regiment.

Butler bequeathed a part of his riches as follows: Thoſe *pious* riches, ſays Carve, *quas* æquiſſimo *Marte* maſcula ſua manu *acquiſierat*. He left a memorial of 20 pounds value to Lumormain, the emperor's confeſſor; 3,300*l.* to the Iriſh and Scottiſh college at Prague; 500*l.* to be diſtributed to Iriſh ſtudents then reſident there; 1000*l.* to his ſiſter; and 150*l.* to Walter Devoreux, who killed Walſtein. His widow, whom he left very rich, carried his body into Bohemia, being guarded by a troop of dragoons; and buried him there with great pomp. *Itin.* ut ſupra, tom. i. c. 7.

† What appears from hiſtory is, that he was immediately made a lieutenant-colonel, and afterwards a colonel; he had alſo the gold key of the bedchamber given him. When he was created a colonel, he appointed Carve chaplain to his regiment; and hence it is ſuppoſed, that Carve knew more of Walſtein's death than any other writer. I find Devoreux alive in 1638, by the teſtimonial he gave this chaplain when he returned to Ireland, and whom he had raiſed at laſt to be chaplain-general to all the Engliſh, Scottiſh, and Iriſh forces in the Imperial ſervice. *Itin.* tom. ii. p. 354.

To

To Leſlie were given large eſtates in Hungary and Stiria; and Gordon had a good part of Tertzky's eſtate, which was a very great one. Each captain had two thouſand pounds and upwards paid him down in ready money. The inferior officers and ſoldiers were rewarded in proportion.

An epitaph was handed about on the occaſion, which has its merit. It was a French production, and came from the pen of Sarraſin, or father Joſeph, the famous negotiator.

Vitam privatam odit animus regius,
Magnanimus ardua molitur:
Ambitionis nec meta, nec regreſſus,
Aut pereundum, aut regnandum:
Non judicanda eventu, quæ ratione acta ſunt;
ACTIONES SUNT VIRTUTIS, EVENTUS FORTUNÆ.
Juſtum erat ut Sceptrum regium quæreret,
Qui Cæſarem dedit.
Quod fecit, licet,
Quia fecit, ut regnaret.
Cæſarem cadentem erexit Walſtein,
Cæſar evectus proſternit Walſtein,
Qui in adverſis ſocium habuit, in proſperis ſervum non ſuſtinet;
Voluit perdere, quem non potuit remunerari;
Nimium meritum odium peperit:
Dum victoriam alteri parat,
Invidiam ſibi ſtruxit;
Gloriam dedit Imperio, Imperium ſibi ruinam.
Vitam, opes, amicos pro Cæſare toties expoſuit:
Vitam, opes, amicos Cæſar ſemel abſtulit:
Vita ceſſat, Fama durat.
Quis neſcit tua virtute partum, auctum, firmatum Imperium?
Nihil aliud injuſtum feciſti,
Niſi quod ingrato nimium fideliter ſerviebas.

In ſhort, Walſtein was a compoſition of the *great* and *little*: theſe two words decide his character. His naked body, and the bodies of his four colonels, were carried in a dung-cart through the principal ſtreets of Egra with all manner of inſults, and then thrown into a ditch*.

I may by this time perhaps obtain the reader's permiſſion to return to his majeſty at Francfort; who, paying but ſlight regard to the ſevere beginning of winter, croſſed the Maine the firſt day of December, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral important places in the Palatinate, which the Spaniſh garri-

* *Continuatio Laureæ Auſtriacæ*, p. 36. fol.

ſons

ſons cautiouſly evacuated, at the very rumour of his approach: ſo that in three days he conquered that romantic tract of mountains called the Bergſtraſs, extending, more or leſs, from Darmſtadt to Heidelberg; which town, at that time, it was his purpoſe to beſiege, and then reſtore the Lower Palatinate to its unhappy owner: the former intention he told Vane, and, I believe, without diſſimulation*; yet his prudence would not allow him to leave Oppenheim, and its ſtrong fortreſs † behind him; as the Spaniards were then maſters of the river, and could pour forces upon him on either ſide. Therefore, all on a ſudden he turned ſhort, and directed his courſe to Oppenheim, betwixt which and him the Rhine was, as alſo the fortreſs above named, defended by a garriſon of 1000 men, and protected by deep foſſes, and good fortifications. The cannon in the town took effect croſs the river, and raked the flanks of the aſſailants of the fort in more places than one; and as Hepburn and Monro were ſitting together at ſupper, a ball of twenty-two pounds weight paſſed betwixt their ſhoulders, in the midſt of their converſation, but hurt neither to a conſiderable degree, for its force, though ſufficient to kill a man, was nearly ſpent. It is remarkable, that Guſtavus would employ neither general nor engineer to take a ſurvey either of the town or fort; the paſſage of the Rhine being of great conſequence to him, but, on the contrary, examined every thing with his own eyes, and diſcharged, in his own perſon, the duty of a common corporal, or a peaſant: yet the king made only a feint of croſſing the Rhine at this place, having privately provided himſelf with boats at Gernſheim, a ſmall town about five miles to the ſouthwards. He was determined to perform this adventurous exploit at all hazards, by way of giving reputation to his troops, and ſpreading terror amongſt his enemies; knowing likewiſe, that Tilly was too far off to obſtruct his project in any ſhape; and wiſely foreſeeing, that on the completion of this event both Oppenheim and the fort muſt fall of courſe, as alſo the whole Lower Palatinate, and the electorate of Mentz. The fort ſurrendered the next day, and Oppenheim, being firſt petarded, was taken ſword in hand. Nine hundred Italian ſoldiers threw down their arms, and aſked for quarter. As the *firſt* circumſtance abſolved them from their allegiance to the emperor, the king made a

* Spanheim, who wrote from the archives of the Palatine-court, always ſuppoſes Guſtavus to be ſincere, concerning the reſtitution of the elector to his patrimonial dominions. *Mem. de Louiſe Juliane*, 4°. 306, &c.

† Stern-Sconce. N. B. Great part of this account was communicated to England by capt. Maſham, who then ſerved under Hepburn.

preſent

preſent of them to Hepburn, in order to refit his broken brigade; but theſe birds of paſſage, not liking the ſeverity of a German winter, and Swediſh campaign, all took their flight to a warmer region at the approach of ſpring.

His majeſty then had the curioſity and ambition to croſs the Rhine, firſt in a ſmall wherry, in order to reconnoitre, in perſon, the ſhore oppoſite to him, being attended only by four perſons*; but the Spaniſh ſentries ſoon forced him to retire, and poſtpone his more general embarkation till the next morning. He then puſhed over 300 men under the conduct of count Brahé, in one large boat, that the Spaniards had ſunk, and which an honeſt fiſherman, whom he rewarded very bountifully, had diſcovered to him; and ſome few minutes afterwards, tranſported the ſame number in another boat of equal ſize, all picked ſoldiers, draughted from the regiments of Ramſay, Spenſe, and lord Reay. This body of troops, being all infantry, with the king at their head, ſeized a hedge, which happened to run parallel to the banks of the river, and by the help of this natural intrenchment, defended themſelves with amazing intrepidity, in ſpite of all the efforts of a thouſand horſe and dragoons. It is true, the king acknowledged more than once, that he found it a diſagreeable piece of ſervice, to oppoſe cavalry and muſqueteers on horſeback with half the number of infantry, and expreſſed ſome uneaſineſs to his officers upon that occaſion: nevertheleſs, he purſued his point with aſtoniſhing firmneſs; nor had he loſt once inch of ground, when a reinforcement arrived, which ſoon brought the affair to a deciſion. In conſequence of this he commanded public prayers throughout his army†; and ordered a triumphal column to be erected, as a memorial of his croſſing the Rhine. It was ſixty feet high, raiſed on a ſquare of ruſtic work, and crowned at top with a ſtatue of the Swediſh lion. Here, an ingenious Italian author, in his *Singularities of the Thirty Years Wars*‡, prefers Guſtavus to all the Roman generals; ſince *the former*, ſays he, in the ſpace of two campaigns, croſſed the Elbe, the Oder, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Lech; whereas the *latter* never had power to paſs over the two rivers firſt mentioned; nor could they penetrate into Pomerania, much leſs to the ſhores of the Baltic ocean.

Being now arrived in the Palatinate, the king, ſay ſome hiſtorians, told the elector very gallantly, That he conſidered himſelf as a man of chivalry, and deſpiſed the re-

* *Chemnitz*, tom. i. 203.

† *Heylmanni* Leo Arctous, 4°. p. 47. *Schefferi* Memorab. 99. 124.

‡ *Le Singolarita della Guerre di Germania*, p. 177.

ſentments

ſentments of Auſtria and Spain, whilſt he employed his troops in reſtoring an *injured princeſs*, meaning the *electreſs*, to her dominions, after a baniſhment of the ſame duration with the ſiege of Troy. Let hiſtorians aſſert what they pleaſe, it is more probable that Guſtavus made this ſpeech on ſome other occaſion; for at the preſent period, there appears to us an anachroniſm therein; for that prince did not arrive till eight weeks afterwards, and paid his firſt viſit to Guſtavus, at Mentz, on the tenth of February, 1632. Indeed, honeſt Monro * clears up the whole difficulty; for he tells us, the king made this declaration to the Engliſh and Scots officers, the evening after he croſſed the Rhine, in order to animate them with a freſh zeal for their countrywoman's, the queen of Bohemia's ſervice.

Stockſtadt and Worms being next taken, concerning the chronology of which I am not perfectly aſſured, as accounts differ, and Oppenheim, as the king predicted, and the fort, that belonged to it; his majeſty then marched directly to Mentz, which he had blocked up, on the Francfort ſide, by the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel's army, and a little navy of boats ſtationed on the Rhine. Here Don Philip de Sylva, the Spaniſh general in thoſe parts, having thrown the overplus of the country garriſons into Frankendale, placed himſelf at the head of 2000 ſelect men, in behalf of the elector, Anſelm Caſimir, who, being a prince of foreſight, had contrived, at that time, to make a viſit to his brother, at Cologn. Guſtavus loſt many ſoldiers in the beginning of the ſiege, and the Spaniards made a ſhew of the old Caſtilian reſiſtance. This town was inveſted in the midſt of as ſevere a winter as had almoſt ever been known: the landgrave diſcharged his duty very briſkly on the oppoſite ſhore, and ſome batteries, which the king contrived to erect on a platform of boats in the river, annoyed the beſieged from a quarter, where they had no apprehenſions of being moleſted; inſomuch, that a general aſſault being once prepared, don Philip, in ſpite of his boaſt to fix the pillar of limits to Guſtavus's progreſs, found himſelf on a ſudden much puzzled, and ſurrendered upon terms not extremely honourable; for the troops obliged themſelves to ſerve no more againſt the crown of Sweden. In truth, this governor perceived at firſt glance, that Guſtavus had not ſerved his apprenticeſhip in the Low-Country wars, the practice of which was the model of military perfection, in the Spaniſh and Auſtrian ſervices; but that he had other reſources, other inventions, and a quite different ſort of con-

* Part ii. p. 93.

duct,

duct, both in ſieges and battles. Of courſe, he repented now of the ſpeech he had made the elector, who aſked him, if 2000 ſoldiers were ſufficient to defend the town againſt Guſtavus? "Sir," ſaid he, "by that timorous queſtion I know you to be a churchman; I have men enough to repulſe three kings of Sweden."

Next day*, which made the king complete thirty-ſeven years of age, his majeſty entered the town in great pomp, and ſet apart the Friday enſuing for a general act of thankſgiving. As the ſeverity of the cold was ſcarcely to be borne, he repoſed his infantry, by turns, within the town-walls till the beginning of March; nor would he ſo much as hear of don Sylva's capitulation, till he had promiſed for himſelf and garriſon to do no miſchief, either at their departure, or before it. Thus Guſtavus ſubdued the electorate of Mentz, and two thirds of the Lower Palatinate, at one ſtroke; which amazing rapidity of conqueſts, here and elſewhere, forced a very ſolid hiſtorian † to break out into the ſeeming raptures of a rhetorician; although it is certain, that he contained himſelf within the ſtrict bounds of truth: "The king," ſays Nani, "turned his motions towards Upper Germany, where, making a tour of pleaſure, rather than a campaign, he rendered himſelf maſter of all Franconia, and the adjacent countries: inſomuch, that *Fame*, according to moſt men's judgments, required more time to publiſh his progreſs, than he employed in ſubduing provinces."

Great ſtore of proviſions was found in Mentz, beſides 80 pieces of artillery, and 600 quintals of powder. The inhabitants paid about £.8000. by way of freeing themſelves from military plunder; and the elector's fine library was beſtowed, by the king, on chancellor Oxenſtiern, who intended it as a preſent to the univerſity of.....‡, but it was loſt unfortunately in croſſing the Baltic‖. His majeſty treated the eccleſiaſtics with great lenity, but forced the *ſpirituality* of the Jews, as it was then called, to contribute near £.3000. towards defraying the expences of the ſiege. He incurred ſome danger by approaching too near the walls; for one of his pages was killed by a muſquet-ball, as he preſented a let-

* Wedneſday, December 14. Others make his birth-day the 9th.

† *Hiſt. della Republica Venetta*, libr. vii. 466.

‡ My account ſays Academiæ Arrhuſienſi, yet ſtill one is at a loſs to know what univerſity this could be; ſince, in the times of Guſtavus, we recollect none in Sweden, except Upſal and Dorpt. There is a town, named in Latin *Arroſia*, which correſponds with the adjective *Arrhuſienſis*, and which the Swedes call Weſteroahs, but no univerſity is to be found there. *Mem. communicated.*

‖ *Heylmanni* Leo Arctoüs, 4°. p. 44.

ter

ter into his hands; upon which De Pau, the Dutch miniſter, who then happened to be ſtanding by, took the opportunity, to adviſe his majeſty to be more careful of a life ſo valuable. *My lord ambaſſador*, ſaid Guſtavus, *towns are not taken by drawing diagrams in a private lodging; and if the ſchool-maſter is abſent, the children will be tempted to cloſe their books: and beſides, Sir, no king, hitherto, has ever been killed by a cannon-ball**. Colonel Axel Lily†, an officer of good repute, was leſs fortunate. He came only to receive his maſter's commands, in ſome other parts of Germany, and as he was ſitting at ſupper with Hepburn, and remarking to ſome friends, that he had no peculiar buſineſs in a place, which happened to be expoſed to the fury of one of the town-batteries, a cannon-ball pierced the tent that inſtant, and carried away one of his knees: but the king made him amends, as far as he could, by heaping on him military employments to ſo conſiderable a value, that honeſt Monro‡ complains of Axel Lily's very ſingular good fortune, and that with an air of envy and peeviſhneſs.

The king then ſtrengthened Mentz, in a manner equally expeditious and ſurprizing; for he drew lines round ſome hills that commanded the city, and having joined them to the old fortifications, rendered that ſpace capable of containing an army of 20,000 men‖. In the next place, he fixed two bridges over the two rivers. *That* acroſs the Rhine, conſiſted of ſixty-one arches, raiſed on huge flat-bottomed boats, and at the extremity of it he traced out and fortified another camp, large enough to contain 10,000 ſoldiers; and *that* which paſſed over the Maine, reſted on great piles, for a conſiderable ſpace, at either end, and was then built upon fifteen large boats, in that point where the current ran extremely ſtrong; and on the angle, formed by the confluence of the rivers, was erected a royal fort with ſix bulwarks, which commanded the navigation of either ſtream; and gave laws beſides to the landgraviate of Darmſtadt, and the countries adjoining §.

Here the king, for the firſt time, opened all the ſplendor of a magnificent court, which was rendered brilliant by the

* *Bertius* de Bell. German. 320.

† The author of the *Mercure François* & *De Prade* do him the honour to call him M. De Liſle.

‡ *Expeditious*, part ii. p. 95.

‖ The famous engraver, Matthew Merian, about this time publiſhed an elevation, or what is called a bird's-eye view, of the town and bridge, as well as of the old and new fortifications.

§ *Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation*, in Low Dutch, tom. ii. p. 31. fol.

appearance of five ſovereign German princes, who came to treat with him, or depended upon him for their well being; nor muſt we forget, that political buſineſs intermingled itſelf with courtly pomp; for you might have beheld here, at the ſame period, twelve or thirteen foreign miniſters and ambaſſadors; not diſpatched hither by way of compliment, but intruſted, each and all of them, with tranſactions of the utmoſt importance. Such, amongſt others, were ſir Robert Anſtruther, who came to render an account of his negotiation at Vienna, and Vane, from England; De Brezé, and De Charnacé, in behalf of France; De Pau, and many more in the ſame character, whom we ſhall conſider, more or leſs, in proportion to their buſineſs; and laſtly, arrived the queen of Sweden*, the Riks-chancellor Oxenſtiern, and the king of Bohemia †.

Anſtruther, who had been formerly reſident at Copenhagen, and then ambaſſador to the diet of Ratiſbon ‡, from whence he had paſſed on to Vienna, in order to ſolicit the reſtitution of the Palatinate, which, after the Swedes entered the empire, ought to have been redemanded by the Engliſh, ſword in hand, had nothing to impart to Guſtavus, but what provoked and raiſed his indignation ‖. For this miniſter had been inſtructed, at Whitehall, to uſe the moſt tender, the moſt pacific, and the moſt humiliating expreſſions; being commanded not to ſolicit an act of juſtice, but to requeſt a favour from pure, free, gratuitous benignity. Indeed, his condeſcenſions and applications were ſo mean and plaintive, that it is probable the emperor might have inclined an ear, and the rather as Guſtavus began to be formidable to the houſe of Auſtria, if it had been in his *power* to have reſtored the Palatinate, *under certain reſtrictions*, to its antient poſſeſſor. Great Britain, by the tampering of fruitleſs negotiations, pacific interruptions, temporary compliances, and idle expedients, had played the game out of its hands; and what the poet has remarked, on the mangled

* Jan. 10, 1632. † Feb. 10, 1632.

‡ The diet of Ratiſbon began in June, 1630, but on what day we cannot preciſely aſcertain, there being an error of calculation in the *Mercure François*, (tom. xvi. pag. 233, &c.) Wedneſday, June 29, being placed for Wedneſday, June 19. Nor is it ſure, whether the author computed by the new ſtyle, or the old: nevertheleſs, the diet certainly ended the 3d of Nov. O. S. next enſuing; and then Anſtruther removed to Vienna, and delivered the ſpeech we here allude to, which is preſerved at full length in the APPENDIX, Art. XV.

‖ *Loticbius*, tom. i. p. 913, 914. *Memoires d'Electrice Palatine*, p. 302.

body

body of Deiphobus, might be applied with greater juſtice, to the diſfigured and diſmembered Palatinate:

—— Laniatum corpore toto,
Deiphobum vidi, lacerum crudeliter ora;
Ora manuſque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncos inhoneſto vulnere nares;
Vix adeo agnovi pavitantem, & dira tegentem
Supplicia.—— Virg. Æneid. lib. vi. l. 494.

Not to mention how the dominions of the lawful owner had been doled out in leſſer parcels, the infanta of Spain laid claim to the Lower Palatinate; and the electors of Bavaria, and Mentz, poſſeſſed the higher. So that Anſtruther found juſt that reception, which a weak man merits, who undertakes to diſcharge a fooliſh commiſſion.

The next perſon, who made his appearance on this public theatre, was the marquis De Brezé, ambaſſador extraordinary from the French king; concerning whom it may be worth while to remark, that he was more a man of good fortune, than a negotiator; for he had the advantage to marry Richelieu's ſiſter, and commanded the king's own regiment of guards; being, likewiſe, a councellor of ſtate, marechal de camp in the French armies, and governor of Saumur. The occaſion of his embaſſy into Germany, where De Charnacé then was, aroſe from a deputation the catholic princes of the empire had ſent to Louis XIII. to recommend to him the cauſe of their religion; and implore him not to favour the proteſtant intereſts, which were then become too predominant. Of courſe, it was urged by the prelate, who undertook the employment, with whom co-operated all the ſecret enemies of Richelieu, and the ſeveral miniſters diſpatched to Vienna by the catholic princes*, that Guſtavus had determined to extirpate the Romiſh religion, from its very lowermoſt roots; that he entertained a private correſpondence with all proteſtants, in the various parts of Europe; that he had an eye indirectly to France and Italy, as well as to the territories of Bavaria, the catholic electors, and the houſe of Auſtria. Wherefore elſe did he omit, for a ſeaſon, to undertake his principal enemy, the emperor, in his hereditary dominions, and transfer the ſeat of action to the Upper Rhine?

Inſinuations of this ſort ſtartled a mind inclined to bigotry; and of courſe Louis gave ſome indications of being

* *Bernard*, Hiſt. de Louis XIII. liv. xv.

alarmed: but Richelieu ſoon raiſed him, at leaſt for a ſhort ſpace, beyond a ſtate of fluctuation and timidity, and aſſured the German biſhop, that the king his maſter had the beſt intentions imaginable towards the catholic religion; and that he, the cardinal, ſhould conſtantly ſupport and cheriſh them with indefatigable zeal. On the other hand, he took care to inform him, from the plentitude of his own power and knowledge, that the king of Sweden had no object in view, but the houſe of Auſtria; from whence the princes of the league might detach themſelves, in caſe they maintained an *exact neutrality:* but if, on the contrary, they ſupplied the emperor, tacitly or clandeſtinely, with men and money, allowing likewiſe to his troops quarters and paſſage, it was then natural for a man of ſpirit, like Guſtavus, to moleſt and attack his adverſaries. Nevertheleſs, far from being difficult, added he, it is eaſy too, not only to ſupport the Romiſh religion, but give it the predominance alſo in the empire, and that independently of the enormous power of Ferdinand, which increaſes itſelf day by day: ſo that catholics and proteſtants are all alike intereſted to repreſs the boundleſs ambition of the houſe of Auſtria *.

Upon this, the biſhop of Wurtzburg, whom Louis received ſo very graciouſly as to allow him to be *covered*, returned to his conſtituents, ſilenced at leaſt, but neither ſatisfied, nor convinced; and they, for their parts, ſtill continued to caſt a wiſhful eye towards the interpoſition of France, which threw out allurements for them without number; whilſt Guſtavus, who then had no miſgiving with regard to *that* power, appeared, as was really the truth, to ſuſpect nothing. Therefore, upon the ſame views they diſpatched at or near this time, the biſhop of Oſnaburg to the infanta of Bruſſells; but as this prelate, who underſtood heraldry better than church affairs, or political matters, valued himſelf greatly on his birth and ſtation, it was his misfortune to viſit a court which then happened to be *genealogically* mad; ſo that the Spaniards, inſtead of giving him the compellation of *highneſs*, which he expected, conſidered him rather as a poor ſupplicant. He therefore returned unſucceſsful, and as thoroughly diſpleaſed as the Poliſh ambaſſador, whom we lately mentioned on the ſame occaſion.

France, after the biſhop of Wurtzburg retired into Germany, had many reaſons, beſide *ſuch* as her own hiſtorians chuſe to mention, for interfering, more or leſs, with the affairs of the empire, and the progreſs of Guſ-

* *Le Vaſſor*, tom. vii. p. 75.

tavus.

tavus. It was one thing to ſee the emperor *humbled*, and quite another thing to ſee him *deſtroyed*. Some check given to the houſe of Auſtria appeared highly deſirable; and the unbounded rapidity of a certain proteſtant prince's conqueſts ſeemed to portend a ſecond and more formidable houſe of Auſtria. But the paſſage of the Rhine, of which France was *jealous* beyond deſcription, was conſidered a ſymptom, that menaced her very diſſolution; and upon that event, even Richelieu grew alarmed, and conceived not only a diſinclination to the Swediſh cauſe, but a mortal jealouſy againſt the king himſelf. Of courſe, means were to be found, and ſuch was Guſtavus's temper, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to keep theſe means a ſecret, whereby to divert, or check the ſucceſſes of our northern hero;—to withdraw the elector of Bavaria from his attachments to the Imperial intereſts, and make him a precarious and dependent being on the court of Verſailles; and, laſtly, to admit, as lying nearer to her, the three eccleſiaſtical electors under the wings of her all-healing influence; ever bearing in memory, how dexterouſly ſhe had ſwallowed the *delicious* morſel of three adjacent biſhoprics *, on a like occaſion, in the preceding century.

Of courſe, the cardinal, in order to divert the conqueſts of Guſtavus, always inſinuated an opinion tinctured with ſome wrong advice, whenever an opening preſented itſelf; and the better to check the rapidity of his progreſſes, he took care to pay the ſtipulated *ſubſidy* at great diſtances of time, and in ſmall proportions.

To theſe delays, occaſioned by jealouſy, other circumſtances helped to contribute; for the elector of Bavaria, at certain times, conſidered the houſe of Auſtria as overpowerful; and of courſe he, as well as his catholic electoral brethren, looked upon France, in caſe of extreme danger, as a ſort of protection againſt the emperor. Allurements were thrown out to them, in abundance, by the French miniſter; and no dexterity of private negotiation was once omitted. At length a private treaty was concluded † between the Courts of Verſailles and Munich, about the time Guſtavus alarmed the empire by ſtorming ſword in hand the ſtrong and important town of Francfort on the Oder.

As the tranſaction hitherto has hardly been taken notice of in hiſtory, that a ſecret negotiation had been carried on, previous to this treaty, more than a year and a half,

* Metz, Toule, and Verdun.

† Signed at Munich, by the elector, May 8, 1631. APPEND. Art. XXII. and by Louis XIII. May 30, 1631, at Fontainebleau.

betwixt Louis XIII. and Maximilian of Bavaria; conducted on the ſide of France, who appears to be the projector, by cardinal Bagni, *, a friend and confident of Richelieu; and managed, in behalf of the electoral intereſts, by one Joëcher, who was conſidered by his maſter, not only as a well-read *jus-publiciſt*, but as an artful ſtateſman. This private intercourſe had laſted from the middle of October, 1629, till the end of December, the ſame year. So that Richelieu played a deep game in the empire before Guſtavus landed in Pomerania; and it is remarkable, that Joëcher afterwards ſigned the very treaty of 1631, which we are now conſidering. As this politician was a principal manager in the publication of the *Anhaltine Cancellaria* taken by the Auſtrians in the battle of Prague †, whereby much injury was done to the elector Palatine, king of Bohemia. Ruſdorf, who was that prince's miniſter both in England and the empire, took the liberty, by way of repriſal, to exhibit to the public the original letters, and preliminary agreements, that paſſed between Bagni and Joëcher, and made the *Cancellaria Bavarica* ‡ not only a counterpart to the *Cancellaria Anhaltina*, but a ſort of ſupplement to the *Vindiciæ Palatinæ*: which work may be conſidered as a maſterpiece in point of method, beautiful Latinity, and a clear arrangement of facts and arguments.

Thus matters ſtood till the beginning of May, 1631; when Maximilian, the moſt politic prince in Germany, found himſelf upon the point of being reduced to a ſituation, that required all his parts and addreſs. On one hand Guſtavus was approaching to the ſouthward; and on the other hand, he, Maximilian, was to make friends at Paris and Vienna, and, if poſſible, overreach them *both*. He had

* To this illuſtrious politician, Gabriel Naudé pretends to addreſs his famous work, entitled, *Conſiderations politiques ſur les Coups d'Etat*; though, in truth, he compoſed it at the requeſt of M. d'Emery, ſuperintendant of the finances, Bagni being dead at the time this treatiſe was publiſhed: which, except a few printed copies diſtributed to private friends, made its firſt appearance in Holland, 1667, and has ſince arrived to the 12th edition, if not further.

† In the Library at Munich is preſerved a military and political journal of all extraordinary tranſactions, from the firſt beginning of the thirty years wars, till the period here mentioned; written by the prince of Anhalt, a general of high repute in the army of the union, and conſidered, till this moment, by the Bavarians, a valuable MS. as indeed it is. There is no queſtion but it was taken in the defeat on the *white mountain*, near Prague, 1620.

‡ Added, by way of appendix, to the *Vindiciæ Cauſæ Palatinæ*, fol. 1640, ſine loco.

engaged

engaged too deeply with the emperor, to retreat openly; nor did he care to loſe *that delicious morſel*, the Upper Palatinate: yet, at the ſame time, he ſaw himſelf on the edge of a precipice, and that only France, in caſe of a very probable accident, the invaſion of Bavaria, could ſupport him from falling. This treaty, between Louis and Maximilian, was of the defenſive nature only, and determinable at the end of eight years: their reciprocal engagements were, not to ſuccour their reſpective enemies in any manner; but, on the contrary, to furniſh troops to each other, in proportion as the hereditary or *acquired* dominions of either party, ſhould happen to be attacked *. Nani indeed tell us, and Puffendorf † confirms the account, that France engaged to fix the Imperial diadem, in caſe of a vacancy, on the head of Maximilian: but this does not appear upon the face of the treaty itſelf, and of courſe muſt have been contained in ſome ſeparate article mutually ratified and interchanged as a diſtinct convention; which is not unlikely, from the following words: *Quandoquidem ex urgentiſſimis cauſis neceſſarium eſt, ut hæc amicitia & defenſio hoc tempore tantum inter regem & electorem Bavariæ concluſa, nulli pateat, ſed ſecretiſſima maneat*, &c.—Nevertheleſs, the whole agreement either way was diametrically contrary to what had been ſtipulated between his Chriſtian majeſty and Guſtavus at the treaty of Berewalt. And this was the private myſtery, that induced France to perſuade the king of Sweden to ſign a *neutrality of fourteen days* ſome time afterwards with the elector of Bavaria, and the other heads of the catholic league; a breach of faith, which Guſtavus reſented extremely, though juſt then he did not comprehend the intricate motives upon which De Brezé's negotiation was founded.

All theſe artifices could not however overcome the bold good ſenſe and honeſt policy of Guſtavus, ſince Bavaria reaped no fruits from the abovementioned treaty: for, when the criſis came, *ſhe* durſt not diſmember herſelf from the houſe of Auſtria; inaſmuch as France talked two languages, in proportion as the danger was remote, or as it approached nearer; notwithſtanding Maximilian had engaged to ſupply 3000 foot, and 1000 horſe, or the equivalent expence in ready money, in caſe France was attacked in her hereditary do-

* See the original treaty in the APPENDIX, Art. XXII.

† *Diſſert. ſur les alliances entre la France & la Suede*, 12°. 1709. This, which I take to be *one of Puffendorf's beſt performances*, is as juſt a ſatire upon the interfering and intermeddling temper of France, as can be peruſed: it was written originally in Latin.

minions, or in her conquered ones: and Louis had articled to ſupport Maximilian in his electoral dignity, againſt all invaders; and maintain him, not only in his original poſſeſſions, but in his *new* conqueſts; furniſhing a contingent of 9000 infantry, and 3000 cavalry. Hence it happened, that when Kutner the Bavarian envoy, upon the nearer approach of the Swedes, made a requiſition of the troops which France had ſtipulated to produce, Richelieu, who knew how to diſtinguiſh as well as Maximilian, for they were both ſchoolmen in the art of politics, pronounced with a firm and deciſive air,—That the convention, betwixt France and Bavaria, was *purely defenſive*, and regarded only the houſe of Auſtria, and not the crown of Sweden: for as Tilly, added he, detaches troops from the army of the league, againſt the elector of Saxony, without the conſent or privity of *my* maſter; of courſe, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty is not obliged to extricate the prince you ſerve from the perplexities and embarraſſment into which his imprudence has plunged him.

Upon the whole, it ſeems aſtoniſhing to many, that the cardinal ſhould have allowed his maſter to have concluded with Bavaria, upon any terms, an agreement ſo directly oppoſite to the intereſts of his great ally the king of Sweden, and ſo deſtructive of the Palatine's pretenſions, which Guſtavus was determined to ſupport, upon the principles of a man of honour, and a Chriſtian: and, indeed, in general it may ſuffice to ſay, that the whole tribe of French hiſtorians ſeems to chew upon this treaty, in order to ſwallow it, as if it was ſomething of a very unpalatable taſte. But Richelieu * wanted, at all hazards, having firſt ſecured the

* The life of this ſtateſman has been ſo often written, that I ſhall only ſubioin a ſhort note concerning him, which may contain ſome few things, that are not to be found in every hiſtory.

This man's birth, and education, promiſed nothing; but he had the ſecret of introducing himſelf into favour, even againſt the inclination of the prince that railed him. He had the power of tears, equal to Cromwell; and preferred war, merely becauſe men had not then time to ſcrutinize his actions, and form cabals againſt him. It may be ſaid of him, that he ſaved and united France, ſupported Italy, checked and betrayed Sweden, plunged Germany and England into confuſion, and weakened Spain; being an inſtrument of Providence, ſays a diſcerning and acute Italian, Batriſta Nani, allowed to exiſt for the glory of his own country, and the ruin of Europe in general.

He is ſuppoſed, by many, in his early days, to have written a ſatire againſt the conſtable Des Luynes; drawing a parallel between him and the conſtable De Luna, a Spaniard; which his enemies afterwards took care to reprint, *mutatis mutandis*, and applied to himſelf; but the true author of this invective was Le Sieur Chaintreau.

He

the duke of Bavaria, to preclude the emperor from the power of ſending troops to diſturb the ſiege of Moyenvic; and deſired likewiſe, but with all due diſſimulation and ſecrecy, to counterwork Guſtavus, and clog the rapidity of his conqueſts; for the paſſage of the Rhine, if God had pleaſed to prolong his Swediſh majeſty's life, muſt have broken all the ſchemes of that miniſter, who never foreſaw that matters could proceed ſo far; and muſt likewiſe have checked and humbled France to *ſuch* a degree, that we might have felt the good effects of it to this very moment.

De Brezé propoſed in general, with great appearance of friendſhip, an amicable accommodation with the duke of Bavaria, and the other princes of the catholic league, under the form of *neutrality*; which was to ſubſiſt according to the duration agreed upon: but the anſwer made him was, that indiſputable proof could be produced of the inſincerity of theſe perſons; who, in truth, intended nothing but to protract time; collect their forces; and procure freſh and more advantageous terms from the court of Vienna. The French miniſter, ſtill continuing to urge this grand ſcheme of a preliminary pacification *, ventured at length to aſſure Guſtavus, that in caſe he and his friends thought fit to accept the terms propoſed, and might happen afterwards to be aſſaulted by the troops of the houſe of Auſtria, or the catholic league, then his maſter ſhould pay the ſubſidies ſtipulated at Berewalt, in ſuch manner and proportions, as the king and French ambaſſadors ſhould, at the preſent conjuncture, agree on; upon condition his Swediſh majeſty, at the ſame time engaged to ſupport France by retaliation of hoſtilities againſt the emperor and his aſſociates, upon ſuppoſition they directed their arms to the prejudice of the former †.

He is believed, by many, to have left behind him a *civil* and *military* plan, which France follows, more or leſs, to this hour. When he had gained Alſatia, he was heard to ſay, that he had extended the French dominions, as far to the eaſtward, as could be ſuppoſed maintainable; and protected them with a fine natural foſſé, called the Rhine; foretelling, at the ſame time, that the armies of his nation could rarely proſper in the empire; which effects might ariſe from the coldneſs of the country, and the difficulty of retreating; from the change of white bread to black, and light pleaſant wines for wretched ſmall-beer. The Engliſh army ſuffered in a ſimilar manner under the marquis of Hamilton, and periſhed of the ſame malady, which their anceſtors underwent at the battle of Creſſi, but with leſs glory; for the diſaſter ſprung, not from ſuch local cauſes as we have already aſſigned, but from an immoderate affection *for new honey*.

* *Chemnit.* tom. ii. p. 227.

† *Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 227.

Guſtavus

Guſtavus ſoon perceived ſome fallacy, but could not preciſely unravel it. He foreſaw, in general, the réſult of the the three artifices above mentioned; and had ſome apprehenſions from the politic Iſabella, who was making great preparations towards ſome expedition in the Low Countries. His own uncommon good ſenſe reminded him too, that the terms propoſed were over advantageous, on the proteſtant ſide, to be deemed real: yet, out of pure politeneſs to the French king, and in order to convince Europe of his pacific and generous intentions, he ſketched out to De Brezé a *ſlight plan** of what he propoſed; namely, That the Imperialiſts, and princes of the league ſhould invade no country which has not been hitherto the ſeat of war; and that he would reſign into the hands of the duke of Bavaria ſuch places as he had conquered in the Lower Palatinate, till an amicable adjuſtment could be ſettled between that prince and the king of Bohemia; and that he would reſtore to the elector of Triers all the towns he had made himſelf maſter of in his dominions, excepting Spires. But then, continued he, I muſt exclude the biſhop of Bamberg from all participation of theſe conceſſions; for that prelate has amuſed me diſhonourably, and deceived me baſely. He then ſubjoined, with reſpect to the houſes of Auſtria and Bavaria, that not only the hereditary dominions of Sweden, but the provinces acquired by the Swedes in the German war, muſt be alike comprehended in every ſubſequent and general ſyſtem of pacification; as alſo each degree and branch of intereſt that could be ſuppoſed to bear a reference to his good ally, the elector of Saxony—That all uſurpations made upon the proteſtants in Lower Saxony, from the breaking out of the Bohemian troubles in 1618, ſhould be reſtored back to them, with full reparation of loſſes, and diſcharge of arrears—That the emperor and princes of the catholic league ſhould give a diſcharge to all ſoldiers that had been forced from their native territories; and give up eleven or twelve thouſand priſoners which were at preſent artfully incorporated, in ſmall parcels, among their troops—That no temptations ſhould be made uſe of, to allure them back into the Imperial ſervice—That the king's conqueſts ſhould remain in his own hands, till a final deciſion could be agreed on—That communication and free commerce ſhould be opened between all countries then

* As this memorable fragment is not preſerved in the *vaſt collections of treaties*, we have ſpoken of it more at large than had otherwiſe appeared to be neceſſary.

engaged

engaged in hoſtilities; and priſoners diſmiſſed on either ſide without ranſom *.

In addition to all which, the king had the wonderful conſideration, as well as quickneſs of thought, to make terms in expreſs words for the unfortunate adminiſtrator of Magdeburg, who was then a priſoner: but that prince had ſo little truſt in his protector, and ſuch unſettled notions of the proteſtant religion, that he deſtroyed Guſtavus's generous efforts in his behalf, by making himſelf a convert, at, or near this period, to the church of Rome †.

France was made arbitreſs of this general pacification, and avenger of frauds on either ſide. Whilſt the king reaſoned upon a ſubſtantial, and univerſal peace, the Bavarian miniſter preſented him a paper, in his maſter's hand-writing, which related only to a *neutrality* for himſelf and aſſociates, as a ſort of preliminary; drawn up and worded in ſuch a manner, as required a reſignation of all conquered countries on the part of Guſtavus, to be voided, *ipſo facto*, upon

* *Chemnit.* tom. ii. p. 227, &c.

I have ſeen a ſecond account of this plan, which, though equally ſpirited and ſenſible, differs from the preſent in many reſpects. If the reader pleaſes, it ſhall be laid before him in my own words, ſelected from another part of my hiſtory, in the firſt MS. draught of it.

As no attempts and efforts were ſpared, from various quarters, to induce the king to give a general peace to the emperor and the catholic leaguers, it is reported, though I do not preſume to recite this paragraph upon indiſputable authority, that Guſtavus delivered to De Brezé and the German miniſters a rough ſketch of the following particulars.

"That the Imperial edict, touching the reſtitution of the *Bona Eccleſiaſtica*, ſhould be retracted. That perſecution ſhould be aboliſhed, and free exerciſe of religion granted to all men. That Bohemia, and the annexed provinces, ſhould be advanced to their priſtine ſituation, and the baniſhed proteſtants reinſtated in their antient poſſeſſions. That the elector Palatine ſhould be reſtored to his patrimony and dignities, and that the duke of Bavaria ſhould make reſtitution of the electoral title. That the town of Augſburg ſhould be permitted to return to its former liberty, and manner of government. That the jeſuits, as public incendiaries, and enemies to the repoſe of mankind, ſhould be baniſhed the empire, and their poſſeſſions transferred to the religious of other orders. That the monaſteries forcibly ſeized, in the duchy of Wirtemberg, ſhould be reaſſigned to the diſpoſition of the prince. That the members of the cathedral church ſhould be half papiſts, and half proteſtants. And, laſtly, that his Majeſty of Sweden ſhould be choſen king of the Romans, by way of acknowledgment for the cares and dangers he had paſſed through, in procuring peace and liberty to the empire." The reader may find a third copy of this plan in the *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 62. It conſiſts of fifteen articles, and has the appearance of being genuine. In truth, all the copies ſeem to be modifications of the ſame general deſign, drawn up at different times, and retouched in various places. *Soldat. Sued.* p. 375, &c.

† *Chemnit.* tom. ii. p. 227, &c.

ſigning

ſigning the articles. This put the king out of all temper, and matters hung in ſuſpence for about a fortnight: which produced to the emperor and duke of Bavaria a part of thoſe advantages they propoſed to reap, by creating momentary intervals from buſineſs, and imperceptible delays.

During this ſhort pauſe of negotiation with reſpect to Bavaria more particularly, other perſons made their appearance on this political theatre; but before we enter into an exact detail of their ſeveral important and intereſting tranſactions, it may be worth while to obſerve, that at this time the moſt renowned of all ſtateſmen, the high-chancellor Oxenſtiern, came to Mentz to receive his maſter's orders, and bear a part with him in the fatigues of buſineſs. This great man, whom, on account of his wiſdom and ſagacity, one ſuppoſes to be aged, was but eleven years older than Guſtavus. He had the advantage to be deſcended from one of the beſt families in Sweden; but greater ſtill was the advantage when I inform the reader, that he was a miniſter of the king's own finding out, and of his own forming. He was, at one and the ſame time, both ſtateſman and general; in which latter capacity he chiefly acted, after his ſovereign had entered Germany; for he conducted a ſmall ſeparate army in Poliſh Pruſſia. When political and civil matters began to multiply on the king's hands, as well as military operations, he was commanded to reſide at Erfurt, in the old Roman capacity of *legatus ab exercitu*, to which place he conducted the queen of Sweden at the head of his troops; and then afterwards appeared at Mentz, not having ſeen his royal maſter during the ſpace of ten months and upwards. It cannot be ſaid, that the king abſolutely wanted this great man's advice, by way of inſtruction, which will appear from what ſhall be related in their firſt interview; yet ſtill he had uncommon occaſions for his aſſiſtance, having more political buſineſs to execute than any ſingle perſon could well perform; and purpoſing likewiſe, which was ſomething more, to negotiate only a few days at Mentz and Francfort, and then ſhew the Germans, for the firſt time, what mighty things might be brought about in a winter's campaign.

Inſtead of drawing Oxenſtiern's character, which, according to cuſtom, I ſhall leave the reader to combine from various parts of the preſent hiſtory, it may ſuffice to obſerve, that the French themſelves, even to this day, give him the preference to Richelieu; and, as to other nations, they have never ſuppoſed him to have had any rival in political reputation. This, indeed, is ſaying the whole that can be ſaid, in a ſingle period: nevertheleſs, it may not be diſagreeable

to relate ſome things concerning him, which are not common, and ſome things likewiſe, which appear to me entirely new.

After the king's death, it may juſtly be ſaid, that Oxenſtiern had half the affairs of Europe upon his hands, till the concluſion of the peace at Munſter, which made a period of ſixteen years duration. He induced the proteſtant princes of Upper Germany to ſubſcribe to the treaty of Heilbrun in 1633, conformably to a plan his maſter had ſketched out a few months before his death; and this was the grand foundation of an union, which ſubſiſted, more or leſs, till the concluſion of the wars. In 1635, he held a conference with Richelieu at Compeigne*. Theſe great men knew each other too well, and of courſe agreed in a moment; for the cardinal trembled at the thoughts of attempting to overreach a ſtateſman, whom he found endued with talents far ſuperior to his own; and moreover, they had each of them in the main the ſame parts to act, the ſame inclinations, and the ſame intereſts.

His anſwer to the Poliſh ambaſſadors, at the treaty of Stumbſdorf†, ſhewed great good breeding, preſence of mind, and a turn for ſeverity. The high-chancellor of Poland, at his firſt entrance into the chamber, where a triangular table was placed in order to avoid precedency in ſitting, began thus: *Ut a nobis incipiat humanitas, precamur vobis, domini Sueci,* BONUM *diem*; to whom Oxenſtiern replied with great livelineſs, *Et nos, ut non ſimus ingrati, precamur vobis itidem* BONUM *mentem!*

It was his private opinion, that Sweden ought to have no farther concerns with France in the courſe of the war, than in receiving good penſions from her: and when affairs were reduced to the loweſt ebb after the fatal defeat of Nordlingen, he ſtill kept firm to this doctrine, but artfully concealed it; well foreſeeing that France would preſcribe him laws, and wreſt Alſatia out of his hands by little and little, whenever ſhe joined the Swedes with a large military force. Nevertheleſs, the *reformed council* that acted with him, nine of the twelve being native Germans, ſoon allowed themſelves to be dazzled with the gratuities and promiſes which Fiquiere the French miniſter ſcattered plentifully among them; and thus our ſtateſman was at length compelled to reſign Philipſburg to

* From that time he always took pleaſure to tell the French, that the dried ſalmon of the Baltic, recommended by a well-taſted poivrade, greatly excelled the *ſuperb biſques*, which he had the honour to partake of at the cardinal's table.

† Anno 1635.

the

the houſe of Bourbon, which he did with inconceivable reluctance, and after a thouſand delays of his own creating. He then ſent his ſon *, or nephew †, I am not certain which, into England, to ſolicit ſuccours: but as he had no letters of credence from her Swediſh majeſty, the court of London affected not to comprehend how Oxenſtiern could *create* ambaſſadors. The ſagacious prime-miniſter ſoon perceived this demur to be a mere evaſion, and recalled his delegate without giving his miſtreſs Chriſtina the leaſt trouble.

When he ſent his ſon, a young man of great hope, in conjunction with Salvius, to the treaty of Munſter, this new negotiator was much diſmayed upon conſidering his want of age and experience, and ſtartled likewiſe at the gravity of the Spaniſh plenipotentiaries on the one hand, and the quickneſs and penetration of the French miniſters on the other hand. He therefore petitioned his father by letter, either to recall him, or ſend him ſome aged and able director, to which the chancellor replied only in a few words, having briefly touched upon other matters; *Mi Fili, parvo mundus regitur intellectu* ‡.

Here I will juſt venture to relate another traditional Swediſh anecdote. The chancellor had a ſtrong inclination to marry this ſon, who, by his picture, was not handſome, to queen Chriſtina; but ſhe, who was an original in every ſort of caprice, happened to be prepoſſeſſed in favour of another nobleman, whoſe name was Todt; whether ſon, or not, of the general who ſerved under her father Guſtavus, I cannot ſay. Be that as it will, this private inclination of her's touched old Oxenſtiern to the very heart, and of courſe he took care upon all occaſions to traverſe her inclinations, diſturb her repoſe, and perplex her affairs in ſuch a manner, that at length he paved the way *remotely* to her future abdication §.

To return to the tranſactions in Germany: the king received Oxenſtiern with great marks of affection and eſteem, and having ſent his own coach and equipage to meet him, paſſed whole days with him in the cabinet. This miniſter, in his journey from Pruſſia, had held a conference with Arnheim, which, one may venture to pronounce, was managed with uncommon dexterity and ability on either ſide; for the former was renowned for *artifice*, and the latter, on

* His ſon was named John, † and his nephew, Bernard. There was alſo a Gabriel Oxenſtiern employed as a miniſter.

‡ *Memoirs* communicated to the author. § *Ibid.*

account

account of his *ſolidity*, was ſuppoſed to have no ſuperior, except his maſter.

When Oxenſtiern arrived at Mentz, there happened an extraordinary trial of political ſkill; for the *ſubject* had a ſecret inclination to gain and keep the *aſcendancy* in point of genius over his *ſovereign*. This was an example of *human vanity* which may be pardoned; but one thing muſt be obſerved, incidentally, to the advantage of Guſtavus; namely, that the miniſter had weighed the difficulty propoſed, and turned it, and ſtated it to himſelf in every light for three months ſucceſſively; whereas the king appears to be attacked altogether by ſurprize, and yet returned an unpremeditated anſwer with a force of reaſon irreſiſtible.

To underſtand this curious piece of hiſtory better, it may not be amiſs to advertiſe the reader, that it appeared an *error* to moſt generals and politicians in thoſe days, that Guſtavus, immediately after the battle of Leipſic, ſhould point his courſe to the banks of the Rhine, and not have marched directly into the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, and ſo on to the metropolis. It was the ſame fault, alledged they, which Hannibal committed after the battle of Cannæ *. The great Oxenſtiern was of this opinion †; for the moment the king allowed him to converſe in private, *Sire*, ſaid he, *I ſhould have been much better pleaſed to have paid my duty to you at Vienna, than at Mentz* ‡. His majeſty, who pierced into the drift of this ſpeech with a ſingle glance, told the chancellor coolly, notwithſtanding his natural haſtineſs of temper, for he knew the perſon he ſpoke to had parts enough to judge of things, and receive conviction: *That for his own part he had weighed matters with great exactneſs, and that only ſuperficial appearances appeared againſt him. I know my men*, continued he, *in the elector of Saxony, and Arnheim his generaliſſimo: the one is irreſolute, and does not love me; the other is inſincere, and mortally hates me. They may do very well to keep the proteſtant ſpirit alive in Bohemia and the* incorporated *provinces, where all that I can expect from them, is, that they ſhould produce a ſort of revulſion, which may ſerve to adminiſter force againſt the Imperial troops, till Providence allows me to give a ſecond and more deciſive ſtroke in ſome ſignal engagement. But change the ſcene; ſuppoſe the elector on the banks of the Rhine, and I in Auſtria or Bohemia. The whole ſtate of the queſtion is then entirely*

* *Vittorio Siri*; Memoire Recondite. Tom. vii. 350—52.

† In the ſame ſentiment is the ingenious author of the *Hiſtoire politique du Siècle*, à Londr. 4°. 1757.

‡ *Le Vaſſor*, tom. vii.

altered;

altered; for there is not a proteſtant prince in all the diſtrict where the elector of Saxony now commands; ſo that, in caſe of any infidelity, he can engage no one power to follow his example. Here he would be in the very centre of all the princes and ſtates who entered into the confederacy at Leipſic: and he and Arnheim, who leads him blindfolded, and is a better jeſuit than a ſoldier, are both timid enough to ſubmit meanly if they are defeated; and ſelf-intereſted enough to ſell me and my cauſe, in exchange for ſome good acquiſition, in caſe the enemy ſhould obtain any eminent ſucceſs. In either part of which alternative, the princes of the union *would naturally copy the conduct of the firſt proteſtant power in Germany; and upon this elector's defection, I, being in Bohemia, Moravia, or Auſtria, how is a retreat to be conducted from thence to the Baltic, the only reſource that would be left me, with Wallſtein in my rear, and Arnheim in my front?—No, Sir, in the game Guſtavus is to play, he muſt be* AMONG *the proteſtant princes himſelf, and muſt be the* FIRST *man among them too.*

Oxenſtiern, ſtruck with conviction, ſtood for ſome moments aſtoniſhed, and never afterwards made the leaſt reply: for though he had revolved this ſubject in his mind from September till December, yet he plainly ſaw, that Guſtavus was not only a better warrior, but a greater politician than himſelf; ſince a momentary deciſion, in a critical point like this, is greatly ſuperior to a long ſeries of negotiations, where there are frequent opportunities of reviſing and retouching, and where things in their own fluctuating nature often help out themſelves. It was this circumſtance, probably, that made Nani break forth into the following political rapture, *Stando le ſue virtu conſolidate et unite, non ſi ſopeva diſcernere ſe alla militare peritia a alla civile attribuerſi doveſſe la palma* *. Upon a like occaſion, the moſt ſenſible, candid, and correct Caraffa expreſſes himſelf as follows; *Parem Guſtavo Suecia nullum, reliquus orbis paucos dabit* †

The next perſon who made his appearance, was, the baron de Sclavata, in behalf of the elector Palatine, to make that prince's compliments to Guſtavus on account of his extraordinary ſucceſſes, and ſolicit ſome proviſional agreement, with reference to the reconquering of the Lower Palatinate. Him the king received with uncommon teſtimonies of humanity and courteſy, and ordered Hor-

* *Hiſt. Ven.* libr. ix.

† *Caraffæ Coment.* de Germ. Sacra Reſtaurata, 12°. Col. Agrip. 1639. p. 479.

neck,

neck, one of his colonels, to return with him to the Hague, where Frederic then was, inſtructed in what manner to ſettle ſeveral preliminary difficulties, and commanded to requeſt the elector to haſten to the Swediſh camp with all poſſible expedition: *for*, ſaid the king, *I am determined to reſtore that unfortunate prince to his poſſeſſions and dignities: but let me beſeech him firſt to make ſure of England, who muſt advance ſome money, as well as diſcharge ſome old arrears* *.

This ſtep gave the moſt lively terrors to the duke of Bavaria, and induced him, probably, to forget his convention with France, and adhere to the emperor without reſerve; and the rather, as his new acquiſition, the Upper Palatinate, appeared to be intended for the firſt ſacrifice; and as Guſtavus treated his adverſary with all that reſpect and ceremony, that could be ſuppoſed due to a king of Bohemia.

The duke of Neuburg attempted next to obtain a neutrality, building much on the intereſt of his brother Auguſtus, who ſerved under the king, and had the good fortune to be a favourite: but as this prince had permitted the Imperial army to retreat through his dominions, Auguſtus knew Guſtavus too well to venture to apply. The duke thought him inſincere, being conſcious he had injured him in fulfilling his father's will, and therefore petitioned humbly to appear in perſon; but the king denied him †.

The deputies of the elector of Triers ‡ were treated in their turn with a higher degree of juſt reſentment, for this prince had maintained avowed hoſtilities againſt Sweden. Some of his troops had taken the caſtle of Moltzberg by ſurprize, and others had killed young count Solmes and all his companions. The elector accompanied the negotiation of his deputies with a letter to the king, conceived in terms of haughtineſs and indifference, alluding likewiſe to certain *promiſes*, which ſome perſons had made to a *nameleſs* power. Upon which Guſtavus gave Stock, chief of the deputation, and one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the elector, the following anſwer unpremeditated; *That his maſter's letter was a ſort of petition preſented to him ſword in hand: that he knew well enough what was meant by inſinuations of promiſes and engagements; and that underſtanding his own buſineſs without a tutor, and what France had a right to expect from him, and what ſhe had not, he ſhould fulfil his inclinations in the*

* Le *Soldat Suedois*. † Ibid. 354.
† *Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation*, in High Dutch, part ii. p. 20.
‡ Philip Chriſtopher de Sottern. He was alſo biſhop of Spires.

*manner he thought beſt, and bring ſome viſitants into the electorate who would expect good cheer and warm lodgings**.

He then granted certain conditions of neutrality to Ferdinand elector of Cologn, brother to the duke of Bavaria; the terms whereof were extremely rigid, but as things then ſtood, it was thought expedient to admit them; for the proteſtants were to enjoy free exerciſe of religion and commerce; no ſupplies were to be allowed the emperor, and the catholic league; the dioceſe was to be open to the troops of Sweden; and agents on the king's part were to reſide in the metropolis, in order to ſee all the articles juſtly performed.

At other intervals from more important buſineſs care was taken to cultivate all ſubordinate collateral intereſts; for by this time the ſtates of Lower Saxony, and the Hanſe Towns, in conſequence of the concluſions agreed upon at Leipſic, had determined to raiſe 12,000 men under the conduct of George duke of Lunenberg; and the rather as they had ſome reaſon to hope, though that hope was built only on outward appearances, that a good underſtanding had been eſtabliſhed between the kings of Denmark and Sweden.

Now whoever conſiders attentively all theſe various tranſactions of politics, great in their conſequences, various in their nature, extenſive in their operations, and referring likewiſe not only to that incoherent maſs of intereſts the Germanic body, but to France and England, and all the powerful ſtates in Europe, will, I may venture to ſay, find it difficult to convince themſelves, that the whole of this vaſt work was fully examined, and effectually adjuſted within the compaſs of a *ſingle fortnight*, and ſomething more. Nor was the king even then unmindful of military matters, nor did he conſume the holidays of Chriſtmas in riotings and feſtivals; but, on the contrary, repaired the fortifications of Mentz, iſſued orders for raiſing new regiments, and kept the face of a campaign in the parts round him under his own inſpection; whilſt the good diſcipline, the temperance, the decent and religious deportment of his ſoldiers charmed not only the catholics in general, but even the jeſuits, who made panegyrics upon them in the pulpit: but whether through gratitude or neceſſity is more than I ſhall take upon me to determine.

The king next made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Koënigſtein near Francfort, which, after a fortreſs of the ſame name in Saxony, Hohentweil in Suabia, and Harman-

* *F. Spanheim*, 358. *Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation*, tom. ii.

ſtein

ſtein * in the electorate of Triers, ſeems to me to have been as ſtrongly ſituated by nature, as it is poſſible to imagine. No ſooner had his majeſty entered Koëningſtein, but a repreſentation was made to him by the counts of Stolberg, that the electors of Mentz in 1581 † had uſurped this ſtrong place from them, and that it was a part of their lawful patrimony: upon which, without any remonſtrance, excuſe, delay, or explanation, he reſtored it to them, reſerving to himſelf nothing more than all the artillery and ſtores of war. Pappenheim and colonel Cronenberg had made this fortreſs their favourite magazine, where they repoſited their military acquiſitions; which ſaid plunder, as it belónged to *brave men*, the king beſtowed generouſly on the *moſt courageous perſons* he could diſcover among his officers and ſoldiers; and thus made a fine compliment both to enemies and friends. Indeed, it is highly probable, that his regard for Pappenheim was ſo great, that if he had not dexterouſly hit upon this expedient, he would have contrived means to have reſtored his effects to him by ſome uncommon kind of warlike gallantry.

Nor had the landgrave of Heſſe been idle during the preceding ſummer and autumn; for having cleared his own country of Imperialiſts, he made irruptions into Weſtphalia, and the abbacy of Fulda. As he joined the Swedes with 12,000 men, and did good ſervice at the ſiege of Mentz, his majeſty purpoſed to make uſe of his troops in order to raiſe the ſiege of Nurenberg; but finding the alarm falſe, after a march of three days, allowed him to return to the protection of his own dominions, and extend his little conqueſts near home.

As to Tilly, we left him paſſing along in full march by the town of Oxenfurt ‡, whilſt Guſtavus Horn, with an army of 8000 men, attended his motions in the biſhopric of Bamberg, and kept alive only a defenſive war. Upon this, Tilly, general of the league, inveſted Nurenberg; but as the king had thrown 3000 troops into the town, with a good governor, and a conſiderable number of experienced engineers, ſo that the garriſon, in conjunction with the burghers and neighbouring peaſants, made 10,000 effective ſoldiers, he ſoon found himſelf obliged to deſiſt from his enterpriſes, having loſt Schlavata, a colonel of Croates in one attack, and upwards of 500 private men. Soon after-

* It is called by the Germans Ehrenbreitſtein.

† Geographie Univerſelle de *Hubner*, tom. v. 435.

‡ November 6.

wards one of his magazines blew up at Schwabach*, containing twelve hundred quintals of powder, upon which he ſaid, with a deep ſigh, "That fortune at length had thought fit to deſert him." Dividing his army therefore not unſkilfully into two parts, if retreating towards Bavaria may be called an act of true judgment, he commanded Cratz and Aldringer to obſerve the motions of Horn near Bamberg and the Upper Palatinate: and retired himſelf to Nordlingen, having firſt had an interview with his electoral maſter, in order to guard the dukedom of Bavaria from all invaſions on the part of Guſtavus, who, as he ſuppoſed, intended to make his irruption on the Wirtemberg ſide, becauſe he had many well-wiſhers in that territory, and abundance of ſincere aſſiſtants. Meanwhile the ſubtle elector of Bavaria convened a diet of catholic leaguers at Ingolſtadt†; and having concerted meaſures with De Charnacé, St. Etienne, De Liſle, and other French miniſters and agents then at Munich, formed the project of obtaining, by means of France, a ſhort *armiſtice* from Guſtavus, and in the interim diſpatched his chancellor to Vienna in order to conclude a freſh bargain there, by which he might be enabled to deſert France the moment he could acquire all the advantages which ſhe had the power of procuring for him.

As to Lower Saxony and Weſtphalia, the dukes of Mechlenburg and general Todt inveſted Wiſmar, where colonel Graham made ſeveral furious ſallies, but at length ſurrendered upon condition, that a month's ſpace ſhould be allowed him to conſult Tieffenbach on the occaſion. After Graham had evacuated the place, Todt found him guilty of breach of articles in various inſtances, and being ſo fortunate as to overtake him on his journey, gave his troops a total overthrow, and detained him priſoner till he could receive his majeſty's orders. Graham, the Imperial colonel, offered £.2000. for his ranſom, but could not obtain it. Todt then joined the archbiſhop of Bremen, who brought him a reinforcement of five incomplete regiments, which made in the whole, it is probable, about 2000 men.

As to Banier's operations in theſe parts, we have ſpoken already under the article of the marquis of Hamilton's campaign: but when Pappenheim perceived that Lunenberg and Todt had joined the Swediſh general, he

* There is a type in printing, called the Schwabach character, there being in this town formerly a famous foundery for caſting letters.

† December 22, 1631.

made

made ſeveral forced marches, in which part of military conduct he had no equal, and with great dexterity eſcaped from them.

The Saxons found but ſlight reſiſtance in Bohemia, and if Arnheim had acted the ſincere and honeſt part, he ought to have marched directly into Moravia, which the king adviſed him to do by letter, where he might have diſturbed and ruined all Walſtein's new recruits, cantoned in that duchy. Walſtein, on the other hand, thinned the Saxon army, by offering all deſerters double pay, and the ſame rank they poſſeſſed among their friends. Tieffenbach ſpared no pains to levy ſoldiers in Hungary, but there was no money to put them in motion; and without that previous viaticum, neither man nor horſe could find the uſe of their limbs. Upon this account a national diet was convened, but the ſtates declared they could produce neither ſoldiers nor ducats, fearing the incurſions of the Turks on the one hand, and the warlike preparations of Ragotzki on the other hand; inſiſting alſo on the privilege of not being obliged to defend their ſovereign out of the limits of their country; and adding moreover, which ſhewed they ſpared no pains to find excuſes, "That there had always been a good underſtanding between the crowns of Hungary and Sweden." Nor was this unlikely, conſidering the ſea and a thouſand miles of *terra firma* were ſpread between them.

Walſtein, to the infinite mortification of the houſe of Auſtria, quartered all his troops in the hereditary dominions, excepting only a circle of twelve miles round Vienna. Merodé was then diſpatched into the Low Countries to levy 5000 cuiraſſiers, and Dhona made a journey into Poland in queſt of the Coſſacks. A ſecond attempt too was levelled againſt the virtue of the elector of Saxony; and as his kinſman Francis Albert, duke of Saxe-Lauenberg, who had ſerved the emperor both in Poland and Italy, was thought to be the moſt proper ſolicitor that could be found, he was authoriſed, ſay various authors*, to reſign his employ upon ſome pretended diſguſt, and undertake this negotiation in the beſt manner he could. Arnheim durſt not venture to ſet his maſter to ſale upon ſo abrupt an application: and indeed the affairs of Sweden at that time were too proſperous to allow the general and miniſter, for Arnheim united both

* We ſpeak this with certain precautions, becauſe Francis Albert's character, with reference to the death of Guſtavus, demands to be conſidered with uncommon impartiality, as well as exactneſs.

theſe characters in his own perſon, to embark in a meaſure ſo extremely hazardous.

We now come to the concluſion of the year 1631, which, from the feaſt of St. John Baptiſt, the day Guſtavus landed, to the eve of the new year, may be conſidered as a period the moſt fruitful in events of any campaign that is to be found in modern hiſtory. The king in ſix months ſpace had traverſed from Stralſund and the mouth of the Elbe to the Upper Rhine, or in effect was maſter of Germany from the ſhore of the Baltic ocean almoſt to the lake of Conſtance; which in truth made an extent of country not much inferior to the whole kingdom of France. To recite the circumſtantial progreſs of his conqueſts would carry with it more the appearance of a tedious elaborate index than of an inſtructive or amuſing hiſtory; for it would exceed the catalogue of ſhips in Homer; and who has Homer's ſecret of making ſuch a minute detail agreeable? ſince the king in his own perſon, not including the tranſactions of his generals in other places, had conquered all the principal cities and fortreſſes in Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony and Mechlenburg; ſubdued, more or leſs, the four circles of Franconia, Suabia, and the two Rhines; chaſed the elector of Mentz out of his country; reduced the whole Lower Palatinate, and propoſed to open the enſuing campaign, which was to commence on new year's day, by an irruption into Bavaria. Louis XIII. as well as the elector of Bavaria, ſtood both thunderſtruck at the rapidity of theſe conqueſts; and Italy too began to tremble at the aſtoniſhing progreſs of this new Alaric, as the pope ſaid, who was ready to ſet his foot upon the ſtaircaſe of the Alps. Yet whatever the merits of the cauſe might be, an humane and compaſſionate writer cannot but lament the miſeries and ſufferings of mankind, as well as the effuſion of blood upon this occaſion; ſince it is highly probable, if we comprehend the havock made by peſtilence famine, and other accidents, that near half a million of people were ſuppoſed to loſe their lives in Germany only, in the courſe of this ſingle year 1631.

The new year had hardly began a few minutes, when duke Bernard ſurprized the important town of Manheim with extraordinary addreſs; for ordering 500 horſemen to approach the city gates at midnight in full gallop, they pretended to be Imperialiſts, who had been broken to pieces in an engagement with the Swedes, and that their enemies in the very inſtant were preſſing at their heels. The gate was immediately opened on ſuch a repreſentation, and the Swedes entering pell-mell made a dreadful ſlaughter among the Spaniards. Yet the garriſon ſoon recovered their terror, and

and made no contemptible reſiſtance; but in the interim, duke Bernard ſcaled the walls, and poured in a freſh ſupply of aſſailants on all ſides. Maravalla the governor was taken priſoner, and having paid his ranſom, returned to his ſuperiors with all the punctuality of a good Caſtilian; nevertheleſs his head was publicly ſtruck off at Heidelberg; and indeed there was ſomething truly pitiable in his caſe, for an inferior officer had opened the town gate without his knowledge.

Frankendal and Heidelberg were then ſlightly blockaded; and as to Spires, perceiving with what alacrity the Swedes conquered towns, it prudently thought fit to enter into an accommodation ſome few days before Mauheim was ſurprized.

During this tumult of buſineſs, his majeſty could neither digeſt nor forget the needleſs and petulant interference of the duke of Lorrain, who had marched a conſiderable army to Tilly's aſſiſtance. He therefore diſpatched a letter *, the ſubſtance of which, together with the anſwer the duke returned to it, may prove perhaps no ways unentertaining to the more curious part of my readers. He there tells Charles, whom he calls his *kinſman* and *thrice dear friend, That he omitted writing to him, whilſt he marched in armour at the head of his Lorrainers, for fear ſuch a politeneſs might be miſconſtrued into timidity: but as he was now repoſing himſelf in his own dominions, he thought it but reaſonable to ſuggeſt to him, that being a prince independent, and unfettered with connexions and obligations, it ſeemed to him extremely ſtrange, that he ſhould carry hoſtilities into a climate hardly known to him, and embroil himſelf in quarrels, that did not concern him, merely out of enthuſiaſtic gallantry and gaiety of ſpirits, without any motives deducible either from religion, or other valuable conſiderations;—ſubjoining, at the ſame time, that it was impoſſible for him to be ignorant of the juſtice of the Swediſh cauſe, and of the atrocious violence of the enemy; of the tender humanity, moderation and liberty of conſcience he had ſhewn the catholics; and of the extraordinary conceſſions he had made the chieftains of the league, with a view to eſtabliſh peace and Chriſtian benevolence through the empire; and that he deſired, as he now approached the frontiers of Lorrain, the favour of being made acquainted with his preſent and ulterior determinations; and that explicitly, without any reſerve, ſubterfuge and exception, ſince a categorical anſwer of this nature would determine the next ſtep he propoſed to take* †."

* *Riccius* de Bellis German. 345, 346.

† This letter bears date from Mentz, December 29, 1631.

Charles, who was ſqueezed, if one may ſo ſay, into a dilemma between Sweden and France, conſidered this propoſal as a providential deliverance, and replied in a tranſport of joy—

That he was charmed with the honour of receiving a letter from ſo illuſtrious and great a king, beſeeching him to aſſure himſelf, that though appearances were againſt him, and he might juſtly ſeem to merit ſome reproof for preſuming to enter into the liſts of combat with ſo renowned a warrior; yet all this proceeded from the laudable ambition of deſiring to emulate his majeſty's valour, and that he never once conceived an unkind or ungenerous thought concerning him; and conſequently hoped he ſhould incur no blame for attempting to aſſiſt the unfortunate and diſtreſſed, ſince that very principle made one diſtinguiſhing point of view in his majeſty's character. That, for his own part, he thought it neither ſafe nor honeſt to refuſe to ſatisfy the emperor's requeſts, and give activity to the treaties that had long ſubſiſted between the courts of Vienna and Nanci, eſpecially when ſolemnly called upon to fulfil his own engagements, and thoſe of his family: and that, beſides all this, he had been well informed from indiſputable authority, that ſome ſteps had been taken in the aſſembly at Leipſic, prejudicial to his honour, and the tranquillity of his ſubjects. For theſe reaſons, as the war admitted of no alternative, he thought it baſeneſs to poſtpone, and generoſity to begin it:—— nevertheleſs, he embraced the offer of his majeſty's friendſhip with all poſſible gratitude and reſpect, and ſo much the rather, as the progreſs of the Swediſh arms portended no deſtruction to the catholic religion. Of courſe he ſhould refuſe no propoſal, provided it was compatible, as he well foreſaw it would be, with the juſtice and reputation of a prince, whom he reſpected beyond expreſſion, and who had done him the honour to acknowledge him for a relation *.

This letter wanted neither ſagacity, politeneſs, addreſs, nor diſſimulation. Guſtavus was politician enough to take it in part of ſufficient payment, and the rather, as France requeſted him ſo to do: for which the reaſon ſhall be aſſigned immediately. This procedure was highly gracious in Guſtavus, for his army breathed ſuch a ſpirit of revenge againſt the duke of Lorrain's troops, on account of the incredible ravages and outrages they had committed in

* Nanci, Jan. 21, 1632. *Mercure François*, tom. xviii. 144—5.

Germany,

Germany, that ſome regiments quartered near Worms, who expected orders for making an irruption every moment, had procured colours, where a man was repreſented cloven in two with the ſtroke of an axe, and a body of ſoldiers, with lighted torches in their hands, marching againſt the word LORRAIN, which was written in large letters oppoſite to them *.

The real reaſon of Charles's complaiſance was owing purely to the treaty of Vic †, which he had ſigned with France juſt one and twenty days before he anſwered the king's letter. By this agreement, ſeveral articles were crammed down his throat of very difficult digeſtion; for he was to renounce the intereſts of the emperor, Spain, and the catholic league ‡, and make no future treaty without the conſent of France; who, on the other hand, obliged herſelf to aſſiſt him upon condition only, that his dominions were attacked; and took care to inſert a clauſe, that free paſſage ſhould be granted to the French army, whenever it was thought expedient to march troops into Germany.

About this time the landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt renewed his ſolicitations for the public tranquillity, being in truth a ſecret penſioner to the court of Vienna, and the king had condeſcenſion enough to write to the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg on the ſubject, as alſo to the magiſtrates of Lubec, that being the principal of the Hanſe towns, and to ſeveral princes and ſtates: well knowing at the ſame time, that it was only waſting a little ink and paper for the ſake of decorum; ſince from the beginning to the end he amuſed himſelf by ſtyling the landgrave *pacificator general of the holy Roman empire,* and calling his money, which he laid down at cards and dice not very willingly, by no other name than *l'argent d'appointement*; alluding thereby to his private communication with the houſe of Auſtria ‖.

An

* *Spanheim's* Soldat Suedois, p. 370.

† *Voyez le Recueil des Traittez de confederation & d'alliance entre la couronne de France & les princes et etas etrangers depuis l'an* MDCLXXI. *juſques à preſent.* MDCLXXII. *Sine loco.* 12°.

‡ This was contained in a ſecret article, ſigned ſix days afterwards.

‖ To underſtand the ſecret hiſtory of the landgrave's conduct better, who had lately married a young daughter of the elector of Saxony, we muſt look more nearly into the tranſactions of that age; and then we ſhall find, that the elector Palatine, about the time of the battle of Prague, had conveyed two ſignories to this prince by way of ſecuring them to his own uſe: but when Frederic grew unfortunate, the landgrave claimed them as his own proper poſſeſſions, and upon this, Mansfelt invaded his country, and detained him a priſoner; but procuring his liberty in a few days, and perceiving the houſe of Auſtria to be all-powerful, he obtained a grant from the em-

An event of a more ſerious nature now preſented itſelf; for his majeſty was informed from authority worth liſtening to, that half a dozen jeſuits at Augſburg had bound themſelves by ſolemn oaths and execrations to aſſaſſinate him: and what confirmed men in belief of this horrid conſpiracy was, that a Flemiſh prieſt had been found near his bedchamber, late in the evening, with a poiniard in his boſom. Guſtavus replied only to the remonſtrances and repreſentations of his friends, by aſſuring them, *That a king, circumſtanced and employed as he was, muſt not lock himſelf up in a box:——that wicked men could not always effect what they wiſhed to perform:——that Providence was more to be relied upon than regiments of guards:——that God knew how far and how long he ſhould be pleaſed to employ him, and in the event would raise up others more able and more active than himſelf; for the Supreme Being*, continued he, *would never make his work depend on one breath, or one perſon**. This was the ſubſtance of all his anſwers upon ſimilar occaſions; ſo that when his miniſters and generals preſſed him one day in particular to look more watchfully round him, and place proper guards about his perſon, he replied abruptly, and ſomewhat peeviſhly, *that they took great pains to teach him to diſtruſt in God*†.

Guſtavus in his private hours of reflection, was not thoroughly pleaſed with Richelieu's duplicity in reference to the late treaty agreed upon between France and Bavaria; and perceiving plainly that the cardinal, and the cardinal's director, father Joſeph, had formed a ſcheme of reducing him to a piece of French mechaniſm, ſignified to Louis XIII. that he deſired a *private conference* with him concerning matters of the moſt extraordinary importance, and of courſe diſpatched Horn to Metz upon that errand.—Louis, naturally timid, and endued with very moderate parts, trembled at the thoughts of managing an important conference with a king, who talked ſeveral languages with uncommon energy and propriety, and whoſe ſuperior genius rendered him abſolutely a maſter both in the field and cabinet. Upon this the marquis de Brezé, now returned for freſh inſtructions, as he had not been able to effect any general pacification to the advantage of France, was diſpatched a ſecond time ambaſſador to Mentz with a pompous equipage, attended by numbers of the young French nobility. Guſtavus entertained

peror, not only of theſe two diſtricts, but of ſeveral lands in Veteravia, which belonged to the counts of Solms, Iſenberg and Lovenſtein, who all ſerved under Frederic. Secretary *Fowler's* Life of Sir G. Douglaſs, fol. 223.

* *Soldat Suedois*, p. 374, &c. † *Le Vaſſor*, tom. vii. 102.

entertained him and his attendants moſt magnificently. Excuſes then for declining the interview propoſed were made in abundance, and all grounded upon the French king's infirm and delicate ſtate of health: But, Sire, ſaid the marquis, approach but a little towards Lorrain, and cardinal Richelieu ſhall meet you at the place appointed. *Monſieur l'ambaſſadeur*, replied his majeſty, with a tone of deciſion, *all kings are equal: my predeceſſors have never given place to the kings of France. If your maſter thinks fit to diſpatch the* CARDINAL *half way, I will ſend ſome of* MY PEOPLE *to treat with him**. Nevertheleſs, it was the French maxim at that time to talk to Guſtavus in a very high ſtyle, which, conſidering his ſpirit and temper, ſhewed want of addreſs and common good ſenſe in that political nation: for de Charnacé, the other ambaſſador, on ſome like occaſion, namely, on demanding the armiſtice†, gave him one day, in order to check the rapidity of his conqueſts towards Alſatia, a full detail of the immenſe number, as the world then computed, of his maſter's troops. "*Sir*," ſaid Guſtavus, "*I own your king has abundance of ſoldiers; but indulge me only in one day's march before him, and I will give him the meeting at Paris; and ſave him the trouble of conducting an army by long journeys into Germany*‡. It was then objected, that his majeſty had violated his engagements with France in croſſing the Rhine, a point of great uneaſineſs to the French nation beyond all diſpute: to which he replied likewiſe with an air of coldneſs, *That the moſt Chriſtian king had given him an equal diſguſt in delaying to pay the Swediſh ſtipend. A French army and mine*, continued he, *can never compoſe the diſorders of Germany. Leave then to me the correction in the empire of all that is amiſs; and if the king your maſter be in good earneſt, let him turn his arms againſt Spain, and make a diverſion in favour of the general cauſe*§. Upon this the cardinal and the capuchin ‖ began to conſider Guſtavus not only as the greateſt conqueror in the world, but as a perſon ſuperior to all common efforts of political artifice; and their king on his part fearing a ſecond interview might be propoſed, retired from Metz to Paris with the precipitation of a monarch who had been defeated in battle. Yet willing to effect ſomething of the low kind, rather than miſcarry totally, and concluding little expedients, the baffled ſtateſman's momentary cordials, to be better than nothings; De Brezé at length, being diſ-

* *Le Vaſſor*, tom. vii. 102.
† *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. 61.
‡ *Le Vaſſor*, tom. vii. p. 103. *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. 61, 62.
§ *Idem. ibid.* part ii. 61, 62. ‖ Father Joſeph.

appointed

appointed in his grand ſcheme of an univerſal peace, or at leaſt, a general truce, contrived in the laſt reſource, conjointly with the ſeveral miniſters of the princes of the league, to extort from the king a ſort of *armiſtice* * for fourteen days, which Guſtavus granted, partly to avoid being teaſed, and partly with a view of exhibiting to the public ſome manifeſt proof of his pacific inclinations: in both which points he juſtified his good temper and benevolence at the expence of his victories. *For Pappenheim either knew not of the truce, or never regarded it; the infanta Iſabella found an opportunity to march her troops to the aſſiſtance of the league; the duke of Bavaria gained time to circumvent Guſtavus and Louis too, by driving a freſh concluſive bargain at Vienna; and France found means, during this interval, to give new laws to Lorrain, and adopt the elector of Triers under her own protection;*—— A long catalogue of advantages all gained in a FORTNIGHT from the king's generoſity and magnificence of temper! advantages fruitful of dark and miſchievous events; contrived by artifice, executed with inſincerity, and extorted from a brave and benevolent prince, who regarded duplicity ſo much the leſs, as he had parts and ſpirit to make his enemies repay him for ſuch ungenerous conduct with a double proportion of intereſt! Nevertheleſs, a ſtateſman or general, bleſſed with but one half of Guſtavus's abilities, muſt have been deſtroyed by ſuch a combination of falſehood, as well as total violation of all public good faith.

In order to bring about this mighty project of an armiſtice, De Charnacé received inſtructions to leave Munich, and act in concert at Mentz with De Brezé: but ſome few days before he quitted the former place, he made an attempt (being then as falſe to Bavaria as he proved the next fortnight to Sweden) to perſuade Maximilian, that he, of all princes, ought to permit Guſtavus to extend his conqueſts as far as poſſible; ſince, in caſe the houſe of Auſtria ſhould be ruined, the Imperial diadem would be transferred of courſe from the family of Vienna to that of Bavaria. He then played the rhetorician upon Walſtein's (the elector's mortal enemy) being raiſed to the ſupreme command; but Maximilian was too old a politician to allow himſelf to be over-reached by French eloquence; nor could he bear the thoughts of relinquiſhing that delicious acquiſition the Upper Palatinate. He therefore kept firm at all hazards to the Imperial cauſe, as did alſo his brother, the elector of Cologn.

* For the original of this treaty ſee the APPENDIX, Art. XXV. As likewiſe the ſubſcription of the French ambaſſadors, ibid. Art. XXVI. *Firſt Edition*, 4°.

No-

No ſooner had De Charnacé arrived at Mentz, but he began to ruffle the king's temper with thoſe unaccountable ſallies of vivacity which ſeem natural to Frenchmen, and to ſay truth, this miniſter was inveſted with a double portion of them; ſince at the very time he was to ſolicit a favour, and that of no common nature, he could not help throwing out ſome lively invectives on the preſumption of the Swedes for taking the liberty to croſs the Rhine. The king, who had been tired above meaſure with theſe inſolent impertinencies, and felt himſelf exaſperated to the quick at France's aſſuming the perpetual pre-eminence, gave him to underſtand very conciſely once for all *, *That if his Chriſtian majeſty was offended, he could not help it; and that whoever forced him back, muſt take the pains to effect that work ſword in hand.——That he was geographer enough to know his way to Paris as well as Vienna, and that his ſoldiers would reliſh Champaign and Burgundy, as well as Rheniſh or Moſelle. Therefore, for theſe reaſons, he humbly conceived a king of France would not affect to imitate that power, who alone can ſay,* HITHERTO SHALT THOU GO, AND NO FURTHER. He well knew France to be not ſo formidable as ſhe then affected to appear. Her army at moſt amounted to little more than 50,000 ſoldiers: nor did the revenues exceed forty-five millions of livres. Commerce was regarded with a careleſs eye, and the police greatly neglected.

The two French ambaſſadors, being thus humbled into a ſort of real or pretended modeſty, implored the king at all events to grant an *armiſtice for a ſingle fortnight*, which Guſtavus allowed with great reluctance, much againſt his own *private judgment*, merely to prevent importunity. *For, ſir*, ſaid he to De Brezé, *the princes of the league are inſincere. I have made them offers more than once of living with them on a friendly footing, provided only, that they contributed a moderate ſum towards the ſubſiſtence of my ſoldiers; but inſtead of accepting theſe terms upon principles of honour and honeſty, they have created both delays and obſtructions, which fully convince me, that they want only to amuſe me and gain time. Witneſs the deliberations and reſolutions lately taken at Landſhut and Ingoldſtadt: whence it appears, that the biſhop of Wurtzburg and the Bavarian miniſters talked one thing at Metz, and that their conſtituents perform quite another thing in Germany. Read theſe letters, ſir, and then ſuppoſe yourſelf to be better inſtructed.*

What the ſubſtance of theſe intercepted letters was, appears not from Le Vaſſor, whom I am copying, but *one* †,

* *Monro's* Expedition, part ii. 100. † *Chemnitz*, tom. i. p. 228.

if-

if I remember right, was addreſſed from the duke of Bavaria to Pappenheim, wherein he charged him to undertake *immediately* the reduction of Weſtphalia, incloſing a bill of credit on Cologn for £.9000. which ſum he engaged to ſee repaid at Augſburg. Nevertheleſs, before the ceſſation of arms could be obtained, Guſtavus propoſed, once more, the plan of a *neutrality*, as it was then called; or rather a ſhort ſyſtem of preliminaries, all tending to a general pacification *; which he charged the ambaſſadors and miniſters to tranſmit to their reſpective courts for confirmation, inaſmuch as he and France had agreed concerning them. Of theſe we have already given the reader *two* different tranſcripts, and referred him to a *third*, in the preamble of which there is one paſſage worth notice; namely, that this armiſtice was granted purely out of regard to the earneſt interceſſions of the moſt Chriſtian king †.

As to the armiſtice itſelf, I have ſeen only two tranſlations of it, the one in Engliſh, and the other in French, both made public the year that it was ſigned; to the former of which I have referred my reader in the *Appendix*; and with reſpect to the plans of pacification mentioned by me, I conclude upon reviewing the matter, that they were only ſubſequent explanations of the king's meaning, diſpatched by him to the parties concerned, or to the Swediſh miniſters reſiding with them. Be that as it will, theſe are all ſignal proofs of his majeſty's ſincerity and good faith, which will appear ſtill in a ſtronger light, if we conſider the inſtructions conveyed by him on the occaſion to Guſtavus Horn, and, as it ſeems to me highly probable, to all his generals; namely, that the *armiſtice* was granted out of pure indulgence to the court of France; and that a poſitive anſwer to the propoſals of pacification was to be returned in the ſpace of a fortnight from the princes therein intereſted. It was agreed, that Pappenheim ſhould evacuate Weſtphalia, and the archbiſhopric of Magdeburg; and that the troops belonging to the elector of Bavaria and the catholic league ſhould be withdrawn likewiſe from Bohemia: all acts of hoſtility being ſuppoſed to ceaſe on either ſide, and power reſerved to retaliate injuries with injuries: yet nevertheleſs under this reſtriction, that blockades and ſieges already begun ſhould proceed in the ſame manner as if no ceſſation of arms had been agreed on ‡.

As

* See pag. 72, 73. † *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 62.

‡ Letter to Guſtavus Horn, dated at Hoëchſt. The author of the Merc. Franc. ſays Mentz. See APPENDIX, Art. XXVII. January 10, 1631-2.

That

As this letter to Horn bears date from Hoëchſt, Jan. 10, it is probable the king had ratified the agreement the day before, or that very morning at Mentz, and was advanced thus far on his road, in order to meet the queen at Hanau, whom he found there, to his higheſt ſatisfaction, the ſelf-ſame evening. Her majeſty made her public entrance in a manner not void of magnificence, being accompanied by the young princeſs of Brandenburg, her ſiſter, and eſcorted by numbers of noblemen, and 1200 horſe, commanded by old Ruthven. The king received her at the entrance of count Hanau's palace. Never meeting, after a long ſeparation of twenty months, was more affectionate and tender; for they knew well each other's merit*. Eleanora flew to him with a tranſport of joy that is not to be deſcribed, and throwing her arms round his waiſt, *Now, ſir*, ſaid ſhe, *the Great Guſtavus is* AT LENGTH TAKEN PRISONER! Which † particular ſort of expreſſion was ſo much applauded by the public, and paſſed ſo frequently from mouth to mouth, till acquiring freſh variations in travelling from Germany to England, it was at length reported by the London news-writer, that the king of Sweden was literally and *bonâ fide* an Imperial priſoner: which, it is probable, gave no great diſſatisfaction to the Engliſh miniſtry. The king made his conſort a preſent of jewels to a very conſiderable value.

This heroine had left the pleaſures of Stockholm, in order to ſhare the fatigues of war with her huſband, and brought with her no contemptible ſupply of ſoldiers‡, artillery, and money. Nor was ſhe in the leaſt diſmayed at an extraordinary accident, which befell her in the firſt minutes of her embarkation; for one of her principal ſhips, ſurnamed the VASA, by way of diſtinction, ſunk directly to the bottom about half a league from ſhore, merely through ſome fault in its conſtruction: ſince the ſea in that place had no rocks, nor was there wind enough to ruffle its ſurface §.

During this momentary repoſe at Hanau, advice came that Pappenheim paid no regard to the ceſſation of arms: upon

That very evening, being Tueſday, the king met the queen at Hanau. *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 68.

* Fu incontrata (da regina) & raccolta da i popoli e dalle miſitie con applauſo, & pompa veramente regale, ma ſi caramente dal re ſuo conſorte, che ne ſtupirono i circoſtanti, in vedendo da petto di tanta fortezza uſcir coſi traborchevoli le tenerezze, e luſinghe de i più ſuiſcerati amanti. *P. Pome.* lihr. ii. 57.

† *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. 68.

‡ Of theſe, 4000 were deſtined to join the marquis of Hamilton, and the reſidue, 4000 more, were conducted by Oxenſtiern to reinforce the king.

§ *Schefferi* Memorab. Suec. Gent. 8°. p. 20.

upon which the king, being determined to chaſtiſe him, ordered ſeveral regiments to file off from Francfort, and advanced in perſon immediately as far as Guelenhauſen, twenty-four miles in his way to Weſtphalia. The queen would not deſert him, but hearing there that the danger he apprehended was blown over, returned to Francfort. In violation of the truce, the Spaniards had croſſed the Moſelle, and the infanta's troops were in full march towards the Palatinate; the duke of Bavaria made preparations for renewing the war with double diligence; the elector of Triers behaved with duplicity; and the duke of Neuburg allowed Tilly to take poſſeſſion of his metropolis. Thus, whilſt they all effected miſchief, in greater or leſſer degrees, the king, like an honeſt and punctual ſoldier, gained nothing but an inactive interval for the refreſhment of his army.

During this interim, the elector of Bavaria not only refitted his ſhattered troops, but found his opportunity of extorting higher advantages from the Auſtrian neceſſities, inaſmuch as the emperor had long balanced between reſtoring Walſtein, or breaking with Maximilian. At length he and his miniſtry, upon mature deliberation, thought proper to leave the firſt difficulty to work its own way, and pay an exorbitant price for the aſſiſtance of the laſt named prince: which retardment of glory, though only ideal, redoubled Walſtein's hatred againſt Bavaria.

The elector, perceiving France could not influence Guſtavus in greater matters, and diſcovering likewiſe the violent inclination of that prince to reſtore the Palatine to his hereditary dominions, diſpatched Donnerſberg, his chancellor, to Vienna; and bidding adieu to the interpoſition of France, at once, gave him authority to make the beſt market he could with the Imperial miniſtry, who received him with open arms *.

Donnerſberg proteſted, that though his maſter might want means, yet that he never wanted good intentions to the houſe of Auſtria, ſince he had refuſed the kingſhip of the Romans, which Richelieu offered him †; but that Sweden had almoſt overturned his ſyſtem, by that terrible ſhock, the defeat of Leipſic; and that the Infanta had beſought him to take no adventurous ſtep, till the catholic princes had recovered themſelves from their terror. He frankly owned, that the clandeſtine elevation of Wal-

* *Galeazzo Gualdo*, part i. l. 3.

† *Bernard*; Hiſt. de Louis XIII. lib. xv. fol. Par. 1646.

ſtein;

ſtein *; his inveſtiture with ſo much power; and repoſing ſuch undue confidence in a ſubject, had a little diſconcerted him in the articles of friendſhip and fidelity; and the more, as *that* general had been removed at his inſtances and ſolicitations.—Nevertheleſs, he privately hoped, that the emperor had been forced into theſe meaſures by pure neceſſity, and that Walſtein would never preſume, when he opened the campaign, to march into Bavaria, or canton his troops in that electorate. Of courſe, as the poſſeſſion of the Palatinates began now to appear precarious, he thought it conſiſtent with the emperor's prudence and equity, to *transfer* the Upper Auſtria † to him proviſionally, not only as an indemnification for his paſt expences, but as a ſort of equivalent for the Palatinates, which Guſtavus was determined to wreſt out of his hands. Upon theſe terms he made his Imperial majeſty an offer of all his ſervices, having previouſly raiſed the ban, and arrier-ban of Bavaria for that very purpoſe; fortified and guarded the banks of the Lech and Danube; and placed good garriſons in all the fortreſſes and cities on that ſide of his country ‡.

Theſe propoſals were a cordial of comfort to the Imperial miniſtry; yet the aſſignation of Upper Auſtria, by way of pledge or mortgage, was a ſort of nauſeous drop mixed with the compoſition, which rendered it to a certain degree unpalatable.

Their anſwer was, that the emperor would content his old ally not only in this inſtance, but in realizing alſo ſome promiſes of the ſame nature, which he had made before. That Walſtein in effect forced his own way; that the neceſſity of the conjuncture was his only patron, ſince no other man could collect an army at ſo ſhort a notice, and when the emergency of affairs was ſo very critical. However, care had been taken, that all competitions and jealouſies ſhould be removed; and that the elector of Bavaria ſhould receive neither affront, neglect, or injury from him. Walſtein hearing what part Maximilian had acted with regard to him, grew ſo enraged, that he made no ſecret of his future intentions.

* He does not name him in the memorial, but mentions only the elevation of a certain perſon.

† There are reaſons to ſuſpect it was rather that part of Upper Auſtria called Ober Ens, or *ſupra Aniſum*, which had been mortgaged to the duke at the beginning of the Bohemian wars, and reſumed upon the ceſſion made him of the Higher Palatinate.

‡ *Fred. Spanheim*, p. 380.

During the continuance of this truce, France, who always caſt a languiſhing eye on the weſtern banks of the Rhine, laid the ground-plot of a new machination againſt Sweden, by drawing the elector of Triers more immediately under her protection; and diſpatched the count de Brullon expreſsly into Germany upon that errand: of which we ſhall ſpeak more diſtinctly, when we come to the actual ſigning of the treaty. As Guſtavus was of a temper equally prudent and inflammable, of courſe ſhe entered into this act of patronage with wonderful ſlowneſs and timidity; for Richelieu knew the interpoſition to be of a very delicate caſt, ſince if he had foured, or ruffled Guſtavus too abruptly, he foreſaw, that the Spaniſh party would have extracted great advantage from ſuch an inadvertency, and kindled up a miſunderſtanding betwixt the two crowns. It ſufficed therefore for the preſent, that the elector publiſhed a memorial * concerning the ceſſation of hoſtilities during the truce, which the Spaniſh troops deſpiſed, and the members of his own chapter rejected.

Richelieu then changed his attack, and tampered ingeniouſly with the city of Straſburg, a ſort of game that was played afterwards with more ſucceſs in regard to Briſac; ſparing no pains to induce the magiſtrates to place themſelves under the protection of France. An old burgo-maſter, who, from principles of good ſenſe, and a true zeal for the welfare of the public, found himſelf more inclinable to embrace the patronage of Sweden, checked the French emiſſaries in their propoſals, and begged his fellow-magiſtrates to call to mind a caſe like their own with reference to the three cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. This remonſtrance confounded the whole project; and for theſe reaſons, Guſtavus, thoroughly affected with the preference theſe Straſburgers ſhewed him, always oppoſed a deaf ear to Richelieu, when he beſought him to give his parole of honour, not to enter Alſatia. The truth is, the French miniſter ſtood in awe of Guſtavus, and wiſely diſſembled a diſguſt which he had not courage either to explain or vindicate.

About the ſame time, Gonſalvo de Cordoua, who commanded the Spaniſh army in the Palatinate, was ſent ambaſſador to Paris, to make remonſtrances againſt the protection which Lewis XIII. afforded the proteſtants, whereby the catholic cauſe was greatly injured. But Richelieu reſumed the old tone, and told him, that the preſent war was

* The original letter, dated from Hermanſtein (Ehrenbreitſtein) Jan. 14, 1631-2, is preſerved in the *Swediſh Intelligencer*. Part ii. 69.

political,

political, and not religious: of courſe all perſons were left at full liberty to embrace that party which moſt favoured their private inclinations, or conduced moſt to their intereſts. Upon this, Gonſalvo returned thoroughly diſſatisfied, and refuſed a preſent the king offered him, of a ſword richly garniſhed with diamonds *.

We obſerved before, that the troops under this general's command had violated the terms upon which the armiſtice was founded; for Iſabella's 10,000 Walloons had reached the Lower Palatinate by long marches from the Low Countries, having croſſed the Moſelle during the continuance of the truce, and then the combined Spaniſh army ventured to paſs the Rhine near Spires, which the Rhingrave oppoſed very valiantly. That brave officer met little ſhort of a defeat, by diſregarding the repeated advices given him of the enemy's approach; and if captain Hume, at the head of four troops of horſe, had not reſiſted the united efforts of the whole Spaniſh army for half an hour, matters had taken a turn exceedingly untoward. This confirms a doctrine, that can be never too much inculcated into military men, that an undue degree of courage, when it borders upon a neglect of danger, is as fatal to the ſervice as downright cowardice.

Enraged at ſuch notorious breaches of compact, not only here, but on the ſide of Pappenheim, Maximilian, the elec-

* A ridiculous circumſtance once happened to this commander, who had been lieutenant-general to Spinola, and governor of Milan. In the campaign of 1621, it was his intention to poſſeſs a little walled village in the Palatinate, called Ogerſheim; and of courſe he diſpatched an officer, at the head of a body of troops, upon that errand. On the firſt alarm, nine-tenths of the inhabitants removed to Manheim, except about twenty inſignificant people, and a poor ſhepherd, who, beſides being a brave fellow, was a man of humour. The ſhepherd in good time faſtened the gates, let down the draw-bridge, and made a wonderful ſhew of reſiſtance. A trumpeter accoſted the town in form; upon which the few inhabitants, that remained, made their eſcape through a poſtern gate, and left only the ſhepherd and his ſhepherdeſs big with child. This unaccountable peaſant, in the ſtyle of repreſentative of the garriſon, gave audience from the walls to the military herald, and made his bargain of capitulation inch by inch; contracting at the ſame time for the preſervation of eſtate, and the free exerciſe of the proteſtant religion. Let the reader judge what ſurprize the Spaniards felt, when they entered the village; yet the droll preſerved the muſcles of his countenance inflexible, and ſome weeks afterwards, when his wife laid in, deſired the great Gonſalva to be *ſponſor*, which honour the pompous Caſtilian, for the jeſt's ſake, could not decline, and on the contrary ſent her ſome very handſome preſents.—This account, ſays an hiſtorian of veracity, *(F. Spanheim. Mem. d'Elector Palat.)* might appear to poſterity to border a little on the *romantic*, if its notoriety had not been a circumſtance indiſputable at the time it happened.

tors of Triers and Cologn, the duke of Neuburg, and France itſelf, as will appear immediately, his majeſty returned poſthaſte to Francfort, and having firſt diſpatched Monro with a body of infantry, for the Rhingrave had only horſe, placed himſelf at the head of a ſmall army, in order to give battle to theſe faithleſs invaders. The terror of the name of Guſtavus ſoon compelled them to repaſs both the Rhine and Moſelle; nor did they think themſelves in ſafety till they had reached the duchy of Luxemburg.

At length, namely, on the twenty-fourth of January, the armiſtice expired, and many attempts were made by Richelieu to protract it eight days longer: but Guſtavus, who had been thoroughly mortified and diſguſted, though he juſtly foreſhw and predicted all its ill conſequences, replied peremptorily, *he had made that ſacrifice to France, and was too good a politician to venture upon a ſecond experiment of the ſame nature.* Upon this, De Charnacé, De Brezé, and St. Etienne, learned to act a more decent and more cautious part; and when they teaſed and beſought the king to entertain a moment's patience, he not only gave them a poſitive refuſal, but told them moreover, that nothing ſhould ever induce him to give up Mentz, Bamberg, and Wurtzburg. *I muſt keep the whip in my own hands,* continued he, *in order to regulate and chaſtiſe the duplicity of your good eccleſiaſtical friends and allies**.

The truth was, the French for ſome months paſt had grown very uneaſy at Guſtavus's victories, and being conſcious of a private treaty with the elector of Bavaria, propoſed not only a *neutrality,* but an *armiſtice,* and the *continuation* of the armiſtice, by way of feeling his Swediſh majeſty's pulſe, and retarding the rapidity of his conqueſts. At the ſame time, they paved the way to a ſeparate agreement with the elector of Triers, and aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops near Metz, under pretence of ſuppreſſing an inſurrection formed by the duke of Orleans, giving out in the interim, by their private emiſſaries, that this force was intended to preſcribe laws to the conqueſts of the Swedes. To retard matters more, care was taken to pay the ſubſidy very ſlowly, and imperfectly: and what confirms the truth of theſe aſſertions yet further, is, that the French court could not conceal its joy, when the news arrived of Guſtavus's death.

The war was now revived with double ſpirit on the part of Sweden, and plans for new operations were diſpatched to

* *Le Vaſſor,* tom. vii. 104.

Banier,

Banier, who oppoſed Pappenheim in Weſtphalia; to Horn, who faced Tilly in the dioceſe of Bamberg; to Arnheim and Thurn, who acted againſt Don Baltazar and Tieffenbach in Bohemia and Moravia; alſo to the dukes of Mechlenburg and Lunenberg, Todt, Ruthven, duke William of Weimar, and others, who all commanded ſeparate armies. As to the marquis of Hamilton, he was then at Francfort in company with Vane the Engliſh ambaſſador.

About this time, it is the cuſtom of Engliſh hiſtorians to repreſent Guſtavus as dictating in a very high tone, and acting in the character of a perſon elated with ſucceſs. Any one may eaſily ſee, that he had real reaſons to alter his ſtyle, without incurring the imputation of vain-glory and haughtineſs; for he plainly diſcovered that Charles, in ſpite of all the proſperity that attended the Swediſh arms, had a diffidence, or a diſinclination to engage himſelf in any treaty that breathed ſpirit and magnanimity. Upon his unhappy coolneſs Guſtavus touched gently, but feelingly, in his letter which gave an account of the battle of Leipſic.

Part of Vane's inſtructions were not quite palatable to his Swediſh majeſty, for he had orders to reconcile him with the king of Denmark, upon ſome conditions that were not compatible with the temper of a man ſo jealous of his honour, as the former was known to be. It is true, Vane had a commiſſion likewiſe to enter into cloſer connexions with Sweden; but either this commiſſion was clogged with private reſtrictions, or the ambaſſador wanted parts and courage to ſeize the proffered opportunity. He was commanded likewiſe to conſult Hamilton previouſly to all difficulties and emergencies, which was giving an inſight and power to an inferior general, which did not agree with Guſtavus's doctrine of ſubordination. Vane paid his firſt viſit to that prince at Francfort *, where Guſtavus told him without ceremony, as Vane's commiſſion related chiefly to the reſtitution of the Palatinate, that he could give no diſtinct anſwer upon the ſubject, till a league was previouſly concluded betwixt him and the elector Palatine, which was to be the baſis of a ſubſequent alliance between Charles and himſelf; to which Vane, who declared he was inveſted with full powers, ſignified an inclination to aſſent. To that point Guſtavus replied, that as he was tender of promiſing one iota more than he could perform, it would be highly neceſſary to bring France into the ſyſtem: nevertheleſs, without depending up-

* We have proved elſewhere, from Vane's own papers, that this meeting was firſt at Wurtzburg.

on ſucceſs in that particular, he would at all events diſcharge the duties of a man of honour, and reſerve to himſelf the glory of executing ſomething beyond what he promiſed. Nor was this a piece of ſtate artifice, or political parade, as time afterwards fully diſcovered *. Hereupon, ſays Mr. Guthrie, who, bating ſome few trifling inaccuracies, has given us the beſt account of this tranſaction, Guſtavus added, That Charles had been too ſlow in ſending him, Vane, and that if he had ſent him *before he had concluded the treaty with France, he would have been at liberty to have fallen upon Bavaria* †. The ambaſſador anſwered, I make uſe of the words of his own diſpatch with Charles, "For our coming too late there, was no fault to be juſtly imputed to us; for had his majeſty of Sweden demanded reaſonable conditions, the alliance had been concluded: but leagues and buſineſs of ſo great importance could not but have ſlow motions; yet he beſought his majeſty of Swedeland, to give him leave to commemorate the proceedings of his maſter towards him, ſince his majeſty's coming into Germany, viz. That he had permitted him to make as many levies of his ſubjects as he had deſired; that he had ſince ſent the marquis of Hamilton to him with a royal aſſiſtance, and ſo opportunely, as it could not be denied, but that the marquis landed his army at a ſeaſonable time, to the amuſement of the emperor and the encouragement of the confederate proteſtant princes, as it appeared by the effects that followed thereupon, by the ſpeedy uniting of their arms under his command. And that though his Swediſh majeſty, next under God, was the only immediate inſtrument to whom the glory of this great revolution was to be attributed; yet it could not be denied, but that the ſubjects of Great Britain had done him great and remarkable ſervice both

* In confirmation of this aſſertion, of which many proofs are produced diſperſedly in the courſe of our hiſtory, I ſhall ſubjoin one authority more on the faith of MSS. extracted from a letter of Mr. John Dinely, at the Hague, to Sir Thomas Roe, bearing date Feb. 24, 1632-3, "The chancellor (of "Sweden) your friend, hath aſſured her majeſty, (the queen of Bohemia) "that his glorious maſter had never other meaning but to reſtore it (the "Palatinate); no more hath he;" namely Oxenſtiern, who faithfully endeavoured to fill up the outlines of the plan which Guſtavus left him.

† Here muſt be ſome miſtake, for no new treaty had been made with France ſince that of Bernwalt, Jan. 13, 1630-1; ſo that the king could only mean, that during the exiſtence of the truce, and upon ſuppoſition it tended to a general pacification, he was not at liberty to attack Bavaria, which enjoyed the Upper Palatinate; nor could Guſtavus be ſuppoſed to allude to the treaty France had concluded with Bavaria, May 8, 1631, ſince the moment the truce expired, he turned his arms againſt the elector.

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in theſe and his former wars; and that theſe were neither to be concealed nor forgotten, nor the real aſſiſtance now ſent unto him."

His majeſty of Sweden acknowledged, that the king of Great Britain had proceeded with him as a friend; that he was a wiſe and virtuous prince; that none could wiſh more proſperity to his perſon and affairs than he did; and that he would do his beſt to aſſiſt him, in the buſineſs of the Palatinate; but he would then have him follow his advice; that he had too long depended upon the Spaniſh treaty, which was a fault, and had been greatly prejudicial; and that nothing was to be expected from them but words. The ambaſſador replied, If that were a fault, it behoved him to be wary in his negotiation, not to make an alliance, that might be diſadvantageous to his maſter, either in honour or judgment; and that whatſoever ſhould be the event, he doubted not but that God would bleſs both his councils and his actions. His majeſty of Sweden replied, That for the preſent he could not ſtipulate to make war with the elector of Bavaria, though he intended not to let him eſcape; for that it could not but be of great advantage, if he could ſecure the catholics, which he was in a fair way to effect; for, according to his articles delivered to *Charnaſſy* *, the electors of Triers and Cologn had accepted the neutrality. The ambaſſador aſked, Whether his majeſty had received any act of their own? He ſaid no; but the marquis of *Preſſay* † had aſſured him thereof; that he had not yet heard of Bavaria, neither could he yet ſay any thing thereunto, until either Charnaſſy or Horn, whom he had ſent into France, were returned.

His majeſty of Sweden then ſaid, He would make him two propoſitions; which were, he would either oblige himſelf to reſtore to the king of Bohemia what the Spaniard held, and treat with France and Bavaria for the reſtitution of what he poſſeſſes; which if he would not reſtore, he would then undertake a war with him: ſo the king would enter into an alliance with him againſt the Spaniards, if he ſhould attack him in any of his dominions.

Guſtavus at the ſame time added, That in order to do things effectually, he expected Charles to furniſh twelve thouſand men, his contingency of troops, and twenty-five thouſand pounds a month in money to maintain them.

* De Charnacé. † De Brezé.

Thoſe were very high demands, and Vane was appointed to treat further with Horn, *the chancellor of Sweden* *. But when the conferences opened, the Swediſh miniſter made the following high demands:

1. That the Palſgrave ſhould hold his country as a donative of the king of Sweden.

2. That he ſhould make no martial levies without the Swedes' conſent.

3. That during this war he ſhould furniſh the Swedes with ſo many thouſand men upon his own pay.

4. That two of his chiefeſt towns ſhould ſtand cautionaries for the performing of covenants.

5 That he ſhould make no league nor article with any other prince without the Swedes' conſent.

Thoſe propoſals were thought by Vane to be abſurd, and as haughty as the terms, that had been propoſed to the king of Bohemia by the emperor himſelf. Hamilton, who was preſent at all the conferences, had made him ſenſible of the reluctance which Guſtavus had to ſuffer the Britiſh auxiliaries to march into the Palatinate, or into any of the territories that were well-affectioned to the king of Bohemia. Charles and the king of Bohemia were ſenſible of the ſame thing, and from the haughty manner in which Guſtavus treated, they more than ſuſpected that he intended to make himſelf maſter of Germany, or at leaſt to give law to all the princes of the empire. But to bring matters to an iſſue, Vane propoſed, that Hamilton ſhould have the complement of Swediſh ſoldiers that had been firſt ſtipulated him; that they ſhould be paid with Engliſh money, and augmented with a new body of troops from Great Britain, ſo as to make a ſtrong army, which Hamilton was to lead into the Palatinate. Had Guſtavus really meant as diſintereſtedly for the king of Bohemia as he profeſſed, he would have embraced this propoſal; but, inſtead of that, he treated it with diſdain, and ordered the negotiation to be broken off.

Thus far Mr. Guthrie: but as to the latter part of his aſſertions, care has been taken to obviate them elſewhere. Indeed his Britannic majeſty miſtook his intereſts in entering into any negotiations about the Palatinate with the houſe of Auſtria; for in the firſt place, the court of Vienna had no intentions ever to come to an accommodation; and in the

* Horn was a Swediſh general, and Oxenſtiern chancellor of Sweden; but as Horn made the treaty of Bernwalt, and was ſent afterwards ambaſſador to Metz, he is miſtaken for a civil officer.

ſecond

ſecond place, the hereditary dominions of the elector had been doled out in ſo many parcels, that it was hardly poſſible to repoſſeſs them by an act of reſumption, and then reſtore them to their antient owner. The tree was felled; the elector of Bavaria had ſeized the timber part, and every other catholic neighbour faggoted up as much of the branches as he could ranſack together, for his own uſe. So that the emperor, eſpecially as Guſtavus was now powerful in Germany, could not poſſibly *redemand* with decency *what* he had *given*, or *recall*, with any appearance of juſtice, what he had *ſold*. Therefore, ſays Spanheim *, who wrote from his heart upon this ſubject, and to whom I am indebted for the idea of the picture I am now drawing, the court of London judged extremely ill, in hoping to wreſt the Palatinate from ſo many intereſted perſons by remonſtrances or embaſſies; "A ſuit of armour made of parchment records will not keep off the ſtroke of a muſquet ball."

On the other hand, the catholic princes pretended only, in a ſort of ironical way, to have their alternative of eighty years in the church poſſeſſions: and the Imperial miniſtry ſuggeſted, in imitation of what was once ſaid to Metellus, that the voice of law could not be heard amongſt the claſhing of arms, and that there was no antidote againſt the will of a Cæſar.

I have ſeen ſome other accounts, which inform us, that Vane preſſed Guſtavus ſomewhat abruptly and indelicately on the ſubject of the reſtitution of the Palatinate, telling him, that he had given his royal promiſe to complete that event; which aſſertion Vane proved oddly enough: "For, Sire," ſaid he, "you declared poſitively, on your firſt entrance into Germany, that you would reinſtate all the oppreſſed and injured proteſtant princes; of whom the elector Palatine is firſt, not only in dignity, but in misfortunes." This logic of Vane was built upon the interpretation of a *manifeſto* only; and a *manifeſto*, in general, is a ſort of rhetorical noſegay, which kings now and then, for variety ſake, preſent the public with, having at the ſame time *other* deſigns in view, in order to amuſe their fellow-creatures, or miſlead or lull them into inattention: for this anthology in politics is the

——Lucus & ara Dianæ,
Et properantis aquæ per amœnos ambitus agros.

Nevertheleſs, Guſtavus had no duplicity upon this occaſion; and as he both loved and pitied the unfortunate prince in

* *Mem. d'Electr. Palat.* p. 302.

queſtion,

queſtion, allowed Vane's concluſion to be honeſtly, though not logically deducible; and promiſed to effect the reſtitution of the Palatinate, upon condition his Britannic majeſty would maintain an army in Germany, of 8000 foot and 3000 horſe; to which the ambaſſador replied, very indiſcreetly, That his maſter did not chuſe to make a purchaſe at a higher price than the thing was worth.

Guſtavus ſtill maintained a ſecret affection for the unfortunate elector, and ſolicited the French king to act with him in reſtoring to his dominions an oppreſſed and proſcribed prince, whoſe anceſtors had ſupported Henry IV. againſt the enemies of the houſe of Bourbon: propoſing likewiſe, at the ſame time, *that* notable expedient of augmenting the *number* of the electoral college; which maſterly ſtroke of politics was thought ſo neceſſary, as to be carried afterwards into execution at the congreſs of Munſter. Louis durſt not preſume to advance a ſingle ſtep, being diſmayed by the effects of *the* clandeſtine treaty which his miniſter had thought fit to conclude with the duke of Bavaria. Things being thus circumſtanced, Guſtavus took Frederic upon his own hands, and made his friends a promiſe of reinſtating him, upon condition he indulged his Lutheran ſubjects in the free exerciſe of their religion, and conſidered himſelf as attached and obliged *only* to the crown of Sweden: giving him however to underſtand, at the ſame time, that an affair of this ſort required dexterity and management in him, Guſtavus; and that his promiſe depended eventually upon a variety of circumſtances; ſo that the terms it was conceived in were only general and indefinite; however, his majeſty was ſincerely in earneſt, and that was ſufficient.

As Sclavata, the king of Bohemia's miniſter, had long before this time reached Holland, and informed his maſter, that Guſtavus expected to ſee him with great impatience, Frederic, having returned thanks to the ſtates in full council, and requeſted the continuance of their generous protection to his wife and children, undertook his journey to Francfort forthwith, accompanied by the ſtates-general to the gates of the Hague, by the prince of Orange as far as Weſel; and by lord Craven on to Francfort. The Dutch government, at parting, made him a preſent ſuitable to his high rank, and the nature of his expedition. An eſcort of 2500 horſe and foot convoyed him to the territories of Heſſe Caſſel, and the landgrave's troops conducted him to Francfort, where he arrived February the tenth, with a retinue of forty coaches, ſome were ſent by Guſtavus in order to do him honour, and ſeventy gentlemen on horſeback. He ſaluted the king and queen

next

next morning at Hoëchſt, the unfortunate place where Tilly defeated Chriſtian duke of Brunſwic, and returned with them to Francfort the ſame day, where Guſtavus gave him a magnificent entertainment; oftentimes allowing him *precedency* *, under pretence that he was both a *king* and *elector* †; and he and his conſort always addreſſed their diſcourſe to him with the appellation of *your majeſty*; a reſpect the young landgrave of Darmſtadt once omitting, whoſe father had been no good neighbour to Frederic, the king of Sweden rebuked him with no ſmall degree of aſperity ‡.— Notwithſtanding all theſe affectionate offices, he ſtill took care to touch upon the ſubject we have lately mentioned, and obtained a promiſe from Frederic, whoſe mind was ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of Calviniſm, to grant free exerciſe of religion in the Palatinate to all ſuch as made profeſſion of the opinions of Luther. Yet the joy of this prince, who ſeemed to be born only to prove unfortunate, was ſoon diminiſhed by an accident, or as ſome ſuppoſe a piece of villany; for the caſtle of Heidelberg §, his former place of reſidence, and the antient ſeat of his predeceſſors, was ſuddenly damaged by a violent fire, and the fine front thereof entirely deſtroyed. The Spaniſh garriſon ſeemed pleaſed with the misfortune, and ſtood with folded arms contemplating its ruin. This circumſtance was ſo much the more afflicting to the elector Palatine, as he had ſpent vaſt ſums upon it, which any one will ſoon acknowledge, when he knows the rock on which the building is erected. He perfected likewiſe, with immenſe expence, the fortifications of Manheim, begun by his father, Frederic IV.

Guſtavus had been vigilant enough the preceding year, to diſpatch the chevalier Rache firſt to Venice, where he ſucceeded well ‖; next to Genoa; and then to the thirteen cantons of Switzerland, concerning which embaſſy we have ſpoken at large elſewhere. The emperor ſet himſelf earneſtly to traverſe this negotiation, and wrote to the reſpective ſovereignties of each ſtate, making them proteſtations and promiſes in abundance. He cauſed the archduke Leopold to write another letter, in ſubſtance the ſame with his own,

* *Mercure François* en l'an 1631, p. 163.

† *Bertius* de Bellis Germanicis. ‡ *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 76.

§ During the war of the ſucceſſion, in 1693, this ſtructure was entirely deſtroyed, and the town ruined. The very tombs of the electors were not ſpared; of all which and preceding devaſtatione, melancholy marks ſtill remain. The country round it is a terreſtrial paradiſe.

‖ *Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation*, in Low Dutch, fol. tom. i. 70.

and

and full of politeneſs and civility *; and then deputed Arnoldin, counſellor of ſtate, and firſt ſecretary, *à ſecretis*, to Walſtein; who ſent him directly into Poland, in order to levy the little army of Coſſacks formerly mentioned. The Polanders trembled to think of oppoſing Guſtavus a ſecond time; and though they favoured the Imperial cauſe greatly in their private inclinations as catholics, yet the requeſt was paſſed by without notice. Some few noblemen made a levy of a company or two clandeſtinely, and nothing more. Iſolani ſucceeded better in raiſing 8000 freſh Croatians; a ſet of troops Guſtavus hated mortally, on account of the ravages and cruelties committed by them; and as they ſpared nothing, he uſually allowed them no quarter, and received none from them. The emperor then finiſhed the holidays by confiſcating the duchies of Jagernſdorf and Troppau, and beſtowing them on the prince of Lichtenſtein †.

It was now determined, that Pappenheim ſhould act at the head of a flying army of 18,000 men ‡; and to forward this project, the elector of Bavaria ſent him £. 15,000. As that prince had now made his final political deciſion with reſpect to France, De Charnacé and St. Etienne retired from Munich, each deſirous to ſee his maſter firſt; each diſſatisfied with his negotiation, and well prepared to accuſe his coadjutor. In ſhort, theſe gentlemen of *pacification* were ſo enraged with each other, that a challenge paſſed between them.

In the next place, the deputies of the elector of Cologn made freſh propoſals of accommodation; but Oxenſtiern received them with an air of roughneſs, and propoſed conditions to them, that were not to be digeſted. Nevertheleſs, De Pau, ambaſſador from the ſtates-general, met with a favourable audience from the king, who diſpatched Oxenſtiern immediately to the Hague to facilitate matters, and diſpoſe them to ripen into ſome perfection.

New miſunderſtandings broke forth on the ſide of Poland, with reference to the truce concluded in 1629, between that kingdom and Sweden; upon which the king appointed Ruſſel, one of his privy-counſellors, his ambaſſador, and gave him a letter both to Sigiſmond, and the ſtates of the realm, who received this miniſter very coldly, till at

* *Mercure Suiſſe* de Fred. Spanheim, p. 21.

† This is confirmed by the author of the *Memoirs* of the Houſe of Brandenburg.

‡ *Sarpi Hiſtoria del Pietro Paulo*, lib. ii. p. 55. quarto.

length

length the matter was amicably compoſed by the interpoſition of the Engliſh ambaſſador *. This gave his majeſty great eaſe, for he leſs feared the interpoſition of any power than that of Poland; and to convince the public that he omitted no negotiation, of probable ſucceſs, even at the greateſt diſtance, he diſpatched an agent to George Ragotzki, prince of Tranſylvania, in order to create a freſh irruption into Hungary †; than which no proceeding, *ad hominem*, could be more juſtifiable, as the emperor, two years before, had ſent Arnheim with an army into Poland to aſſiſt Sigiſmond againſt the Swedes.

Though the campaign of the year 1631 had laſted, on the ſide of Guſtavus particularly, till Chriſtmas, yet the troops had hardly common breathing-ſpace allowed them to recover their fatigues, if we except the ſhort fortnight's interval of ceſſation from hoſtilities. The king actually took the field in February, and Walſtein on his ſide began to make appearance of doing the ſame; for having collected all his officers together, he found his regiments fully complete, and ready to march. The emperor ſent eighty very large cannon from the arſenal at Vienna, and ſeventeen more large pieces were conveyed to him from Breſlau and Lignitz.—Couriers paſſed and repaſſed every moment between Bohemia and Auſtria; and Walſtein, who loved to rhodomontade, dropped inſinuations to make people believe, that they brought him money. The military ſatiriſts, who have a dry laconic ſort of wit peculiar to themſelves, ſaid, That they rather moved too nimbly and too frequently for men employed in that capacity ‡.

Commiſſions were now iſſued for levying freſh troops in behalf of Sweden; and Chriſtian, the third ſon of Charles, count

* *Hiſtorical Authentic Relation* in Low Dutch, fol. tom. ii. p. 2—7, &c.

† *Ibid.* p. 27.

‡ Others report the *bon mot* thus, "Qu'il ne falloit pas s'ebahir, s'ils "alloyent viſte, parceque leur charge n'eſtoit pas grande." *Mercure François*, tom. xviii. p. 225. *Soldat Suedois*, p. 351. *N. B.* At and near this period there is one thing very remarkable; that the famous *Mercure François* and the *Soldat Suedois* both uſe the ſelfſame words to the amount of a conſiderable number of pages. Now each work, in the parts relative to the preſent period, made its appearance the ſame year, 1633; yet there are reaſons to conclude, that the *Soldat Suedois* is the inconteſtable original, as it was compoſed by Frederic Spanheim, then profeſſor of theology at Geneva, one of the beſt hiſtorians of that age, at the requeſt of the Swediſh ambaſſador to the Swiſs cantons, whom I ſuppoſe to be the chevalier de Rache, a perſon of great parts and addreſs; who knew the interior of Guſtavus's affairs almoſt as well as Oxenſtiern himſelf. This circumſtance reflects no great honour on that *oracle of French hiſtory*, the *Mercure*; which, when compared with the German, Engliſh, Italian, and Scottiſh relations, appears

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count Palatine of Birkenfeld, being newly created general of horfe, had orders to form an army in the marquifate of Baden, and the diftrict round Strafburg, in which town Frederic, margrave of Baden-Dourlach, was attempting to bring a negotiation with the inhabitants to concluſion. A treaty was then ſigned with the deputies of the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg, whom the king reproved with ſome little aſperity, for renouncing the *concluſions* at Leipſic on the firſt approach of the Imperialiſts. Orders were then given to raiſe a ſecond body of troops in Suabia, where Oſſa commanded on the emperor's ſide, and extend the Swediſh influence to the ſource of the Danube; which put the Switzers into no ſmall conſternation, though the duke de Rohan, and the chevalier de Rache, at length explained away and pacified their fears.

By the middle of February his majeſty opened the campaign with the ſiege of Creutznach in the Palatinate, a ſmall town defended with one of the ſtrongeſt caſtles, in point of ſituation, that was to be found in Germany. The peaſants had ſo great an affection for the king's ſervice, that they levelled the roads of their own accord for the approach of his army, and procured him conſtant intelligence. The garriſon conſiſted of 600 veteran Germans, Walloons, and Burgundians. The fortifications roſe one above another in ſuch a manner, on the lower ſide, that Guſtavus called them, being greatly ſurprized when he contemplated, them, *the devil's works**; and one half-moon in particular he named *the devil's head*. For theſe reaſons he made his approach on the other ſide, having ſent to Mentz for ſome new arguments to perſuade the garriſon to liſten to reaſon, and lodged lieutenant-colonel Douglas all night near the walls, at the head of 300 Scots, who had performed ſo well at the ſtorming of Oppenheim.

Guſtavus took a ſurvey of the caſtle, but approached ſo near, that his brave generals, out of pure reſpect, gave him the

to be ſuperficial, defective, and erroneous in numberleſs inſtances. Of courſe it has been our caſe to ſelect ſparingly from it, except when it is ſupported with collateral confirmations; and we heartily wiſh, that father Bougéant in his elegant hiſtory, as to ſtyle and method, had made it the *companion* of his reſearches, but not the *guide*. Yet in juſtice we muſt acknowledge, that the judicious Le Barre took great precautions; for he examined more than twenty times, THREE books, with his own eyes, and whatever he relates may be depended on with ſafety; whereas Bougéant, in the military, and commonly hiſtorical parts, conſulted only the *Mercure*, *Letichius*, and *Puffendorf*. *Two* of theſe works were not the *beſt*, and the third is extremely *partial*, *verboſe*, *and frivolous*.

* *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 77.

the honour of precedency. An huge ſtone hurled from the wall fell little ſhort of putting an end to his curioſity; and a perſon, who ſtood next to him, was ſhot through the brain with a muſquet ball *. Soon afterwards, being diſſatisfied with what he could diſcover, and the more ſo, as he was naturally ſhort-ſighted, he went out privately, and calling to him a ſerjeant, whom he knew perfectly well, as he did half the men that ſerved under him, *Fellow ſoldier*, ſaid he, *clamber up, and take a juſt view of yonder work; here are forty pieces of gold to make you happy afterwards* †.

The ſerjeant performed his buſineſs, and returned unhurt; yet Guſtavus could not reſt contented with his account, but mounting the ſteep of the hill, extended himſelf flat on the ground, to take a view of the fortifications, and made the ſoldier lie by him. Even then he could not command the works as he deſired; ſo diſmiſſing the ſerjeant, he clambered ſtill higher alone; then returning to his army, declared, with a voice of cheerfulneſs, *Now will I be maſter of yonder caſtle by five o'clock to-morrow evening.*

Next morning was ſprung a mine, which opened a ſmall but very ſteep entrance, full of looſe rocks, and difficult of aſcent. A general ſtorm was ordered, and colonel Winckle was to command. The Engliſh volunteers compoſed the van; and lord Craven, who was then very young, lieutenant-colonel Talbot, and Mr. Maſham, marched at the head. As the difficulties of aſcending were almoſt inſurmountable, the aſſailants were repulſed in their firſt attempt, which put Guſtavus into a tranſport of rage; yet at the ſame time he took particular notice of lord Craven's gallant behaviour, and, with a ſmile, patted him on the ſhoulder, and bid him return to the attack, which he did, at the head of all the troops. The conteſt laſted two hours, and was very ſharp and obſtinate, for the beſieged behaved with incredible reſolution. At length a German officer, though the Burgundians and Walloons oppoſed him ſtrenuouſly in what he was going to do, mentioned aloud the words *quarter* and *ſurrender*; and Craven, who was the very foremoſt man, ſeized this incident with a lucky preſence of mind, and giving him his hand thereupon, the firing ceaſed. It muſt be remarked, for the honour of the Swediſh diſcipline, that though the

* *Galeazzo Gualdo* confounds this ſtory, and the king's anſwer thereupon, with a ſimilar accident which happened at the ſiege of Mentz. Libr. iii. p. 81.

† Many particulars relating to this ſiege were tranſmitted from Germany by Sir Jacob Aſtley, who afterwards defended Reading againſt the parliament forces.

town

town was taken by ſtorm, the ſoldiers never once broke their order, or preſumed to open the door of a ſingle inhabitant; which when the townſmen ſaw, they recovered immediately from their terror; beſought the officers and private men to enter their houſes and refreſh themſelves; and poured forth acclamations of joy upon being reſtored to their lawful maſter, the elector Palatine. Guſtavus being piqued at the ſlaughter which the obſtinate defence of this town had cauſed amongſt his men, for it had reſiſted him a whole fortnight, he obliged the garriſon to march out *without* their colours, and not to ſerve againſt him for ſix months on the *eaſtern* ſide of the Moſelle. *If*, ſaid he, *you find me on the weſtern banks*, whither by the way he propoſed to march, *do your worſt, and ſpare me not* *. The loſs in the king's little army, for he conducted only a ſmall detachment, was by no means inconſiderable as to private men: but the death of colonel Halle chagrined him much †, having loſt his brother or kinſman, an excellent commander, in the battle of Leipſic. Not one of the Engliſh officers eſcaped without wounds: lord Craven received the puſh of a pike in his thigh; ſir Francis Vane, brother to the earl of Weſtmoreland, was ſhot in the hip-bone; Maſham was hurt by a large ſtone and a firebrand; and Talbot was killed, ſtanding next man to lord Craven. Colonel Alexander Ramſay, an officer become grey in the Swediſh ſervice, was appointed governor; but not being able to execute the charge, for he lay ill at Wurtzburg of the wounds he received there, his majeſty gave, *pro tempore*, this important poſt to Ramſay's lieutenant-colonel, George Douglas ‡, concerning whoſe conduct, with reference to his maſter, ſomething will be ſaid hereafter. The garriſon, however, as a teſtimony of their bravery, were permitted to depart with their arms. A thouſand loads of corn, and five hundred hogſheads of Rheniſh wine, were found in the caſtle. During this ſiege the king ſent for one of his colonels in a great hurry; the officer returned his duty to his ſovereign, and ſaid he would wait on him the moment his barber had finiſhed. On his arrival, Guſtavus told him, with a little tincture of acrimony, *That he would make an excellent cavalier to conduct a campaign againſt the ladies: whilſt you ſhave, Sir*, ſaid he, *with good fortune, I can take a town* §.

* *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 82.

† *Heylmanni* Leo Arctous, p. 47.

‡ This account reconciles the ſeeming contradictions between the Swediſh Intelligencer and Fowler's Life of Douglas, fol. Lond. 1656. p. 216.

§ *Galeazzo Gualdo*, p. 82. libr. ii.

About this time, or rather a few days before, the important town of Ulm conſented to receive a Swediſh garriſon of 1200 men; and ſir Patrick Ruthven, the eldeſt Scottiſh colonel in rank and ſervice *, was appointed governor, and by uncommon vigilance, ſuppreſſed two conſpiracies in their infancy. He was a favourite with his maſter, for different reaſons. He always behaved gallantly in the field; and when the king wanted to regale miniſters and officers of the adverſe party, in order to extract ſecrets from them in their cheerful hours, he made Ruthven field-marſhal of the bottles and glaſſes, as he could drink immeaſurably, and preſerve his underſtanding to the laſt †.

The king next commanded his troops to inveſt Baccharah, but when the trumpeter ſummoned Paul Bredangle, the Spaniſh governor, to ſurrender, he made him a preſent of a dollar, and a bottle of that excellent wine for which the place is ſo famous, returning him many thanks for the honour that was done him. Yet in the event, having loſt the town by ſtorm, he was obliged to capitulate for the caſtle, and duke Bernard allowed him his ſword and horſe. As to the men, they all embraced the Swediſh party, excepting

* His majeſty never liked any general turned of ſixty; and when ſir Patrick Ruthven arrived towards that age, he made him governor of Ulm, by way of a reputable ſinecure.

† I have a very gallant letter by me from this officer to the earl of Northumberland, who had traduced the reputation of a young gentlewoman, whom Ruthven eſteemed, and libelled the whole Scottiſh kingdom in ſome poetical invective; but as upon a nearer examination I find this letter to have appeared in print, it may ſuffice to extract the following paſſages:

"It is probable your lordſhip dares do *any* thing, but *that* which is *good* and juſt.—Think not to bear down theſe matters by greatneſs, or denial; —nor flatter yourſelf to paſs inviſible in your courſes, like another Gyges. —It was never known before, that to refuſe Northumberland's unlawful luſt was a crime for a gentlewoman.—As for me and my countrymen, know, my lord, that ſuch *blows* as come in *rhyme*, are too weak either to reach or harm us.—Sorry I am, that the north muſt now ſee how long it hath been miſtaken in Northumberland's ſpirit; and yet who would not commend your wiſdom in chuſing ſuch a ſafe courſe, to wrong a *woman*, and a *priſoner*: the *one* of which *cannot* and the *other* by nature and quality of the place *may* not, right his own wrong? Wherefore, ſetting aſide the moſt honourable order of the garter, and proteſting whatſoever is here ſaid is no ways intended to the nobility and gentry of England in general; —I do only in regard of *your* perſon affirm, that whatſoever in theſe *infamous* verſes is contained, is *utterly falſe and untrue*; and that yourſelf hath dealt moſt *diſhonourably*, *unworthily*, and *baſely*; and this I will *ever* maintain. If theſe words ſound harſhly in your lordſhip's ears, blame yourſelf.—Forgetting yourſelf, you have taught others how to *diſhonour* you; and remember, that though *nobility* maketh *difference* of perſons, yet *injury* acknowledgeth *none*. Patrick Ruthven." [*MS. in the Aſhmole collection.*]

only one company *. The king then publiſhed a programma †, in order to procure free tranſportation of goods to the Eaſter-fair held at Francfort, and excuſed the merchants from paying duties in thoſe territories that were occupied by his own troops, taking care, at the ſame time, to ſecure all public roads within the limits of his conqueſts from civil inſpectors and military robbers; and, laſtly, to protect Franconia both from France and the eccleſiaſtical electors, he planned out and fortified a city according to his own principles, on the confluence of the Rhine and the Maine, which he called Guſtavuſburg; but the common ſoldiers always named it *The Prieſt's Scourge*; becauſe it gave laws to the three eccleſiaſtical electors, and the neighbouring prelates ‡.

This campaign, one of the greateſt perhaps the world has ever ſeen, all circumſtances rightly and duly conſidered, was opened with immenſe preparations, as times then ſtood, on either ſide; for Guſtavus and his allies produced 100,000 foot and 40,000 horſe, and the Imperialiſts and princes of the catholic league were prepared to bring into the field a greater number of forces.

Walſtein, perhaps from unwillingneſs, was not yet ready to act, but Tilly had aſſembled his army at Nordlingen, and thence diſpatched two detachments, one into Suabia, and one into Bohemia. Impatient to be revenged of the diſgrace received at Leipſic, he determined to fall upon Horn, who lay encamped at Bamberg; the biſhop of which place attended the catholic army, and made no ceremony of cloathing himſelf in armour like a common cavalier.

The Swediſh general had taken this town by compoſition juſt a month before, and lodged a ſufficient force therein, had his ſoldiers not indulged too much in the pleaſures of a rich and plentiful city. The inhabitants formed a conſpiracy, which was debated afterwards with great ſecrecy in the town-hall, and the ſubſtance of their reſolutions communicated to the garriſons of Forcheim and Cronach, who conveyed privately ſome bands of armed men to the aſſiſtance of the Bambergers. At the point of time agreed, one general inſurrection broke out all in an inſtant; but Horn, who laid encamped not far from the walls, hearing the exploſion of muſquets and other noiſes, ruſhed immediately into the city at the head of a regiment or two,

* *Lotichius*; tom. i. 1010. *Heylmanni* Leo Arctoüs, p. 48.

† *Lotichius*; ibid. 1016. ‡ *Galeazzo Gualdo*, libr. ii. 78.

and

and ſoon terrified the conſpirators into obedience. This brave and good man, who copied his maſter in every virtue, had ſuch an abſolute dominion over his paſſions, even in the tranſports of ſudden reſentment and indignation, that he commanded his troops, who in their fury had killed nearly twenty inhabitants, to grant full and unconditional quarter to all the citizens; and as the people of better condition had retired to the public market-place in a body, he gave them all their lives, though moſt of them were then in arms, without terms, and without heſitation. Nor did he allow his ſoldiers, if we except the college of the Jeſuits, which made him no propoſals, to plunder a ſingle church or monaſtery, though the clergy had been particularly active in this conſpiracy. This may be conſidered as more extraordinary, ſince he knew the king diſliked the biſhop of Bamberg more than any prelate in the whole German empire; but judging well, as was his cuſtom, and coolly in all things, he concluded, that abſtinence from bloodſhed, and a moderate contribution, by way of compenſation for paſt offences, were proceedings much more conducive to his maſter's ſervice, as well as his honour, than any reſentments or retaliation could poſſibly be; and therefore, with great dexterity of good ſenſe, he affected rather to fix the foundations of the crime on the intemperance and negligence of the Swediſh garriſon, which tempted the inhabitants into a rebellion*.

Tilly approached Bamberg at the head of 16,000 men: Horn had only 10,000 or 12,000. The former, by a ſort of concealed march, advanced near the Swedes before they were apprized of his motions; nevertheleſs, Horn on the firſt notice made the round of the trenches, for his army laid partly in the town, and partly in the fields near it. The intrenchments he had begun to throw up were of vaſt extent, for Bamberg, not being ſurrounded with walls, is called the largeſt village in Germany. He then ordered Bauditzen's regiment to be drawn up as a corps de reſerve in one part of the city; but the lieutenant-colonel, miſunderſtanding the orders that were ſent him, marched directly into the fields, and fell into an ambuſcade. The retreat of this regiment gave the alarm to that of count Solmes, and as the latter was compoſed of new raiſed men, they ſoon gave way before 2000 Imperialiſts, who charged them under the command of Cratz and Farenbach, at the head of the old regiment of Cronenberg's cavalry. Horn had now no reſource,

* *Bertius* de Bellis German, p. 154, &c.

except to retire and ſecure the bridge; but Farenbach's diviſion preſſed ſo hard upon his heels, that they entered the head of the bridge pell-mell with Horn's people; and if Horn had not valiantly repulſed them in the ſuburbs, with ſuch few ſcattered troops as he could collect together, the day had been loſt; for the old regiments, in whom he placed his only confidence, had not yet formed themſelves in the town, and, fortunately for him, the groſs of the catholic army had a march of half a mile ſtill to perform. Tilly, who had experience enough not to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity, diſpatched, in a ſort of gallop, the flower of his cavalry to ſecure the bridge; but Horn had contrived in the ſpace of twenty minutes to blow up a part of it, and barricado the remainder; ſo that the reſidue of the day was employed in a continued diſcharge of muſquetry. However, towards evening the Imperialiſts brought two pieces of cannon to act againſt the temporary fortifications raiſed by the Swedes, which determined Horn to retire, after he had embarked his baggage, artillery, and ammunition on the river Maine. Himſelf, at the head of Bauditzen's regiment of horſe, ſecured the rear, and croſſing the Maine at Eltman, he broke that bridge behind him, as alſo another, which he paſſed at Halſtadt. He then wrote the king a very ſenſible letter *, informing him, how he had declared previouſly in a council of war, that a naked town of ſuch vaſt extent was no ways defenſible: and that he had been diſappointed of the reinforcement which duke William of Weimar had engaged to bring him, on which he repoſed his greateſt confidence. He then gave an ample narrative of the whole tranſaction, which, bating the ſuppreſſion of a ſlight circumſtance or two that made againſt him, correſponds exactly with all my other accounts, and of courſe due regard has been paid to it. The king, who conſidered a well managed retreat to be a better proof of military genius on ſome occaſions, than even a victory, ſat down highly contented with the prudence and dexterity of his lieutenant-general.

This ſlight diſgrace, which Guſtavus uſed to call a mere *caçade*, was the firſt the Swediſh army had undergone ſince its entrance into Germany. This misfortune may be attributed to various cauſes, ſuch as miſunderſtanding the general's meſſage, the cowardice as well as negligence of Solmes's regiment, for, not being uſed to labour, they had omitted to fortify their ſtation with any entrenchments;

* Dated from Gelterſheim, March 7, 1631-2.

whereas,

whereas, on the contrary, the other ſoldiers in the Swediſh ſervice were accuſtomed to be their own pioneers; and Horn, though otherwiſe an excellent officer, and remarkably cautious, ſeems in this inſtance partly blameable; as he neglected to furniſh himſelf with better intelligence. Yet, many excuſes may be offered in his extenuation. The commanders in thoſe days had the diſpoſal of no money for ſecret ſervices, and the genius and turn of war dealt more in ſurprizes and ambuſcade than it has ſince.—The Swedes loſt about 600 men in the engagement and retreat, and about 500 were taken priſoners. Count Solmes received a muſquet ball in his foot, and died of the fever it occaſioned ſome weeks afterwards.

Tilly entered Bamberg the next morning, and diſpatched the cavalry of Breda's and d'Eſpagni's regiments, and the whole corps of Croatians, after the fugitives. They deſtroyed and picked up a conſiderable number of ſtragglers on the road; but Horn contended hard for every diſputable inch of ground, and made them ſenſible more than once, that he was only marching, not flying from Tilly.

The elector of Bavaria, than whom nobody judged better in their own affairs, had private reaſons to be mortified even at this ſucceſs of his general, for he feared leſt an attack of ſo briſk a nature might exaſperate Guſtavus, and induce him to croſs the Danube, and pay a viſit to Munich, by way of retaliation. Horn, impatient of revenging himſelf, had the dexterity to procure intelligence, that a large body of Imperialiſts were ſecure in their quarters, at half a league from Bamberg. Marching therefore, by night, at the head of his cavalry, and conducted by a peaſant through a large wood, he almoſt ruined the two horſe regiments of Plancard and young Merodé, which latter officer was glad to make his eſcape with nothing on but his drawers. Four companies avoided the ill fate of their comrades, being ordered out an hour before to eſcort a convoy. The Croatians diſlodged on the firſt attack; nevertheleſs, one part of them threw themſelves into a churchyard which was walled round, and as Horn had no muſqueteers with him, he found it impoſſible to force them. Tilly now moved forwards with all his army, in order to bring matters to a general battle; but Horn diſpoſed his troops in ſuch a manner, that the wary Walloon did not think proper to engage him*.

His

* This great man, whom Guſtavus uſed to call *his right arm*, kept alive the glory of Sweden till after the peace of Munſter. His very enemies admired

His majeſty, impatient of the ſlight diſgrace which had thus befallen his lieutenant-general, grew impatient to give Tilly

admired him, for his extraordinary clemency to the perfidious town of Bamberg, and for his tenderneſs and humanity to the Romiſh clergy; inſomuch that the writers of that party give him the character of *merciful, quamvis hæreticæ ſuperſtitionis cultor*. He was an exact diſciplinarian, and kept up the ſtricteſt religion amongſt his troops.

At the ſiege of Biberach near Ulm, 1634, he had been extremely ill uſed by the governor, who had held out till reſiſtance was a ſort of madneſs. All things being prepared for a general ſtorm, the fury of which it was imagined nothing could reſiſt, a trumpeter made an offer of capitulating; but Horn enraged beyond meaſure declared peremptorily, he would ſacrifice the commander and his garriſon to their obſtinacy. In that inſtant a crowd of young women of condition iſſued out of the town; one ſeized his ſtirrup, the others fell down on their knees, weeping and filling the air with their lamentations. Horn ſoon diſcovered ſigns of emotion, and, changing in a moment the ſeverity of his countenance into a look of graciouſneſs, mildly deſired, that one would be pleaſed to repreſent the requeſts of the whole body. Upon this a young lady, bolder than the reſt, took the legation upon her, and told him in that broken interrupted eloquence, which nature inſpires upon theſe occaſions, That they aſked for the preſervation of their honour, and the lives of their innocent relations. His anſwer was to this effect: "I lay my indignation, my reſentments, my injuries, and revenge, at your feet. Tell that blockhead and brute of a governor, colonel Straſholt, I reſpect your tears, as much as I deſpiſe his ſword. Let him ſend a trumpeter to me, and receive conditions. Heaven knows, I thankfully embrace the opportunity of ſaving the lives of the innocent, inſtead of maſſacreing a herd of barbarian ſoldiers" [*Bertius* de Bellis Germanicis, p. 558, &c.]—Nevertheleſs, he diſarmed the garriſon, and would not allow it to march out with any one mark of military honour.

Benedictions were poured upon him in abundance, and it is probable the fair ſex made this effort upon his reſolution, as it was well known he had married Oxenſtiern's daughter, one of the moſt beautiful and virtuous women in Sweden, and that he and his wife had been a pattern of conjugal conſtancy and affection. He loſt this excellent creature, and two children, all whom died of the plague, in the year 1631, and, what is more remarkable, held her in his arms for ſeveral hours till the very moment ſhe expired. He then tranſported her body to Sweden in a ſilver coffin, and, though a young man, never forgot her ſo far as to venture upon ſecond nuptials. [*Monro's Exped.* Part ii. 29.]

He puſhed the Swediſh arms as far as the town of Conſtance, the ſiege of which did him great honour; but never ſhewed himſelf a greater man, than at the council of war preceding the fatal battle of Nordlingen, 1634: and though the duke of Weimar, in a tranſport of youthful rage, dropped ſome inſinuations, which proved he did not then diſtinguiſh between calmneſs and courage in a brother general, yet Horn neither gave him an unkind look, nor a ſevere anſwer, but ſubmitted patiently to the opinions of the younger and more impetuous officers, behaved like a lion in the day of action, led his men on to fifteen ſeveral attacks, in order to poſſeſs three half moons in the enemy's intrenchments, ſtaid upon the field almoſt the laſt man, and in co-operation with Cratz effected the orderly retreat of the Swediſh army, which otherwiſe muſt have been maſſacred without redemption. This generous conduct pierced duke Bernard to the very ſoul: for, after the battle was over, he tore his hair and beat his breaſt, like a perſon diſtracted:

Tilly the deciſive blow; not but that a diverſion of ſuch a nature was at this time diſagreeable to him: for having embarked his artillery on the Rhine, he had fixed his thoughts upon beſieging Cologn, a place at that time meanly fortified and thinly garriſoned, but abounding in wealth; inaſmuch as the whole nobility and gentry round had there depoſited all their riches and valuable moveables *. The king was piqued likewiſe at the elector's † conduct, who had tried all colluſions with him in a treaty lately propoſed between them ‡: which indeed was not unlikely to happen; for

I, ſaid he, am the ignorant ſoldier, and Horn is the wiſe man.—Where is the brave and experienced camp-maſter general?—Alas, he is a priſoner, he is a priſoner!—and fortune has cruelly reſerved me, to be walking about the world in full liberty.

The Imperialiſts carried Horn directly to the king of Hungary's tent, where the cardinal infant then was. He politely made an offer to kneel and kiſs their hands; they both raiſed him, and told him they would accept the mark of his eſteem, if he would perform the compliment ſtanding. The king ſaid he could not but congratulate himſelf upon overcoming, by any accident, the braveſt and beſt man in the Swediſh ſervice: to which the general modeſtly replied, That fortune had been kind to him in the midſt of her ſeverity, by conſigning him to ſuch generous hands. He then retired to a tent appropriated for him, where the principal Imperial commanders paid him a viſit of ceremony. Yet, in ſpite of theſe civilities, the houſe of Auſtria knew his merit too well to releaſe him on a ſudden, but kept him priſoner upon parole *for eight years only*. He was at length exchanged againſt John de Wert, whom the French had taken. Horn went directly to Paris, to return thanks to the king, who treated him moſt magnificently, and made him a preſent of a ſword ſet with diamonds, valued at 2000l.

A genius like Horn could not live idle during a long impriſonment, for he compoſed in his ſolitude a *Treatiſe on the Duties of a complete and perfect General*. [Schefferi Memorab. Sueciæ Gentis, p. 49.] I had once hopes of procuring a tranſcript of this MS. which, whenever it chances to be publiſhed, if the MS. mentioned to me proves the ſame, for it was only ſaid by a German profeſſor, that it was written by one of Guſtavus's principal generals, may prove the moſt ſcientific book in the art of war.

Had Oxenſtiern liſtened to the advice of this commander, who flew to him at Francfort on the occaſion, it is probable the Swedes had not loſt the alliance of the elector of Saxony; for that prince could not bear, that the duke de Weimar, deſcended from the right Saxon line, which Charles V. had diſplaced, ſhould be a general in chief, and preſcribe laws to him.

I ſhall obſerve, laſtly, that it was always Horn's cuſtom to mark the *countenance* of his men before an engagement, thoſe near him with his naked eye, and thoſe more remote by the help of a pocket-glaſs: and if he diſcovered any marks of irreſolution in their looks, he always marched them up briſkly againſt the enemy; alledging as a reaſon, that this manœuvre gave a flow to their ſpirits, and infuſed into them a certain idea of ſuperiority; a practice the late earl of Peterborough always copied in his Spaniſh campaigns, as he himſelf aſſured me, and from the ſame motive.

* *Bracheli* Hiſt. noſtr. temporum, 277.

† Ferdinand, biſhop of Paderborn.

‡ The plan of it is ſtill preſerved. It conſiſted of eleven articles; in ſome of which great care is taken of the proteſtant intereſts.

for that prelate, beſides being ſtrongly attached to his brother the duke of Bavaria, poſſeſſed with him the arts of diſſimulation, ſagacity, and intrigue, in a high degree. Of courſe, he had negotiated more or leſs with Guſtavus ever ſince he advanced into Franconia; yet at the ſame time contrived the embaſſy which the biſhop of Wurtzburg undertook to execute in France. No man was more zealous in promoting the *edict of reſtitution*, yet after the battle of Leipſic it was cuſtomary for him to ſay, "How inconſiſtent is *that* Imperial decree, which purpoſes to recover cloiſters at the expence of biſhopricks!" In a word, he was the firſt man who diſcovered Pappenheim's genius, and that alone ſhows his diſcernment.

Guſtavus now, contrary to his original intentions, was obliged to ſpare him. In ſpite therefore of wintry torrents and miry roads, he marched from Francfort to Aſchaffenberg, and at length joined Horn at Gelderſheim, where the combined armies amounted to 30,000 effective ſoldiers, Expecting, ſtill, freſh reinforcements from the ſeveral bodies of men that acted under Banier and others, he made a viſit to Wurtzburg, in company with the elector Palatine, and returned, next morning, to Kitzingen *, where he had eſtabliſhed the general rendezvous of all his troops, cantoned in that neighbourhood.

Tilly, alarmed at theſe indications of a ſharp campaign, appriſed, likewiſe, that Walſtein was determined to *ſacrifice* him; and that his maſter, the elector of Bavaria, was much diſſatisfied with his late enterpriſe, made the beſt retreat he could through the Palatinate, draining all the garriſons as he paſſed along, in order to cover the frontiers of Bavaria with the whole force he could poſſibly collect. Guſtavus, on the other hand, apprehenſive that Walſtein might be obliged, contrary to his inclination and intentions, to form a junction with Tilly's army, determined to incapacitate the latter as ſoon as poſſible; and the rather, becauſe Tilly began to diſtruſt his men and his own fortune. This ſlight misfortune, which had befallen Horn, compelled the king not only to make a forced march, and ſuccour his general, but induced him likewiſe, by imperceptible degrees, to make an irruption into Bavaria ſomewhat ſooner than he firſt intended, and broke the project he had formed of beſieging Cologn, inveſting Heidelberg

* The biſhop of Wurtzburg, five years before, ſeized this town and ſignory, during the minority of the margrave of Anſpach; and that prelate and his ſucceſſors have had the dexterity to retain them ever ſince.

and

and purging the Lower Palatinate of all the Spaniſh forces. It remained, therefore, only for him to give the command of the army, which was to act on the Upper Rhine, to Chriſtian count Palatine of Birkenfelt, and duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar; but theſe two officers greatly injured the common cauſe by their miſunderſtandings and jealouſies; inſomuch that Oxenſtiern, ſupreme director in thoſe parts, poſitively declared it was more expedient to entruſt great military employs to men of moderate rank and parentage; ſince princes and perſons of very noble extraction, overlooking reproof, and conſidering themſelves as a ſort of beings placed beyond the reach of ſoldierlike enquiries, executed juſt ſo much of the orders given them, as ſuited their own humours and intereſts.

Maximilian, perceiving the tempeſt to direct its courſe againſt Bavaria, once had a mind to diſpatch his orders to Tilly, and command him to retire into Bohemia or Auſtria, which conſequently would draw the war after him into the hereditary dominions. This would certainly have proved his beſt policy; for Walſtein, upon reſuming the command, muſt then have acted vigorouſly and in earneſt. But the elector wanted courage, or quickneſs of determination, though far from being deficient in either reſpect, to make this *maſterly diverſion*, conſcious of being himſelf the firebrand that had kindled up this dreadful blaze of war, and fearing to diſmantle his own frontiers, and leave them naked to the revenge of the proteſtants, who conſidered him as the prime cauſe of their miſeries. Ferdinand too, who had reaſon to be diſpleaſed with Bavarian duplicity, was perhaps not ſorry to ſee Walſtein lie by, and have the power to give his troops a moment's refreſhment: and Walſtein, on the other hand, was not diſſatisfied to behold the two men he mortally hated, hard preſſed by a victorious monarch. He therefore poſitively refuſed to join Tilly, under pretext, that his army was not yet in condition to take the field, and alledging, by way of excuſe, that Guſtavus would haraſs out and conſume the Imperial forces, whoſe duty it was to conteſt the paſſage of ſo many diſputable rivers as protect Bavaria on that ſide:——and indeed few countries in Europe are better fortified with running waters, than the electorate is in thoſe parts through which Guſtavus was obliged to make his irruption.

Thus his majeſty purſued Tilly ſtep by ſtep, and ſucceeded him more times than once in the ſame bed, at the diſtance only of four and twenty hours. The city of Nurenberg, which had been always generouſly true to the proteſtant cauſe,

cauſe, received him with open arms *; entertained him ſumptuouſly; and preſented him with a pair of ſilver globes of a conſiderable ſize, which taught him to carry on the war, not ſo much in a geographical ſenſe, for there the king wanted no lights, as in a military one, for their inſides were filled with new-coined ducats; and as the Germans always love the *alluſive* and *emblematical*, the concealed meaning of the preſent was, that the terreſtrial globe implied conqueſt on earth, and the celeſtial one a crown of glory hereafter in heaven: a conception not unworthy of the very beſt Italian poets.

As the Imperialiſts had it in their power to have taken Nurenberg by ſtorm or ſiege, it was thought a great omiſſion in them to leave a town of ſuch wealth and conſequence open and defenceleſs to the king of Sweden. The truth of the caſe ſtood thus: Walſtein was too far off, and wanted beſides to embroil matters in that part of the empire; and the elector and Tilly were ſo alarmed that they could not ſpare a ſingle man from the defence of Bavaria.

Wilſburg caſtle was directly in his majeſty's way. It was ſo ſituated, had he been fortunate enough to have conquered it, as to have been highly ſerviceable not only to the Swedes, but to all the proteſtant powers in the circle of Franconia. For theſe reaſons, the elector, ſome weeks before, had commanded Tilly to ſecure this ſtrong paſs and fortreſs, which he eaſily effected by terrifying the lawful owner, the margravine of Anſpach, and her children, who maintained it only with a few ſoldiers and their own domeſtics. The king, in the moſt cautious and beſt-guarded terms, demanded this place in behalf of its natural and legal poſſeſſor; and aſſured the governor, he might hope for the moſt punctual good uſage that could be imagined, with regard to his father's lands and caſtle, which laid juſt by. No arguments could prevail on a young military enthuſiaſt of the name of Pappenheim, and only ſon to that general †. He very reſpectfully

* *Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation* in Low Dutch, tom. ii. p. 59.

† Though moſt hiſtorians call this young man Pappenheim's ſon, yet they have not been aware of a certain chronological difficulty. Pappenheim's firſt wife, Ludomilla, counteſs of Colorath, brought him only one child, named Wolf-gang Adam, and he was born in 1618. By his ſecond wife, Anna Elizabetha, counteſs of Oetingen, he had no offspring. Therefore, by this account, the young man here mentioned could be little more than thirteen years old: which makes me ſuſpect, that the perſon in queſtion was a nephew of the general. That there lurks ſome concealed miſtake, is plain, becauſe other hiſtorians call him young Tilly, whereas that commander was never married.

Pappenheim's

reſpectfully ſent his majeſty word, *That the ruins of Wilſburg-caſtle ſhould be his monument.* Guſtavus believed him on his father's account, and for the firſt time took the anſwer of a governor of a town in part of payment.

Banier, during this delay of two days, inveſted Neuburg, the reſidence of the duke who bears that title; but having ſummoned the commander, and received a poſitive refuſal, he marched away without loſs of time. Guſtavus made himſelf very merry with the conduct of his general, and aſked him, *if he thought to take a city by a paltry epiſtle*?* Nevertheleſs, the town was ſoon afterwards evacuated voluntarily by Tilly's troops. His majeſty had reaſon to be afflicted, for he was not really angry, at Banier's diſappointment. He in truth, was not ſtrong enough to beſiege Neuburg in form, nor was there time to ſpare, becauſe the poſſeſſion of it, at that juncture, would have given free entrance into Bavaria, and ſaved the paſſage of the Lech.

As the ſharpneſs of this winter, which happened to be uncommonly ſevere, gave no check to the operations of war, ſo of courſe it put no ſtop to the briſkneſs of negotiating and intriguing. Cardinal Paſman, to whom Walſtein was nearly related by marriage, croſſed the Alps to make a ſecond effort in Italy, charged with an abundance of invectives, and prepared to harangue on the ſtupendous progreſſes of our proteſtant hero, who, to uſe the orator's own words, was determined to extirpate the whole catholic religion; tear up the very foundation of the ſacred ſee; and invade Italy itſelf in the character of another Attila. It was ſuggeſted likewiſe, that the king of Spain had neglected Italy, the Low Countries, and both the Indies, in order to ſupport the catholic religion; ſo that its ſubverſion, in caſe ſuch an unfortunate event ſhould ever take place, muſt be attributed only to the lukewarmneſs and inattention of Chriſt's vicegerent†. Under this ambaſſador e traordinary, acted, likewiſe, as reſident ambaſſador, and not *pro tempore*, the duke de Savelli; diſpatched by the emperor on the ſame errand, and now fulfilling Guſtavus's prediction, that

Pappenheim's ſon, in the year 1647, was ſhot through the arm and heart in a duel, by general Goltz, whom he challenged at Colloredo's table, for ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of his friend, ſerjeant-major-general Sperreüter. Coloredo placed guards at the town-gates, to prevent any ill conſequence, for no duel could be fought in a camp, or where the commander in chief reſided, but the combatants conveyed themſelves down the ramparts, and ſent their horſes privately into the fields. Chriſtopher count Walſtein, and colonel Schevaliſki, were their ſeconds. *Waſſenbergii Florus* Germ. p. 800.

* *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. 140. † *Chemnitz*, tom. i. 243.

that he would become the ſlaſhed doublet better than the cuiraſs. With both theſe the Spaniſh miniſter concurred vigorouſly; and Borgia, who, if I miſtake not, was then cardinal-ſecretary, gave them all the aſſiſtance in his power; for the court of Madrid had lately purchaſed his friendſhip by beſtowing on him the archbiſhopric of Seville, a ſlight retaining fee, which amounted to ſomething more than £.30,000. a year. Eleven Spaniſh and Italian cardinals attended the Auſtrian ambaſſadors to the Vatican on the day of audience, but the Pope would not allow them to be preſent. After a full diſcuſſion of arguments on either ſide, it appeared, that the opinions of the conclave were divided; which enraged the Spaniſh faction to ſuch a degree, that Paſman took the liberty to give vent to his paſſions in an oration equally furious and unguarded. The Pope, who was ſecretly inclinable to the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion, felt himſelf hurt to hear his conduct ſo ſeverely ſcrutinized in public aſſembly by a cardinal; and told Paſman in reply, that the emperor fairly merited all the difficulties that had befallen him, having waſted both his treaſures and his troops by carrying an unjuſt war into Italy: otherwiſe, he might have chaſtiſed Guſtavus at his own leiſure, and upon his own terms. That ſtories of Alarics and Attilas might ſerve very well to embelliſh a romance; and as for the irruptions of Goths and Vandals, without going back to Procopius and other antient hiſtorians, he could ſuggeſt an inſtance of more recent date to the houſe of Auſtria, that happened only in the preceding century; during the fury of which, all Italy was deſolated, and Rome itſelf ſacked and plundered. He obſerved likewiſe, that the proceſſions of Charles V. in Spain, where liberty was the pretext, whilſt the knife was held to his throat, had added ſolemn mockery to determined injuſtice; and convinced mankind, that ambition paſſed precipitately over all bounds; and that the barbarians of the north were not the only enemies of Chriſt's church*, ... That for his own part, he knew his duty, and took care to perform it; and for theſe reaſons did not greatly reliſh any invectives againſt his conduct and government; and added laſtly, which appears to be a very extraordinary effort of indignation, That the *proteſtant Viſigoth*, to carry on Paſman's alluſion, ſhewed leſs ſpirit of perſecution than the *catholic Cæſar*, ſince the wars of Guſtavus affected neither the conſciences of men,

* *Fr. Spanheim, Soldat Sued.* 342.

nor

nor the altars of the Supreme Being; and that fewer outrages, and acts of rapine and cruelty, had been committed ſince the battle of Leipſic, than had been perpetrated in Italy, at and after the ſiege of Mantua. Thence recurring to his own conduct, he remarked briefly, That to traduce his adminiſtration was eaſy; to arraign, and convict it, extremely difficult.

The holy father having thus diſburthened his mind, by giving vent to his private opinions, frankly made an offer of ſome pecuniary aſſiſtance to the emperor, though much inferior to what the court of Vienna expected. However he excuſed himſelf by ſetting forth the enormous expences in which the Mantuan war had involved him; and this being too true, the Imperial party made no attempts to invalidate his aſſertion. Nevertheleſs, for decency's ſake, he thought fit to make up the deficiency of money by ſpiritual bounty, and of courſe appointed an univerſal jubilée, made a proceſſion in perſon to the churches of St. Peter, and St. John de Lateran, and publiſhed a brief, wherein he exhorted all catholic princes to extirpate hereſy, and unite in the bond of friendſhip againſt the common enemy. The Imperial deputies declared roundly, that this ſort of paper-credit would neither wage war, nor pay the ſoldiery *.

Antony baron de Rabata, governor of Gradiſca, counſellor and chamberlain to the emperor, had been diſpatched to the princes and republics of Italy on the ſame errand, and under the patronage of Vienna and Madrid: but the Doge and ſenate of Venice gave him fine ſpeeches inſtead of ſubſidies, alledging, as the Pope had urged before, that the Mantuan war had entirely diſcompoſed the ſtate of their finances; ſo that the two goddeſſes of the Megarenſians, which then preſided in the Venetian government, namely, *Poverty* and *Impoſſibility*, reſtrained them abſolutely from imparting any ſupplies to his Imperial majeſty. The latent truth was, the republic had entered into a good underſtanding with Guſtavus ſome months before †. The common-wealths of Genoa and Lucca held the ſame language: nevertheleſs, the grand duke of Tuſcany, allured with the hopes of being created king of Etruria ‡, made a promiſe of actual aſſiſtances, proportionate to his circumſtances, though perhaps not adequate to the neceſſities of his friends; and the duke of Modena engaged likewiſe to ſend ſome troops,

* *Fr. Spanheim, Soldat Sued.* 344.

† *Chemnitii* Bellum Sueco Germanicum, tom. i. 244.

‡ *Idem.* Ibid.

or

or conduct them himself. When Rabata made his entrance into Mantua, the populace rose with an intention to murder him. The duke composed the tumult with great moderation, and pointing in dumb show to the ruins occasioned by the last siege, gave the ambassador to understand that all he could hope was to retreat in safety.

Meanwhile Gustavus, as Tilly had retired from the Upper Palatinate into Bavaria, and broken down all the bridges on the Danube, from Rayne to Neuburg, except only that of Donawert, over which he passed his army, foreseeing wisely, that a young enthusiast, like Pappenheim, might create some untoward check in the progress of his affairs, resolved at once to leave Wilsburg-castle to the chance of accidents *, and invest Donawert with all possible expedition, as Tilly was then labouring to erect a formidable fortification on a little hill near the town. So that if by an extraordinary effort he had not prevented this work from advancing to any tolerable degree of perfection, it is probable, in case of receiving a repulse, he must have marched seventy miles to Ulm, no road being passable for the main army, at that season, but by way of Nordlingen, in order to have crossed the Danube at the place first mentioned. Donawert therefore was of great consequence to the king, not barely in point of proximity, but as the passage has ever been considered the key of admission into that part of Suabia which leads to Bavaria, across the Lech. Of course, having reviewed his army, and received duke William of Weimar's reinforcement, he advanced thirty miles, from Wilsburg to Donawert, in a day and a half, and contrived to take the town and cloister of Kayserstheim, a rich abbey of Cistertians, as he passed along.

Rodolphus duke of Saxe Lauenberg, the same who had rescued Tilly at the battle of Leipsic, commanded the garrison, then in Donawert, consisting of 1200 regular foot, a body of trained-bands, and some companies of Cronenberg's dragoons. His majesty having made himself master of an important outwork, to the north-east, from whence the defendants retired into the town by means of a concealed *gallery*, dispatched a trumpeter to summon the governor to capitulate. He returned only this short answer, That the king, better than any person living, knew the duty of a set of men, who had nothing to rely on but honour and the

* The king left a garrison at Weissenberg, which stands about a mile from Wilsburg, under the command of colonel Sperreüter, to prevent young Pappenheim's incursions.

point

point of the ſword: and that he had no tribute to pay his majeſty, except in gunpowder *. Upon this, both parties performed their reſpective buſineſs with great earneſtneſs. The garriſon made a very furious ſally, and one company of Cronenberg's men penetrated half through the Swediſh lines. In repulſing this ſally, the commanding officer, a Scotſman, behaved ill; but Guſtavus pardoned him at the interceſſion of his countrymen, having firſt degraded him. The battery, conſiſting of twenty huge pieces of cannon, which the king raiſed on the north-eaſt ſide, only ſheered the bridge ſideways, without performing ſuch execution as was firſt expected; two circumſtances which induced him, at Hepburn's ſuggeſtion, to conſider the ſituation of the town with more attention. Obſerving to the weſtward an angle of ground formed by the influx of the Wernitz into the Danube, which angle commanded the bridge that croſſed the latter river, and leads to Bavaria, for Donawert ſtands on the northern bank; he, without delay, gave Hepburn orders to march his own brigade five miles up the Wernitz, where was the bridge of Haſfort, and then deſcending along the oppoſite ſhore, to poſt his men in the angle of confluence after ſuch a manner, as to command the Danube-bridge by his field-pieces, and even his muſquetry; which poſition made it difficult for the beſieged either to eſcape or receive ſuccours. Hepburn, who took with him lord Craven, Maſham, and all the Engliſh volunteers, conducted his men, in ſilence, to the place appointed, and lodged them a little after midnight along the garden walls, ditches, and hedges, flanking the paſſage acroſs the river. The governor, perceiving himſelf inveſted on every ſide, grew inwardly diſcontented, and wiſhed to capitulate; Tilly at that time not being able to raiſe the ſiege. However, as he was not ſatisfied with the thoughts of ſurrendering upon diſhonorable terms, he conceived a ſudden reſolution, as the breach to the north-eaſt was now rendered aſſaultable, to paſs the bridge on the king's ſide at break of day the next morning, in deſpite of all the Swediſh muſquetry and artillery. This deſign however got wind, for the Swedes overheard a hurry in the town, and the loading of baggage-waggons about midnight. The duke, it is true, paſſed the bridge, but ſaved only a handful of men, for the fire that he ſuſtained was very ſevere. The reſidue of the gar-

* *Swed. Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 135—138. *Chemnitz*, tom. i. 254.

riſon,

riſon, having firſt made an unſucceſsful ſally at the Wernitz-gate, attempted to croſs the bridge on Hepburn's ſide, who gave them alſo a ſoldierlike reception. Nevertheleſs, they cleared their paſſage at all events, and contrived to break the bridge behind them in an imperfect manner, and barricadoed the town-gate with numberleſs loads of dung, the removal of which coſt the Swedes ſo much time, that the rear of the garriſon ſecured their eſcape, loſing however upon the whole not leſs than 500 men. Meanwhile the king ſtormed the town walls and Leathern-tower [*Lederthor*] ſword in hand; and as many baggage-waggons ſtood laden in the ſtreets, it was with great difficulty he could reſtrain his ſoldiers from pillaging them, and the whole city; which, according to the uſage of war, was looked upon in the right of fair plunder. The king then ſecured the north banks of the Danube as far as Ulm.

Thus the town of Donawert was beſieged and taken in forty-eight hours, though ſtrongly garriſoned, and ſituated on a ſteep hill; and the loſs was conſidered the more ominous, as it happened to fall into the hands of the Swedes on the elector of Bavaria's birthday. This city, once Imperial, had been placed under the ban of the empire in 1606, and at length regained its civil and religious liberties, by the means of the great proteſtant deliverer, Guſtavus. Solmes's regiment of infantry, which had behaved ſo ill in the late action at Bamberg, was placed there by way of garriſon; for the king did not chuſe to truſt that body of troops in the day of battle. He then returned Hepburn public thanks, for ſuggeſting the idea of croſſing the Wernitz, and for executing his plan with ſuch judgment and valour.

No ſooner was the town of Donawert taken, but the king ordered this officer to throw up a ſtrong half-moon, and intrench his brigade at the foot of the bridge, next Bavaria; and then diſpatched the Bohemian baron Cochtitzki, at the head of ſome choſen cavalry and dragoons, to purſue the fugitives. His majeſty repoſed himſelf at Donawert four days, partly to prepare matters for the great incident now approaching, and partly to reſtore and new fortify this important paſſage, as a ſafe and ſecure key of retreat, in caſe of diſappointments or diſaſters. Yet the bulk of the army was not idle; for ſuch as did not act the part of engineers, pioneers, and mechanics, made incurſions into Swabia, where many towns of conſequence, ſome of which belonged to the emperor, were all taken ſword in hand; as Guntzburg, the capital of the Burgau, the rich abbey of Elchingen, Gundelfingen,

fingen, Lauingen, Hochſtadt*, Dillingen, where the biſhop of Augſburg uſually reſides, and Kirchberg; beſides a ſtrong caſtle on the banks of the Lech, called, if I miſtake not, Obernſdorf, belonging to the rich family of the Fuggers. In this enterpriſe Hepburn commanded; and though the place was well ſupplied and ſtrongly fortified, yet the garriſon was ſeized with a ſudden panic, and moſtly periſhed in attempting to eſcape.

During this interval of repoſe, as matters now began to wear a very ſerious aſpect, a trumpeter was ſent blindfolded to the king, with orders to ſolicit letters of ſafe-conduct for the French ambaſſador then reſiding at Munich. At firſt Guſtavus gave him a poſitive refuſal; but knowing his own firmneſs, and determined not to ſuffer his generoſity to be abuſed a ſecond time, he at length conſented. This ambaſſador was named St. Etienne. Nature had given him a plentiful portion of national vivacity; and it is probable, likewiſe, he preſumed too much upon being nearly related to father Joſeph, who held a correſpondence with Guſtavus and Oxenſtiern. One day he had the confidence to tell the king, that if he did not ſpare the catholic princes, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty would be obliged to march an army into Germany, in order to ſupport them; ſince they had all expreſſed an earneſt deſire to ſhelter themſelves under the protection of France. *Agreed*, replied Guſtavus, thoroughly exaſperated; *nevertheleſs, the king, your maſter, may ſpare himſelf the trouble of a long journey into Germany: let him only expreſs a deſire to make a campaign againſt me, and I will treat him with a battle under the walls of his own metropolis.*

France and her miniſtry ſtill perſiſted to interfere under one pretext or other; and therefore ſome few days after theſe conferences †, a treaty ‡ was propoſed between Louis XIII. and the elector of Triers, by virtue of which the former engaged, not only to aſſiſt the ſaid elector againſt all his enemies, but oblige the Swedes to evacuate the electorate of Triers and biſhopric of Spires, which belonged likewiſe to this prelate. In order thoroughly to underſtand an affair ſo intricate, it may not be amiſs to remind the reader, that France had long languiſhed

* There are many towns of this name in Germany; but here the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene gained a complete victory over the French and Bavarians, Aug. 13, 1704.

† April 9, 1632, at Ehrenbreitſtein, otherwiſe Hermanſtein.

‡ See the APPENDIX, Art. XXVIII. *Firſt Edition*, 4°.

to receive this electorate under her patronage, and for this purpoſe had diſpatched the count de Brullon to Triers, juſt to ſow the ſeeds of thoſe future incidents, which La Saludie* was now commanded to bring to maturity.

Indeed the elector, out of fervent zeal for the intereſts of the catholic league, had reduced himſelf into a very precarious as well as dangerous ſituation; for the Spaniards poſſeſſed Coblentz, and moſt of the ſtrong places in his dominions; and though Guſtavus, at the interceſſion of France, during the negotiation of the truce, had generouſly reſtored to him the important fortreſs of Ehrenbreitſtein; yet that monarch, now, enraged to the heart at the barbarous murder of a young count Solmes, cut to pieces, together with his followers, by a party of electoral troops, made no ſcruple to declare, in the tranſports of his reſentment, that he would diſlodge the elector in perſon from his caſtle, then ſuppoſed to be impregnable. Diſmayed and aſtoniſhed at theſe menaces, the elector remained ſome days in a ſtate of irreſolution; when at length the French miniſter revived his ſpirits, by adviſing him to addreſs a letter to Guſtavus, wherein, far from diſcovering ſigns of fear, or demeaning himſelf by abject humiliations, it was his intereſt to throw out ſome indirect, but intelligible inſinuations, with reference to the interpoſition and protection of a certain power behind the ſcene†. What reception theſe repreſentations found with Guſtavus, and what ſort of anſwer he returned to them, has been already mentioned. It may be enough to obſerve, that the king's reply was of ſuch a nature, as threw the elector into the greateſt perplexities, and obliged him to offer Richelieu a piece of blank paper, with authority to write upon it what conditions he pleaſed. How far the cardinal either preſumed, or intended to go, cannot well be aſcertained; for that he dreaded Guſtavus is a circumſtance known beyond contradiction; nevertheleſs, he thought he had an opening to effect ſomewhat, and conceived an hope of availing himſelf more or leſs from the elector's terrors. This expectation was purely chimerical; for France, during the life of Guſtavus, never once overreached, or extorted any advantage from him, except by importuning his good nature and his generoſity; which, conſidering Richelieu's abilities, is ſaying as much as needs be ſaid in behalf of our hero.

Thus, all that reſulted from a connexion ſo extremely hazardous and delicate, was only this, that the elector pub-

* Louis de Brianſon de la Saludie, maitre de camp et plenipotentiaire, &c.

† Hiſt. de *le Vaſſor*, tom. vii. 148.

liſhed

liſhed a manifeſto to juſtify his conduct for placing himſelf under the protection of France: and indeed one may ſee the ſtyle of Verſailles branch itſelf out like ſo many political veins through the whole ſurface of the compoſition. The cardinal, beſides obtaining that the caſtle of Ehrenbreitſtein ſhould be put into the hands of a French garriſon, had ſtill ſome views behind a counter-ſcene, which he hoped to unfold one time or other; for he knew Guſtavus not to be *immortal*, and then expected, if he ſurvived him, to take the cards into his own hands. Though this foundation may ſeem at firſt to be merely chance-work; yet it was laid deeply underground and out of ſight. France, from the event which reſulted from this, has ever had the ſame ſort of expectancies in view. In the preſent caſe, and from ſuch a ſeemingly narrow ground-plot, it has raiſed the ſuperſtructure of Alſace, Lorrain, &c.

Having ſo often mentioned the two electors of Cologn and Triers, it may ſeem ſurprizing, that ſuch little notice has hitherto been taken of the third eccleſiaſtical elector, the archbiſhop of Mentz. The truth was, the king had diſarmed this prelate by taking poſſeſſion of moſt of his territories; ſo that it no where appears that France conſidered him as an object worthy to be inveigled or cajoled; nor did ſhe ſolicit his aſſiſtance in the great plan relating to a neutrality.

It is probable too, that Richelieu looked upon him, not only as an enthuſiaſt and bigot, but as a devoted friend to the courts of Vienna and Munich; and thus much is certain, that the elector, finding himſelf in ſuch ill plight after the loſs of his capital, wiſhed extremely to behold a general pacification, and of his own free motive requeſted the emperor to permit him to lay ſome plan of that nature before Guſtavus*, who returned him ſuch conditions, as we have formerly mentioned in the two rough draughts, that were tranſmitted to the peruſal of all the catholic potentates then concerned.

By the taking of Donawert, and ſecuring a free paſſage over the Danube, Tilly ſoon perceived his Swediſh majeſty's real intentions againſt Bavaria; and therefore, with all poſſible expedition, broke down a ſecond bridge, then in his power, which croſſed that river between Neuburg and Rayne, and deſtroyed likewiſe a third bridge which leads over the Lech, at a ſmall diſtance from the latter town. On the poſſeſſion of this important entrance into Bavaria, the king

* *Vittorio Siri*; Memoire recondite, tom. vii. page 457, 458.

had ſet his mind, from the very inſtant he croſſed the Danube at Donawert, and diſpatched the flower of his dragoons and commanded muſqueteers to take a poſition there, for he had eſcaped the perilous undertaking of forcing his paſſage acroſs the Lech. Tilly knew too well the extraordinary conſequence of this inlet to Munich, and, as he had the power in his hands, prevented the enterpriſe on the part of the king, to whom this conſolation remained, that he had not loſt a ſingle moment in attempting to make good what he had projected *. Tilly then cantoned his troops in leſſer and greater diviſions, all along the Bavarian ſide, between the Lech and the Aach, from Rayne to Augſburg, both which places he garriſoned, and extended himſelf in good order on the banks oppoſite the Swedes for the ſpace of ſixteen miles. Foreſeeing principally where his majeſty would make the grand attempt, he erected ſome huge batteries, and intrenched the larger part of his choſen and veteran ſoldiery.

His majeſty's firſt attempt was to repair the bridge, that had been freſh broken down near Rayne; but this undertaking, through the intervention of ſome unforeſeen difficulties, was rejected almoſt in the ſame moment it was conceived. Thence bending his courſe towards Augſburg, he employed many hours, attended only by a friend or two, in contemplating the approaches to the river, and the circumſtances of landing, and making a lodgment, as well as forming an attack on the ſide oppoſite to him; finding at length, to his own mortification, as well as Tilly's honour, that the old general had erected his batteries, and intrenched his men preciſely over-againſt that ſegment of a circle, in the midle part of whoſe arch it was reſolved to throw over a bridge. Here a new obſtruction appeared; for the king foreſaw, at firſt glance, from the torrent-like rapidity of the ſtream, and height and inequality of its banks, that his own portable bridges could be made uſe of with no great proſpect of ſucceſs. Nevertheleſs, for the ſatisfaction of his army, he made one experiment, which verified his conjectures with too much truth. Having therefore intrenched his men under the protection of a ſtrong parapet along the bank, and fixed his more general encampment behind them near Northeim, he erected three batteries, conſiſting of ſeventy-two huge pieces of cannon †, one in the center of the

* *Burgi Mart Snapo Germ.* 271. 24°. Leod. 1633.

† *Santa Cruz* remarks, with admiration, that Guſtavus paſſed the Lech by generalſhip; for having, ſays he, erected a battery of ſeventy,

6 [ſeventy-

the ſegment, and the two others at the extremities of the arch; which latter poſition gave him great advantages over his adverſaries; for their artillery could be raiſed only on a ſtraight line, and that of the Swedes half-flanked them, and raked them ſideways, when the grand engagement came on. Thus, during an uninterrupted cannonade of four days duration, the king brought his new ſcheme to tolerable perfection. At a little village called Obernſdorf, ſituated in a concealed and ſheltered valley at the diſtance of about half a mile from the place intended to be croſſed, he employed all his artificers to build a fabric, on a principle of his own invention, adapted to the nature of the river; and as the caſe was urgent, as well as important, found himſelf compelled to pull down all the gentlemen's houſes, farms, and villages round him, in order to procure an addition of uſeful and ſolid timber. Meanwhile at the hazard of his life, for the fire of artillery and muſquetry never ceaſed on Tilly's ſide, he employed himſelf every hour, in examining the banks, ſlopes, and winding of the ſtream; and ſpared neither money nor preferments, to gain intelligence of the variation of depth in that part of the channel where he intended to paſs.

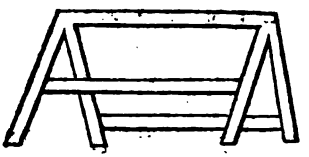
There are few rivers of the ſame ſize, whoſe paſſage appears ſo difficult as that of the Lech. I ſpeak this from ocular obſervation. It takes its riſe in the country of the Griſons, and, at the time of year when the king croſſed it, partakes more of the nature of a torrent than of the river, for it is ſwollen with melted ſnow-waters from its very ſource. It meaſures forty yards acroſs at the point, between Rayne and Thierhaupten, where the bridge was erected, and the bank on the Swediſh ſide was about eleven feet higher than the bank oppoſite; where for a ſmall ſpace the ground was tolerably firm, and then declined gently into a moraſs knee-deep in ſlime and water, on the right-hand hardly paſſable, and guarded on the left, where the ſoil roſe a little, with thick beds of oſiers. This moraſs being once cleared, nor was the paſſage long, the land mounted with an eaſy aſcent to Tilly's intrenchments.

But the conſtruction and fixing of the bridge appeared more difficult to his majeſty than the fighting part. He greatly diſliked the inequality of the banks in reſpect of height, which

[ſeventy-two] large pieces of cannon over againſt the main body of the Imperialiſts, and thundered upon them ſeveral hours, he croſſed the river at a place unexpected, and intrenched himſelf before he could be obſerved. *Reflexions Militaires & Politiques, traduites del' Eſpagnol de M. le Marq. de Santa Cruz de Marzenado*, tom. ii. 238.

which rendered a bridge of boats or pontons highly inconvenient, if not entirely uſeleſs: and he likewiſe knew, that the bed of the river was a ſort of cone inverted: which intelligence he procured by various artifices, one in particular extremely curious; nevertheleſs, I ſhall decline relating it, having ſome doubts concerning the authenticity of the narrative *.

Being now informed, in ſome degree, of the depth and ſhape of the channel, he contrived, in the next place, a ſet of treſſels of various heights, and with unequal feet; their form in general, as here repreſented.



Theſe were firmly ſecured to ſtrong piles, driven deep into the bottom of the river. The planks then were ſpread over the whole, and well faſtened.

To lay this bridge in ſight of an intrenched army of equal force, and better ſupplied with large artillery, was a ſecond difficulty ſtill remaining, which demanded, at one and the ſame time, feints and illuſions of all ſorts, precautions, and activity, as well as prudence and intrepidity.

Of courſe the king poſted 1000 commanded muſqueteers behind a parapet of mould and turf on each ſide of the intended bridge, who, to prevent Tilly's people from approaching to procure intelligence of what was contriving, maintained an uninterrupted fire day and night. He then opened two large batteries at convenient diſtance from the point where he propoſed to croſs the river, and from theſe furiouſly thundered on the Bavarian camp without intermiſſion. Nor was his artillery idle in other places; it was only contracted in its extent, and divided into ſmaller parcels.

Meanwhile, to augment the confuſion and perplex the eye-ſight, he ordered little fires to be kindled in pits near the batteries, which were conſtantly fed with ſmoky combuſtibles of pitch and green wood.

Tilly ſuſpected ſomething, but knew not what; nor did he ceaſe to flatter himſelf, at intervals, in caſe the erection of a bridge was ſuppoſed to be practicable, that the king would

* It is to be ſeen in the *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, 8vo. Printed at Leeds, in Yorkſhire, about the year 1740.

hardly preſume to croſs a river; clear a moraſs; and aſcend a hill; under the eyes of an intrenched army of equal force, and ſupported with a train of artillery as conſiderable as his own, or more ſo.

To form a better judgment of the catholic general's ſituation, it may be convenient to obſerve, that the ground on Tilly's ſide, bating a ſmall ſwampy tract of ſoil, roſe by degrees to a moderate hill, covered here and there with ſhrubs and large thorn trees; and about midway between the foot of the hill and Tilly's main body were intrenched two conſiderable corps of infantry in a line parallel to the royal camp. Behind them crept a little rivulet in form of a bow, the bent part towards the Swedes, within which the artillery was planted. Its effects were felt on the oppoſite ſide of the Lech. After that ſucceeded a wood, which ſkirted up to a conſiderable height; in the front of which, the ſhrubby part being cleared in certain ſpaces, and the timber-trees felled, and interlaced by way of defence in front and flank, were poſted ſix bodies of choſen infantry, amounting to about 8000 men. The reſidue of the foot was diſpoſed judiciouſly here and there; and the horſe, on a more remote line, formed two wings at a diſtance on either ſide, in like manner as the Swediſh cavalry was diſpoſed, each of theſe parties being removed out of the reach of cannon-ſhot.

The king had ſome miſgivings with reference to the enterpriſe he had determined to undertake*; and therefore, which was a ſort of practice he rarely dealt in, convened all his generals to a council of war, in order to collect their ſeveral opinions. Horn, moſt ready to execute, as well as moſt cautious to reſolve, of any commander in the Swediſh ſervice, made ſtrong remonſtrances againſt attempting to paſs the Lech; and the major part of the ſuperior officers concurred with him: for he urged the difficulties both of the banks and bed of the river, and repreſented the force and quantity of Tilly's battering artillery. He remarked, in the next place, that a repulſe or defeat would raiſe the drooping ſpirits of the Bavarians, and bring Walſtein on the back of the Swedes, in a country full of rivers, where it was next to impoſſible, at one paſs or other, to decline a battle; and therefore propoſed, with all due deference and ſubmiſſion, to ſecure and fortify the frontier towns, both in the Upper Palatinate and Bohemia, till that period ſhamefully neglected by the elector of Saxony.——By

* *Vittorio Siri*; Memoire recondite, tom. vii. p. 459—461. *Le Vaſſor*, tom. vii. 163, 164.

theſe means it would not lie in Walſtein's power to force the king's troops into a deciſive engagement. He remarked further, that the Imperial generaliſſimo, whoſe immenſe preparations, not yet advanced to a ſtate of maturity, were, in the end, likely to become extremely formidable, ought to be cruſhed firſt.—— Wherefore upon the whole, it appeared beſt to him, to march directly into Moravia, and deſtroy the preſent and future hopes of the houſe of Auſtria all at once *.

Whoever underſtands the characters of men, and ſtate of hiſtory at this period, will be inclined, probably, to think with me, that the drift of theſe reaſonings ſeems to proceed upon the ſame principle, which Oxenſtiern, Horn's father-in-law, urged to Guſtavus, when he entered Franconia inſtead of Bohemia.

The king loved Horn, whoſe great talents he honoured, as well as his integrity, and heard him patiently; but at length replied, with a good deal of fire, *That the enterpriſe was leſs difficult than appeared at firſt ſight: and that the very beſt veteran troops that ever exiſted, had always ſome miſgivings after a total overthrow. Fortune,* ſaid he, *is the guardian-angel to men of heroical reſolution;—and Donawert is a ſure retreat in caſe of diſaſter.——Nor let it ever be ſaid, that Guſtavus declined any enemy, who* fled *before him;——ſince a delay, precaution or digreſſion of that nature would be inſtructing, and enabling an old and experienced general to reinforce and re-eſtabliſh an army, ill provided for, at the preſent juncture, and extremely weakened. Walſtein likewiſe is removed from us at a great diſtance, and has many leſſons ſtill to infuſe into his ſoldiers.——In a word, let us croſs this barrier, miſtakenly ſuppoſed to be impaſſable. Behold,* the expected land of plenty lies open to us! *A land, which has carefully been nurtured in peace and wealth for twelve continued years, whilſt the whole Germanic empire has been more than once ravaged and devoured from one end to the other* †.

Thus the king gave his opinion, or rather part of his opinion, as a man of ſpirit, without entering into the diſcuſſions of a philoſopher. Indeed it is probable he ſaw the thing in lights which Horn did not; or embraced his own ſcheme from a high perſuaſion of ſucceſs; and the rather, as the undertaking was compendious, enterpriſing, and full of glory; it being a maxim with him, as well as Pappenheim, *That it was poſſible to execute many achievements in war, merely becauſe the generality of mankind ſuppoſed them impracticable.*

* *Le Vaſſor*, tom. vii. p. 163.

† *Bertius* de Bellis German. p. 324. *Siri* Mem. Rec. tom. vii. 459.

Putting

Putting theſe conſiderations out of the queſtion, whoever has had opportunities to obſerve the rapidity of this river at the time of the *vernal equinox**, as was my fortune, and takes notice of the ſteepneſs and inequality of its banks; the irregularity of the channel-depth; the expoſure of the bridge in front and flanks; the intrenchments and batteries on the oppoſite ſide; the continued ſlope of ground riſing immediately from the Bavarian bank to the foreſt trees that crowned the whole; not to mention a moraſs knee-deep in ooze and water, muſt, I think, confeſs, that this was the moſt *daring*, as well as *brighteſt* action in the military life of Guſtavus, and ſuch as has never yet been ſurpaſſed by any general, antient or modern.

And now, Thurſday morning, April the 5th, whilſt the balls of the ſide-batteries, which ſtood at the extremities of a bow, for ſuch figure the Lech there formed, met in an angle, and tore every thing to pieces at 150 yards diſtance, the king, under favour of a ſmoke and fire inexpreſſible, paſſed over, after frequent attempts, in two boats which he had procured, ſome choſen engineers, pioneers, and ſoldiers, who made a lodgment; and, what was of ſtill greater conſequence, threw up ſeveral mounds of earth; one to protect the mouth of the bridge from the direct fire of Tilly's ordnance, and two ſide parapets to guard its flanks from ſuch batteries as he might occaſionally erect upon a change of circumſtances. To encourage theſe firſt undertakers, he made each man a preſent of about thirty ſhillings Engliſh.

Previous matters being thus adjuſted, all hands united to fix the bridge, and when the morning began to grow tolerably bright, Tilly beheld this aſtoniſhing attempt, but at the ſame time knew not how to counterwork it. To diſlodge theſe new comers appeared impoſſible, on account of the unmerciful fire of the Swediſh batteries; and it was foreſeen too, that ſuch an undertaking muſt have brought on, by degrees, one general carnage. It remained therefore only for him to raiſe two batteries againſt the ſides of the bridge: and here appeared a new inconvenience; for not to mention the parapets, which the Swedes had caſt up, the bank on the Bavarian ſide, though inferior in height to that on the Swediſh, yet at the ſame time roſe higher than the moraſs beneath it, and obſtructed the aim of the gunners, as well as the paſſage of their balls.

* This river, at the vernal equinox, without the falling of great rains, is ſwoln very much by the melting of ſnow on the Alps; but if rains happen to fall, which was the caſe in April 1632, its waters then riſe in a great degree.

On

On theſe accounts Tilly choſe rather to undertake the defenſive part, and having given orders to erect an half-moon in front, commanded his pioneers to deepen and widen the lines of his intrenchments, and employed all other hands he could ſpare, in hewing down a breaſt-work of large trees, interlacing them one with another, and ſharpening the branches near the trunk into a ſort of *chevaux de friſe*.. So that when the king heard the noiſe of the ſaws and axes, he directed all his gunners to give them in the wood one general ſalutation from the whole train of artillery by way of morning-compliment.

In the ſpace of a few hours the machinery of the bridge was fixed, the ſurface planked and roughened, and the ſides guarded: which happened to be effected the more ſpeedily, as the king's Finlanders could all exerciſe the buſineſs of carpenters, as in their native country each man was his own mechanic.

It was the king's firſt care to relieve the pioneers and ſoldiers acroſs the river; and then the colonels Wrangel * and Gaſſion had the honour to paſs the bridge at the head of ſuch a body of troops as was ſuppoſed to be neceſſary. Part of them filled the new intrenchment, and the reſt, being all *commanded* muſqueteers, lined the oſier bed on the left hand, where they performed wonders in the heat of the conflict. When Guſtavus contemplated the bridge, and ground on either ſide, he declared in a whiſper to ſome of the generals, that ſtood near him, *That he would compound for a victory at the expence of one thouſand excellent ſoldiers* †.

Yet though he felt for his brave aſſociates, he diſcovered no diſmay with reſpect to himſelf; but, on the contrary, continued on the foot of the bridge for *ſix* and *thirty* hours, without intermiſſion. Meanwhile Tilly erected two new batteries near the banks of the river, in order to enfilade the flanks of the bridge; but though the theory was good, the executive part proved ineffectual.

During this interval, his majeſty conveyed one half of his army, cavalry as well as infantry, acroſs the Lech, though many good officers, friends as well as enemies, had publicly declared, that the enterpriſe was not feaſible, at the head of a fewer body of troops than one hundred thouſand ‡. Upon this, Tilly commanded the flower of his forces to give

* Charles Guſtavus Wrangel afterwards commanded the Swediſh army which entered Bavaria, Anno 1646, in conjunction with Turenne.

† *Swediſh Intelligencer* ſays 2000, part ii. 147.

‡ *Heylmanni Leo Arctoüs.*

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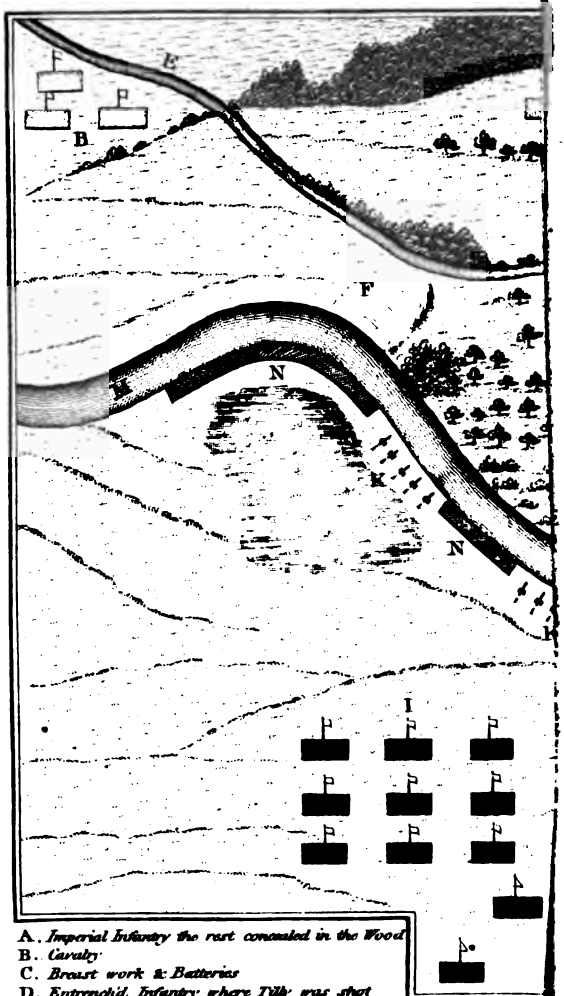
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A. Imperial Infantry the rest concealed in the Wood
B. Cavalry
C. Breast work & Batteries
D. Entrenchid. Infantry where Tilly was shot
E. A Rivulet
F. Tilly's Batterias against the Bridge

the Swedes battle before they could form, and no leſs a perſon than Aldringer undertook the employment. Part likewiſe of the dragoons that ſerved under Aldringer received orders from the generaliſſimo to paſs between the oſier bed and the king's cavalry, with full directions to poſſeſs the mouth of the bridge at all hazards, and preclude reinforcements one way, and the power of retreating another.

When Aldringer, then general of the artillery, deſcended the hill, he found the Swediſh diſcipline to be ſuch, that the troops could form by the beat of a drum. He hoped likewiſe, that their ardour might have puſhed them on to have given him the meeting half way. There, however, the king impoſed his negative, expecting wonders from the two new raiſed batteries, which were erected not only as a feint to conceal the conſtruction of the bridge, but with the expreſs view to cut through and through the Bavarians obliquely, whenever the great conflict ſhould begin.

Aldringer conducted the attack without diſmay: but the fire, eſpecially from the two batteries, was ſo fierce and uninterrupted, that it was impoſſible for the diſpute to hold long. Some of the cavalry made a deſperate effort to ſeize the bridge, according to inſtructions; but attempting to file between the groſs of the Swediſh forces and the bed of oſiers, which Tilly ſuppoſed to have been a vacant ſpace left open by inadvertency, they received ſuch continued volleys from the muſqueteers concealed therein, that, in ſpite of all their endeavours, they were broken immediately. His majeſty was not literally in this action; his prudence kept the aſcendancy over his vivacity; and therefore with great coolneſs he planted himſelf at the foot of the bridge, on the Bavarian ſide, partly to give the troops their inſtructions with preciſion, as they paſſed over; and partly to take care, that not a ſingle Swede, who had already croſſed the river, ſhould attempt to retreat.

Aldringer ſtill preſſed on, the ſecond time, with a reſolution, bordering upon downright raſhneſs; but a cannon-ball grazed upon his temples, and he was removed ſenſeleſs off the field of battle. This ſtroke was the more fatal, as it ever afterwards diſcompoſed the beſt head-piece, for memorials and invectives, then in the empire*.

Now came the great Tilly's inevitable hour. He perceived, that no man could replace Aldringer except himſelf, and deſcending from the wood with a freſh body of his old

* *Le Blanc*: Hiſt. de Bavière, tom. iv. p. 374. 12°. A Par. 1680.

Burgun-

Burgundians, renewed the attack, in a manner well becoming his laſt efforts; for whenever a regiment gave way, he ſeized the colours, and advanced towards the enemy *; nor could the troops deſert an aged general, who had been victorious in thirty-ſix pitched battles and ſignal engagements, and who carried the marks of more than fifty campaigns in his own perſon. In a leſs ſpace than twenty minutes, he received a ſtroke on the knee from a falconet ſhot †, which weighed about three pounds; and ſwooning away ſeveral times, from the agony of the fracture, as well as contuſion, was removed out of the battle to Ingolſtadt, in the elector's own coach. To augment the general conſternation, two conſiderable parties of Finland horſe, impatient to ſee their brethren engaged on the oppoſite banks, plunged into the river like men poſſeſſed, and croſſed it by ſwimming; upon which event, joined to the former, and the rather, as evening began to approach, the Bavarian forces broke away imperceptibly, and the Swedes having gained and ſecured their paſſage, remained in their own ſtation, without advancing, by order of the king; who contented himſelf, at the cloſe of the evening, to march over the bridge, at the head of his own regiment of guards, and paſs the night on the Bavarian ſide.

All this time his electoral highneſs continued over-cautiouſly in the wood, at ſome diſtance from the sharpneſs of the fire. Though generaliſſimo of the troops, he durſt not take the command upon him, but poſted away to Ingolſtadt somewhat unbecomingly, and left good part of the troops, eſpecially cavalry that laid remote, and who knew nothing of their general's misfortune, to ſhift for themſelves. It brings to mind a parallel paſſage in hiſtory: When Juſtinian was wounded, and obliged to be carried from the walls of Conſtantinople, the emperor retired, and the whole garriſon loſt its courage. Yet this did not happen at the battle of Lutzen, where every Swediſh colonel was in part a general, and one half of the common ſoldiers deſerved to be colonels; and all of whom fought more furiouſly, merely becauſe their king was dead.

* *Burgi* Mars Sueco Germ. p. 175.

† *Ritratti & Elogii di Capitani Illuſtri.* 4°. 372.—*Bougeant*, and the author of the Annals of the Empire, whom I will not ſuppoſe to be M. de V. give him this wound in the retreat, whereas the Swedes never purſued him. [Tom. i. p. 287.] Bougeant ſays likewiſe, that Guſtavus employed *three* days in conſtructing and erecting the bridge, inſtead of *two*; ſince by the diary it appears, that he began it April 3, and croſſed it on the 5th, early in the morning.

Thus

Thus ended the battle of the Lech, though the king as yet knew nothing of Tilly's misfortune. With regard to this tranſaction, it may be remarked, that the armies on either ſide were nearly equal, as were the trains likewiſe of battering artillery; for the king had ſeventy-two large pieces of cannon, and Tilly ſeventy: but, in point of management, the Swediſh engineers were greatly ſuperior; and it was in this reſpect that Torſtenſon, then general of the ordnance, gained that great reputation, which he maintained afterwards in every other branch of military knowledge. So that the more clear-ſighted in the art of war aſcribe this victory to three co-operating cauſes; *one*, the reſult of good ſenſe, and *two*, the product of invention and genius. Under the former head, they conſider the extraordinary *celerity* wherewith the king performed his buſineſs; and under the latter, his ſuperior abilities in point of *gunnery*, and the *conſtruction* of a bridge made preciſely for the river Lech, and no other. Nor was it uncommon at that time for learned men to obſerve, that the paſſage of the Lech was far ſuperior to that of the Granic; and that Guſtavus's architecture in the channel of the river was more difficult to execute than that of Julius Cæſar acroſs the Rhine; inaſmuch as the one, even after the diſcovery of cannon, effected in two days, what the other could hardly perform in the ſpace of ten; and certain it is, that the intervention of artillery, to ſay the leaſt of it, may be demonſtrated to counterbalance that difference of breadth, which is to be found in the two rivers, the Lech and the Rhine.

The action laſted about ſix hours, but was much ſharper than that at Leipſic. What numbers the king loſt has never appeared, yet from the nature of circumſtances he could not ſuffer ſo much as the army of the league; becauſe, as Tilly intrenched himſelf behind a large number of foreſt trees, he loſt many men in one uninterrupted cannonade of ſix and thirty hours duration, merely from the flying ſhivers and ſplinters of the timber. All that we know is, that a count Merodé, and ſeveral brave officers were killed and wounded; and one thouſand Bavarians left dead on the ſpot.

Upon the whole, from all that appears at this diſtance, Tilly would have done better, provided ſuch conduct had not diſheartened his followers, to have left the bridge and paſſage free to his Swediſh majeſty, without conteſting them*: for, had he ſpared himſelf his deſcent from the

* *Mem's Exped.* ii. p. 120.

eminence,

eminence, enlarged and deepened his lines, interlacing them well with the foreſt-trees that ſtood before him, (there being no paſſage for the king to file along by the banks of the river, without running an extreme riſk in flank) and fixed his batteries ſo, as to have played only on the Swedes, when they drew near his intrenchments, where it was not practicable to tranſport their heavy artillery, or bring it to act; it is more than probable, that Guſtavus muſt have ſuffered greatly, or been obliged to have croſſed the river in ſome ſecond place. In the part where the Swedes muſt thereby have been conſtrained to attack, they could only have advanced with two regiments in front, while Tilly had room to oppoſe them with juſt three times a ſuperior number. This, it is thought, was Tilly's private and reſerved opinion: but as the junior officers had conceived a notion, that his perſonal courage declined with his riper days, and half expired on the arrival of old age, than which nothing could be more falſe, he was forced to affect, both now and at Leipſic, a certain gallantry and ſprightlineſs of valour, not quite reconcileable to his more mature judgment. Conſidering the petulant fervour, and ſarcaſtic inſinuations from the younger part of military people, it might not be ill-judged for all commanders in chief to leave the field of action, when they have once reached their grand climacteric; for the old courſer will make an effort right or wrong when the *ſpur* of honour is applied to his *flank*, and his abilities, ſprightlineſs, and activity are called in queſtion.

To return from the preſent digreſſion. When the king ſaw the difficulties I have juſt deſcribed, he frankly told his generals, who crowded round him, *That he conſidered the paſſage of the Lech as a better day's ſervice than the performance at Leipſic**; and when cardinal Paſinan, the Imperial ambaſſador extraordinary, at Rome, heard the news, he ſaid coolly, "The curtain has dropped and the play is over:" which, whether it related to the downfal of popery, or the houſe of Auſtria, at this diſtance, cannot be ſpecified.

The king, as we obſerved before, reſted all night at the foot of the bridge, and next morning, there were reaſons to think that the enemy had diſlodged; but before any certainty in that particular could be procured, Hepburn received inſtructions to conduct the remaining part of the infantry over the bridge, in order to introduce a ſecond and more obſtinate engagement; during which interim one Forbes, a Scots captain, at the head of thirty muſqueteers,

* *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 147.

was

was ſent to examine the poſition of the Bavarians. He found two horſe ſentries at the edge of the wood, and no more. Being ſent to the king, and interrogated by him, they poſitively declared, that they never heard a ſingle ſyllable concerning the departure of their companions. A part of the royal army purſued the fugitives to the walls of Rayne, and ſtormed the town ſword in hand. Here it was firſt learnt, that Tilly was wounded deſperately, if not mortally.

This victory of the Lech alarmed one half of Europe, and aſtoniſhed the other. France, who had rejoiced to ſee the houſe of Auſtria humbled to a certain degree, began now to conceive freſh uneaſineſs, both from fear and jealouſy; ſo much that Louis XIII. told Soranzo the Venetian ambaſſador, upon receiving an account of the paſſage of the Lech, That the powers intereſted in deſiring to ſee a *partial reduction* of the houſe of Auſtria had hitherto conſcientiouſly offered up their moſt ſincere wiſhes for the proſperity of the Swediſh arms; but then, continued he, no human being could ever conceive, that matters ſhould have advanced with ſuch amazing rapidity, and to ſuch extraordinary lengths. Inform, therefore, the ſenate, that means muſt be deviſed, whereby to check this impetuous Viſigoth in the career of his victories, which may prove, in the concluſion, as fatal to us as to the emperor and the elector of Bavaria. If this be true with reſpect to France, the houſe of Auſtria had ſtill ſtronger reaſons to take the alarm; for ſhe depended on one ſingle man, and that was Walſtein; and the duke of Bavaria, who, when the war was removed from his frontiers, had deſpiſed or deceived every power with whom he negotiated, began now to feel the ſharpeſt diſquietudes, upon three ſeveral accounts. He had neglected to oppoſe his whole force againſt the king's croſſing the Lech, for a part of his army was ſtationed near Ratiſbon: he apprehended the death of his admired general every moment; and beheld Guſtavus penetrating, by full marches, into the very vital parts of his dominions. England fell into the *national folly* of leaving the continent to take care of itſelf; ſo that the conduct of an Elizabeth, and the maxims of Burleigh, Cecil, and Walſingham, paſſed for the reveries of politicians, who had not conſidered their mother-country as an iſland. The elector of Saxony diſliked the proſperity of Sweden from the very beginning. The king of Denmark entertained certain ſelf-intereſted views, which ſhall be ſpecified forthwith. The ſtates-general traverſed Guſtavus in the late negotiation with

with the town of Cologn; and the prince of Orange, under various pretences, kept an army of obſervation on the frontiers of their dominions.

Guſtavus beheld all theſe jealouſies, counter-operations, and pretended friendſhips, with a countenance undiſmayed, and without making any remonſtrances or recriminations. He one day did remark, in great confidence, to a friend, whom he truſted, *That he now perceived he had puſhed his conqueſts* too *far, and given umbrage, as well as diſquietude, to certain potentates. It may be difficult,* continued he, *to preſerve the acquiſitions I have made to the ſouthwards; ſo that of courſe the more prudential part will be to confine myſelf within the northern regions of Germany, and erect a kingdom, if that be poſſible, of which the Baltic ſhall form the centre.* This account we owe to that impenetrable, as well as all-penetrating ſtateſman the abbé Siri*, who affects to have aſſiſted at every conference in the character of a political ubiquitarian; but for my own part, from a cool examination of future facts, I have ſome miſtruſt with regard to the authenticity of the preſent anecdote, ſince the king, far from retrieving the ſuppoſed miſtake, marched on to Ingolſtadt, and then to Munich, with the very words recent upon his lips. Nor was this any new idea wherewith to ſurprize his majeſty's underſtanding; as appears from the anſwer he gave to Oxenſtiern, as long before as the preceding Chriſtmas.

France ſeems firſt to have diſcovered the hook of Guſtavus approaching her lips, and pretending only to nibble, and play round it, without ſwallowing, hoped to ſee its point blunted, if not diſarmed, by ſome accident or other.

To co-operate with theſe views, ſhe threw Bavaria in his way, as a rugged rock concealed under water; and that attempt not ſucceeding, placed the elector of Triers there as a ſort of entangling weed: which latter effort ſerved to create ſome ſlight embarraſſment; for a perplexing treaty was ſigned at Ehrenbreitſtein, four days after the paſſage of the Lech †, whereby ſhe engaged to ſupport the ſaid prelate againſt all opponents, and oblige the Swedes, which was ſtill more, to evacuate the electorate, as well as the dioceſe of Spires.

In leſs than a fortnight from this period, the king had likewiſe ſome further miſgivings with reference to the conduct of Chriſtian king of Denmark, whom the Imperial and

* *Vittorio Siri*; Memoire recondite, tom. vii. p. 464, &c. and p. 546.

† April 9, 1632. APPENDIX, Art. XXVIII.

Spaniſh

Spaniſh miniſtry tried to allure into their intereſts by all ſorts of temptations. The Infanta, in ſome degree, almoſt over-reached and enſnared that politic prince: for under pretence of making him the compliment of propoſing conditions to Guſtavus with regard to a general peace, ſhe in effect made him a perſon intereſted, in caſe his Swediſh majeſty ſhould not liſten to an accommodation; for ſhe left the plan of reconciliation partly, if not entirely, to his management. Guſtavus had ſagacity enough to deſire earneſtly to avert this blow, but for prudent reaſons, not caring to ſend a miniſter in form on that errand, gave private inſtructions to one of his generals *, in whom he could confide, who was going by chance into Holſtein to raiſe recruits, to make his court to King Chriſtian, and endeavour to penetrate into his intentions; commanding him to give his Daniſh majeſty, in an indirect way, to underſtand, that by ſpeedily engaging in this proteſtant war, he might ſecure to his children the poſſeſſion of thoſe biſhoprics which the emperor had uſurped by virtue of the peace at Lubec. Chriſtian felt the force of this argument, but at the ſame time could not diſſipate the terrors which the ſevere uſage of the houſe of Auſtria, joined with his own misfortunes in the late war, had infuſed into him. Nevertheleſs, he diſpatched two ſenators to Guſtavus, with inſtructions to aſſure him, That he was deeply penetrated with a juſt ſenſe of this proteſtant enterpriſe; but that the oath he had taken at the *pacification* of Lubec, had unfortunately tied his hands,——That he participated, with Guſtavus, in all his conqueſts; and would never impede their progreſs in any ſhape;—but at the ſame time preſumed, gently, to remind him, that, as the ſucceſs of war is often periodical, even under the direction of the ableſt commander, it would highly become ſo juſt and generous a prince to give a ſolid and glorious peace to Germany: to effect which, he was ready to make a tender of his beſt ſervices, by way of mediator or arbitrator. To this propoſal Guſtavus replied, *That his preſent paſſion and ultimate object was to procure peace to the diſtreſſed and proſcribed proteſtants, which in truth could only be effected by a new and ſtrict union between all the princes and ſtates profeſſing the reformed religion. Our enemies,* obſerved he, *are inſincere; and ſeek only to create advantageous delays. Intercourſes, arbitrations, and negotiations, will produce nothing but remorſe and diſappointment. The houſe of Auſtria muſt be reduced to ſuch a point, as not to be able to interfere a ſecond time.*

* Bauditzen.

If therefore the king your master will labour sincerely to bring about this union among the protestants, and join me in the prosecution of so good a work, whereby each party shall become mutual guaranty for the protection of the whole;——If he will only thus think once with me, I will answer with my life that we impose silence on the house of Austria *.

Christian liked the doctrine, but begged to be excused from putting it in practice: nevertheless, from that day secretly wished prosperity to the arms of Sweden; and dexterously extricated himself by little and little from the snare which the artful Isabella had spread under his feet.

Gustavus having secured the town of Rayne, and dispatched Horn to pursue Tilly, shaped his course directly to Augsburg, making himself master of the town and cloisters of Thierhaupten, and likewise of Friedberg as he passed along. In this march he refused to listen to any proposals of neutrality on the part of the duke of Neuburg, being dissatisfied with that prince's former duplicity. *Sir*, said he to the deputy, *Your master's acts have been contradictory; not contented to deceive me, he has had the disingenuousness to promise much, and perform nothing; whilst, on the contrary, he has allowed passage and free retreat to the enemy's army, supplied them with artillery from his own arsenal, and fired on the trumpeter who approached his capital in amicable form, in order to deliver a letter from me to him. But Providence has now indulged me with the means of prescribing those terms, which formerly I ventured only to recommend. In a word, Sir, you are like your master, and your master is like you: for you are both dissemblers, to say no worse of you* †.

It is not difficult to conceive the astonishment of the duke's deputy, who continued motionless for some time like a person thunderstruck. He at length withdrew, and then recovering his presence of mind, renewed his applications by the interposition of prince Augustus, who was younger brother to his master, and a sort of favourite with Gustavus. The king's answer was very short; *Give the duke of Neuburg to understand, that his future actions must prove the commentary upon his doctrines: and in the meanwhile, by way of a preliminary, let him dispatch to my army two hundred thousand loaves, and three hundred tons of beer* ‡. About this time the Bavarians quitted Neuburg as indefensible, having first removed their artillery, and broken down one arch of the bridge for fear of pursuit; and upon this the Swedish colonel

* Vide *Chemnitz*, tom. i. p. 264, &c.

† Ibid. 258. *Swedish Intelligencer*, part ii. 151, 152.

‡ *Soldat Suedois*, 485, &c.

Land-

Landſperg was ordered to take poſſeſſion of it, repair the bridge, and then defend the city like a man of honour.

Thus, in three days, the king reached from the paſſage of the Lech to the town of Augſburg, coaſting along the Bavarian banks of the river with the main of his army; but conveying his heavy artillery on the Suabian ſide; for it was thought by all intelligent perſons, that the new bridge could not ſupport the weight of horſes, carriages, and ordnance.

The rich and magnificent city of Augſburg lies ten miles to the ſouth-weſt of Donawert. It is ſituated in Suabia, and has two bridges acroſs the Lech. Its famous *confeſſion* will render it illuſtrious throughout all ages of the Chriſtian church; and it is probable the king, in the idea, that *the law firſt proceeded from Sion*, conſidered it as the Jeruſalem of his German Paleſtine; ſparing no pains, and omitting no attempts to make himſelf maſter of this reſpectable ſanctuary; and the rather, as the Auguſtin profeſſion had been totally interdicted therein; the whole body of Lutherans diſarmed; and the proteſtant magiſtrates replaced by freſh ones of the catholic perſuaſion. Colonel Breda at that time commanded the garriſon, which had been increaſed by different reinforcements to the amount of 4500 men. Still there was great reaſon to fear an inſurrection from the numerous proteſtants within the walls.

When the royal army had advanced to Lechauſen, a ſmall town within two miles of Augſburg, the Imperial governor broke down the bridge; but the Swedes erected two others, the former above and the latter below the city. Guſtavus then brought forward his approaches on either ſide of the river, whilſt Torſtenſon gave new proofs of his uncommon ſkill in the management of his artillery. The king, grieved to ſee the havock he intended to make amongſt the fine edifices, diſpatched a letter to the magiſtrates, requeſting them to diſmiſs the garriſon, and preſerve ſo magnificent a city from the deſtruction of a furious cannonade. The anſwer returned him was alike polite and amicable; ſince it was there remarked, that the troops, which poſſeſſed the town, had been obtruded on them, and that if the Swedes had firſt preſented themſelves, they ſhould have been received with preference.—That to bid the Imperialiſts depart, amounted in effect to nothing; of courſe it appeared to them moſt expedient for his majeſty to introduce ſome negotiation with the commander of the garriſon.

Upon this, Horn, as it is ſuppoſed with his maſter's privity, wrote a very friendly letter to Breda the governor; and having

having repreſented the imprudence, and other unavoidable ill conſequences, of an unprofitable reſiſtance, propoſed himſelf as an amicable mediator between his Swediſh majeſty and the garriſon. Breda, foreſeeing no relief, as Tilly was dying, and Aldringer diſabled, at length capitulated. Five hundred of his ſoldiers took ſervice under the king, and the reſt were conveyed to Landſberg. Count Holloch, a Palatine nobleman, was appointed governor, at the head of 3000 cavalry and infantry; and young Oxenſtiern, out of reſpect to his father the *chancellor*, was declared commander of the militia.

In the capitulation, the king gave Breda to underſtand, that at Augſburg no exceptions muſt be propoſed in regard to popery; and then at the requeſt of the inhabitants, who beſought him to honour them with a viſit, made a triumphal entrance, attended by all the princes, generals, and foreign ambaſſadors then in his camp, but eſcorted only by a few choſen troops, in order to prevent confuſion and plunder; ſo that the reſidue of the army was not allowed to paſs the barrier of the city gates.

In this town, the birth-place, if one may ſo ſpeak, of the evangelical religion *, his majeſty thought it incumbent on him to behave with all poſſible humility, ſweetneſs, and moderation; yet, at the ſame time, without injuring or diſcrediting the Roman catholics in any reſpect, reſtored the Auguſtan confeſſion to its original luſtre, which greatly piqued the elector of Saxony, who conſidered himſelf as firſt proteſtant prince in Germany †, and conſigned the whole government of the town into the hands of the Lutherans and the *reformed* ‡. On his entering the city gate, he diſmounted and walked directly to St. Agnes church, where the Lutheran ſervice was performed with great decency; the 103d Pſalm ſung, accompanied by a peal of organs; and Fabricius, the king's own chaplain, delivered a ſermon on the following text, Pſalm xii. verſe 5, 6. *Now for the comfortleſs troubles ſake of the needy, and becauſe of the deep ſighing*

* The *confeſſion* was preſented here to Charles V. in the year 1530, and is commonly called the *Augſburg* or *Auguſtine* confeſſion: to which we may add the *Pacificatorium* concluded here in 1555. The town does not depend in any ſhape upon the biſhop, though he has a palace therein. The reigning differences between the papiſts and proteſtants were greatly harmonized at the peace of Munſter; for by a partition-ſettlement the employs of government were equally divided, as well as the votes in public council; where twenty-two magiſtrates are of the Romiſh perſuaſion, and a like number of the evangelical and reformed.

† *Heylmanni* Leo Arctoüs, 4°. p. 55.

‡ *Hiſtorical* or *Authentic Relation* in Low Dutch, tom. ii. p. 64—68.

of the poor, I will up, ſaith the Lord, and will help every one from him that ſwelleth againſt him, and will ſet him at reſt. From the church, the proceſſion advanced, on horſeback, to a large ſquare called the Wine-market, where he commanded the inhabitants, which was thought to be a very extraordinary ſtep, not only at Vienna and Munich, but at Dreſden, Paris, Copenhagen, Whitehall, and the Hague, to take the oaths* of allegiance and fidelity to the crown of Sweden, without mention of its allies and aſſociates †: confirming afterwards the charter of the citizens to them, without inſerting or expunging any thing. Here, amongſt, the acknowledgments from the magiſtrates and civilities on the part of the king, one of that venerable body took the liberty to tell him, "That the Swediſh troops appeared "to him irreſiſtible." The king, foraſmuch as the compliment ſeemed to carry no immediate connexion with the converſation preceding, requeſted him to explain the reaſons whereon he grounded that opinion: *Is it,* ſaid he, *on account of the number, or the valour, or the good fortune of my ſoldiers?* "No, Sire," replied the magiſtrate, "but," pointing to a company of guards drawn up before the apartment where his majeſty was to dine ‡, "Who could have imagined, that a ſet of men ſo decent and well behaved in times of capitulation, could have been thoſe very perſons, whom we have ſeen ſo reſolute and intrepid in the field of action §?"

During two days reſidence here, an uncommon adventure happened to Gaſſion. A rich citizen with whom he lodged, was ſo much affected with his courteſy and politeneſs, that he made him an offer of a beautiful daughter in marriage with a very conſiderable dowry. His majeſty, midſt all the cares and tumults of war, allowed not ſuch a trifling circumſtance to eſcape his notice, and gave the young Frenchman ſeveral hints, to make him conſent: but Gaſſion was too much of a military enthuſiaſt to embrace the propoſal; and it is probable Guſtavus liked him never the worſe for making a ſacrifice of love to glory; ſince not many days

* *Hiſtoire Politique du Siècle*, 4°. Lond. 1757.

† The expreſs oath is to be ſeen in the *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 158.

‡ In the palace of Fugger. This family, originally of Auſburg, is perhaps the moſt conſiderable that ever was raiſed by merchandize. The emperor, Maximilian I. ennobled it, and made the Fuggers counts, who immediately purchaſed large eſtates between Augſburg and Ulm. Not many years ago, there were fifteen counts of this family, who all poſſeſſed diſtinct ſignories.

§ *Hiſt. du maréchal Gaſſion*, [par Mich. le Pure.] tom. i. p. 63.

afterwards he offered him any command in his own guards, ſaying aloud in German to the officers round him, *That Gaſſion's corps ſhould be ſurnamed the pillow regiment, becauſe when that was near him, he could ſleep in ſecurity* *.

His majeſty having now derived great advantages from the ſubmiſſion of the Augſburgers, performed an action worthy of himſelf on leaving their city; for, conſidering the merit, as well as long ſervices, of old Ruthven, who defended Ulm, the royal magazine, as well as intended place of retreat in caſe of accidents, he gave him a grant of the earldom of Kirchberg, ſuppoſed worth at leaſt eighteen hundred pounds a year, clear of contribution to the ſervice of the war †, and belonged, if I miſtake not, to a count Fugger, who was governor of the town, but acted ſubordinately to Breda, when that officer threw himſelf into it by Tilly's orders, ſome days before the king arrived. The king, retracing the footſteps of his former march, advanced to Aicha ‡, where he was met by duke Albert of Bavaria, ſecond brother of the elector, who begged a neutrality for himſelf, his family, and eſtate, under pretence, that he had never concerned himſelf in the preſent wars. No diſcuſſion was made of the truth of theſe allegations, for the contrary was well underſtood to be true: but the anſwer returned was neither ill applied nor void of ſpirit; namely, *that Louiſa Juliana, the dowager electreſs Palatine, and Elizabeth, then lawful queen of Bohemia, and her children, had not interfered in the affairs of the Palatinate; yet their poſſeſſions had been confiſcated, and they compelled, under the diſgrace of a proſcription, to beg a ſubſiſtence in foreign countries* §. Upon this duke Albert retired to Saltſburg, and joined the electreſs of Bavaria, who had withdrawn herſelf thither.

It was hoped by the Imperialiſts, that Augſburg would hurt the Swediſh troops as much as Capua injured the army of Hannibal; but the king wiſely obviated theſe inconveniences, by ſtaying there only two days, and encamping his ſoldiers without the walls. He had moreover two great enterpriſes to execute, on returning from Augſburg ‖, having his eyes fixed not only upon Ingolſtadt, but on Ratiſbon; both which ſchemes he propoſed to effect by breaking down one of the two bridges acroſs the Danube. Tilly had

* *Hiſt. du maréchal Gaſſion*, [par Mich. le Pure.] tom. i. p. 63.

† *Monro*, Expedition, ii. p. 120.

‡ Some authors and map makers call this place Waho. It muſt not be confounded with Aichſtadt.

§ *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part. ii. p. 159.

‖ *Bracbelii* Hiſt. noſtr. temp. p. 280.

parts enough to foreſee what ſo great a genius in the art of war would attempt to execute, and intreated the elector, almoſt with his dying breath, to ſpare no precautions with reſpect to the preſervation of Ratiſbon and Ingolſtadt *. And thus the king's project, however well conceived, was rendered abortive.

Far from being diſmayed with ſuch diſappointment, his majeſty directed his whole thoughts againſt Ingolſtadt ſingly. This town, then conſidered one of the ſtrongeſt places in the empire, was of courſe eſteemed the principal bulwark of Bavaria, and had formerly, during the reign of Charles V. rendered fruitleſs all the efforts of the Smalcaldic party. It lies half way between Donawert and Ratiſbon, and young Tilly †, whom the old man recommended to be governor, had three large choſen regiments under his command. It was one of thoſe fortifications, which the warriors ſurname *la pucelle*, and maintained that character in reſpect to *ſieges*, for Farenbach only betrayed it afterwards, till the Auſtrians took it by capitulation in the year 1742.

This town belongs to the elector, though it does not ſtand on the Bavarian ſide of the Danube. It was protected on that quarter where the Swedes approached it by two or three winding rivulets, whoſe bridges, by ſome accident had been neglected to be broken down, as likewiſe by a very troubleſome moraſs. One large bridge croſſes the Danube, and another paſſes athwart the town. At the foot of the former, called, if my accounts miſlead me not, the *gallows bridge*, were two outworks, extremely well fortified, and hardly poſſible to be taken by ſtorm; ſo that it is probable the king expected ſome aſſiſtance from a treacherous part of the garriſon, and the rather, as the ſeeds of Farenbach's and Cratz's conſpiracy were then ſuppoſed to be ſown, though at that time nothing diſcovered itſelf to the advantage of the Swedes. Nevertheleſs, the king made his troops approach nearer the walls, on firſt inveſting the town, than in all probability he would have done, if he had not expected ſomething of this kind. What is ſtill more, the elector of Bavaria laid encamped with all his troops on the oppoſite banks of the Danube, ſo that each army could diſcover the other's motions without the help of a glaſs.

* *Bertius* de Bellis German.

† Many hiſtorians, as Le Vaſſor, de Serres, &c. call this young man Tilly's ſon, but that general lived and died unmarried; and it was remarked of him, as well by enemies as friends, that he never indulged in any illicit amour. He was probably his nephew. What became of him after this period, no where appears.

The lines being now finiſhed, and the batteries erected, a ſudden and alarming accident befel the king. As he was riding about on his favourite palfrey to make obſervations, and the ſhortneſs of his eyeſight always carried him too near the danger, a cannon ball well aimed, and weighing at leaſt fourteen pounds, ſtruck the mare full in the flank, ſo near the king's leg, that the fleſh was ruffled, and overturned her more times than one. The ſame ball, in the rapidity of its paſſage, knocked down Gaſſion, who ſtood nearly on a line juſt before his maſter, without touching him. It was the opinion of all the by-ſtanders, that the king was cruſhed with the fury of the ſtroke, for he lay covered in dirt and blood, and rolled over twice or thrice after he received the blow. Gaſſion, half recovering his ſenſes, ran to him, but one of the king's equerries had raiſed him from his trance. *How*, ſaid the king, *was it poſſible for the enemy to hit me? I conceived myſelf to be out of danger.* In an inſtant all his generals crowded round him, and conjured him earneſtly to retire; but he mounted a freſh ſteed, and kept the field.

By this eſcape, his majeſty had the good fortune ſtill to verify his old obſervation, that no king had ever been killed by a cannon ball; yet this deſtiny was reſerved afterwards for one of his ſucceſſors*.

I have read ſomewhere, but cannot at preſent recollect in what author, a different account of this accident; namely, that there was an old culverin in Ingolſtadt of immeaſurable length, which rarely miſſed its object at a great diſtance, and had performed wonders againſt the proteſtants in the Smalcaldic wars. Now it is ſuppoſed by this relator, that the king received his ſtroke from this very piece of ordnance; which might be done eaſier, as he rode a little white† mare, that rendered his perſon more diſtinguiſhable.

In the evening, when he returned to his tent, all his generals, aſſembled in a body, beſought him, in the moſt earneſt terms, to take more care of a life ſo valuable. As he

* Charles XII.

† It is ſurprizing to me that hiſtorians ſhould differ ſo much about the colour of this mare. One ſays ſhe was milk white, another avers her to be dark grey, and a third variegates her with white and black ſpots like a tyger; whereas the ſaid animal was dug up and ſtuffed juſt after the accident, and preſerved in the arſenal of Ingolſtadt, for the edification of all travellers, memoir writers, and hiſtoriographers. For my own part, I never ſaw her; and muſt leave this important doubt in the ſame ſtate that I find it. But be the matter as it will, it was certainly ill judged in the king, to ride a creature of ſo particular a colour.

had

had often received repreſentations upon this ſubject, he returned them an anſwer, which I ſuppoſe to have been in ſome reſpect premeditated; and for that reaſon inſert it, having recited, in the courſe of my hiſtory, ſo many replies which aroſe caſually from the incidents before him. The anſwer was to this effect, *That the cannon ball which had approached him ſo nearly, not to mention various accidents of a ſimilar, though leſs dangerous nature, and thirteen wounds he had received beſides, admoniſhed him plainly of his mortality; and that he had no more title to plead exemption from death, than the meaneſt ſoldier that ſerved under him; ſince neither crowns nor victories could ſecure any human being from this general law of nature. That he had no part to take, except reſigning himſelf to God's providence; and nothing to bequeath his comrades in war, but a firm aſſurance, that the juſtice of the cauſe wherein they were engaged, had other aſſiſtance in ſtore, beſides the precarious exiſtence of* ONE GUSTAVUS*. *Indeed,* added he, *there is a circumſtance, that afflicts me greatly: ſome have given a ſiniſter interpretation to all my actions, and others have attempted to tarniſh my reputation, by baſely inſinuating, that the only objects of his Swediſh majeſty are freſh acquiſitions of wealth and power. But the Supreme Being knows, in that reſpect, the ſincerity of my ſoul; and my hope is, that he will inſpire me with grace to confound the envy and calumny of the public.—The ſums advanced by me, the debts diſcharged by me, my paſt conduct and future intentions, may, in the long run, convince the moſt perverſe and blind, that the only object of my expedition was the re-eſtabliſhment of Germanic liberty* †.

Either Tilly made an inexpreſſible fire from the redoubts next the bridge, or the day gave appearances of proving unlucky; for ſoon after the king's diſaſter, another cannon ball carried off half the head of Chriſtopher, the young margrave of Baden Dourlach, as he was diſcourſing with ſome officers in his tent. The whole body of Swediſh generals was rendered inconſolable by this misfortune, for his courage was of the cleareſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed ſort. His aged father's ‡ anſwer, upon receiving the news a few minutes after the accident happened, has ſomething in it

* *Soldat Suedois*, p. 498. *Merc. Franc.* en l'an 1632, p. 229.

† Hiſt. de Louis XIII. par *le Vaſſor*. Tom. vii. 175, 176.

‡ In 1622, this brave old man fought the battle of Wimpfen, againſt Tilly and Gonſalvo di Cordova, being lieutenant general to the Princes of the union. He then ſerved his Danith majeſty, and being obliged to leave his troops in 1626, made his eſcape in a ſmall boat. Afterwards he lived, with variety of fortune, the life of an exile, having been proſcribed by the emperor.

highly

highly worthy to be remembered; *I am a father*, ſaid he to thoſe who came to condole with him, *but am a Chriſtian likewiſe.—My ſon belonged to God, by a prior right than he belonged to me. Happily, he died like a prince, and like a ſoldier.—Complaints are only to be made about thoſe children who live with infamy, and die like cowards. I have loved nothing, but with a firm reſolution to reſign it up on demand, except it be my conſcience, and my liberty.—As the firſt ſtroke of cannon proved favourable to the only ſupport of the proteſtant cauſe, I have reaſon to digeſt the ill effects of the ſecond, and, upon extended views, rather rejoice than lament, at the concluſion of this extraordinary day* *. When the king conſidered both the old man, and the young man, it is reported, that he ſhed tears on the occaſion †.

At almoſt the ſame inſtant that the prince was killed, the unfortunate Tilly expired in Ingolſtadt: and as the ſon and father, for reaſons needleſs to be recited, hated that general, and were reciprocally hated by him, his majeſty could not help remarking, *how fatal one place and minute had proved to two ſuch inveterate enemies* ‡. The king likewiſe had no perſonal affection to Tilly, diſliking him much on account of the cruelties he exerciſed at Magdeburg, and never truly forgetting, that in one of his applications to him, he had ſtyled him *cavalier* inſtead of king. Yet on this occaſion, juſtice and nature gained the aſcendant over diſguſt and pique; *Alas!* ſaid he, *the* HONOURABLE *old Tilly is now no more* §.

No ſoldier ever died in greater torture. The elector of Bavaria ſate conſtantly by his bedſide, and it is reported, that Tilly ſpoke to him in the following manner: "Your highneſs may remember, that in the middle and advanced ſtages of life, I have had enough of reputation, and glory in abundance. Oh, that inſtead of ſurviving my fame, I had expired in the great day of Leipſic! It had been for your advantage and my honour—Two things I muſt leave on your highneſs's mind, by way of dying advice; never break your alliance with the emperor; and make Cratz commander of your army. That officer has courage to ſerve you, fidelity to content you, and parts to aſſiſt you. He will conduct your troops with reputation, and, as he knows Walſtein, will traverſe his deſigns. Neceſ-

* *Mercure Francois* en l'an 1632, p. 230. *Hiſt. or Auth. Relat.* fol. tom. ii. 67.

† *Heylmanni* Leo Arctoüs, p. 56. ‡ *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 161.

§ *Monro's* Second Expedition, p. 118. *Adelzreiter* Ann. Bav. part iii. p. 257.

ſity

ſity requires you ſhould act the diſſembler, and ſubmit to the extravagancies of that inſolent man: for, except you can allure him to join you with the Imperial army, Guſtavus will enter Bavaria; and when he will relinquiſh it, heaven only knows.—Not being conſcious I have ever uſed your highneſs ill in the command of your armies, I ſhall aſk no forgiveneſs; contented and thankful to die, as you honour me with your attention in my laſt moments, of which very few now remain upon my hands.—Let me beſeech you, therefore, out of pure compaſſion to leave me; and as I have an account to render for human failings, tranſgreſſions, and errors, permit me, after having juſtified myſelf in your opinion, to make my peace with God*." He then kiſſed the hand of the elector, who retired in tears.

Thus died John Tchzerclas, count de Tilly, of whom we have ſpoken ſo much, not only through the courſe of the wars, but in a diſtinct note, that it may ſuffice to obſerve, he had paſſed through every ſtage of military life, from a foot ſoldier to the poſt of generaliſſimo. It is noticed by ſome that he blamed Pappenheim in his laſt moments†; and it is remarked by all writers, that he never indulged himſelf in wine or women. Yet, beyond all contradiction, he was over zealous, or, in other words, too great a bigot, in his own religion: and the cruelties exerciſed at Magdeburg, conſidering the temperate and virtuous life he led, ſeem to me an indelible blot upon his character. So that one is at little loſs to aſſign a motive for *what* no reaſonable being can produce a juſtification! *The court of Walſtein*, as the language then ran, received the news of his death with viſible marks of ſatisfaction. He was born of Walloon parents, and not very nobly deſcended: but created count by the emperor, with the title of *illuſtriſſimo*. He bequeathed the rich diamond ring, which the infanta Iſabella gave him, to the holy Virgin of Oetingen, and left £.10,000. to the veteran bands that had ſerved under him, eſpecially the four regiments of infantry, which had made ſuch great efforts in the wood after the battle of Leipſic was loſt. Thus this illuſtrious chieftain experienced his own prophecy concerning war, which he had uttered formerly at Ratiſbon.

His majeſty employed eight days in beleaguering and attacking Ingolſtadt, which, in reſpect to ſieges, may be conſidered as the ſharpeſt ſervice during the whole courſe of

* *Bertius de bellis Germanicis.* † *Heylmanni Leo Arctoüs*, 4°. p. 54.

the

the thirty years wars. Though wounded in making the firſt diſpoſitions for poſſeſſing two redoubts ſword in hand, yet nothing abated the keenneſs of his valour, notwithſtanding the defendants had the command of reinforcements in abundance; for the elector of Bavaria lay with his army under the town walls on the other ſide of the Danube; ſo that the king was obliged to leave a body of troops all night, for fear of a ſally, which he had reaſon to expect, drawn up in order of battle, within reach not only of the enemies great guns, but of their muſquetry. Never ſoldiers ſupported a cool ſlaughter with more patience, or in better order; though the valiant Monro confeſſes, in the honeſty of his heart, That it was the longeſt night, for an eighteenth of April, that he ever ſaw *; and, what was more diſagreeable, the Swedes thought it mere waſte of powder and ball to fire a gun. Monro loſt twelve men in one company by a ſingle cannon ſhot; and more than three hundred brave fellows were left dead upon the ground, where they had ſtood a few moments before.

Next evening a thouſand *commanded* muſqueteers were ordered to attack the principal of the two redoubts ſword in hand; his majeſty attending the enterpriſe in perſon. The Swedes, having made incredible efforts, cleared the ditch, and entered the half-moon: but as young Tilly wanted no ſupply of hands, for by means of the bridge he could have marched not only the garriſon, but the whole Bavarian army againſt the aſſailants, his majeſty found himſelf obliged, in common prudence, to ſound a retreat. All, perhaps, that could be wanted by him, was to gain the redoubts and deſtroy the bridge, for then the electoral forces had not power to enter their own country; but this, for reaſons aſſigned, appeared to be an undertaking too difficult, as well as too dangerous. Therefore, all on a ſudden he raiſed the ſiege, for which great ſtroke of ſelf-denial, the continuator of Foreſti applauds him with rapture; leaving Banier to conduct the rear of his army, which repulſed the purſuing garriſon with great coolneſs and judgment. Nothing now remained for the inhabitants, but to dig up the king's palfrey, which had been concealed in the earth near his tent; and having carefully ſtuffed, depoſited it in their arſenal. Upon the whole, the citizens of Ingolſtadt were more polite to a four-footed beaſt, than the people of Breda were to the *boat*, by which their town was ſurprized; for the latter having dragged it round the ſtreets, and

* *Expedit.* ii. p. 120.

ſcourged

ſcourged it ſeverely, hung it up in their ſtadthouſe as a public trophy.

It was during this ſiege, which I could not obſerve without breaking in upon my narrative, that the elector of Bavaria made a freſh attempt towards a reconciliation, greatly alarmed with the apprehenſions of loſing Ingolſtadt, and fearing to draw the war into the bowels of his own country. This artful prince had *three* views in the preſent negotiation. He wanted to create delays; ſeize ſome fortunate incident, which might caſually preſent itſelf; or ſow the ſeeds of miſunderſtanding between the kings of France and Sweden; but Guſtavus pierced through the thin veil of artifice at a ſingle glance. Under the influence however of Munich-politics, St. Etienne made a viſit to the royal camp; where the king, for certain reaſons, choſe to receive his propoſals in the preſence of his Bohemian majeſty, and ſeveral princes and generals. There the French miniſter told him, with an air of confidence,—That the elector, who had the ſtrongeſt inclination imaginable towards a peace, had diſapproved of Tilly's enterpriſe with reſpect to Bamberg, and employed himſelf that very inſtant in deviſing expedients, whereby to pave the way for the king's admiſſion into Bavaria:—but Guſtavus interrupted him point-blank in this preamble, and, told him, *totidem verbis, That he was not a perſon to be amuſed and miſled by mere ſounds. Sir,* ſaid he, *the king your maſter may have excellent intentions; and if ſo, they bear no conformity to the language you make uſe of. But as to the elector of Bavaria, he ſeeks only to create delays and interruptions; he is a ſort of prince, who keeps in his wardrobe a ſet of upper garments of various hues; and changes them according to his intereſts; wearing black one day, white a ſecond day, and mixed colours a third;—but always concealing the Burgundian croſs next his heart. If it be his ſincere deſire to be well received in our court, let him produce himſelf in one form without change; let him open the gates of Ingolſtadt, diſband his army, refund his extortions, reſtore the Palatinate, reform what is paſt, and give good ſecurity for all which is to come* *.

St. Etienne ſtood aſtoniſhed, to find the king as clear-ſighted and determined in the cabinet as in the field of action; and whilſt he ranſacked his brain to deviſe ſome anſwer, either ſolid or plauſible, Guſtavus reſumed the diſcourſe, adding, *That he had intercepted a letter, of very recent date, wherein the emperor had promiſed to ſend Walſtein into Bavaria at the head of* 50,000, *men. With all my heart,* continued he; *the*

* *Soldat Suedois,* p. 503. *Hiſt. or Auth. Relat.* tom. ii. 66.

elector

elector will have ſignal opportunities to ſhew his hoſpitality, and abundance of gueſts to entertain, friends as well as enemies, who want not for good appetites, and quick digeſtion. For my own part, I intend to prove an expenſive viſitant *.

As the French negotiator had erred before in point of decorum, he now made a ſecond falſe ſtep through pure inadvertency; for he obliquely inſinuated, That his moſt Chriſtian majeſty had a formidable army not far removed from the empire, and might, in all probability, greatly diſreliſh the rejection of propoſals from the duke of Bavaria. This was touching the king's temper in the only vulnerable part: his eyes aſſumed a fierceneſs in an inſtant, and he accoſted St. Etienne, as one who did not merit to be conſidered as a private gentleman: *Say no more*, continued he, *I pardon* thy *ignorance*: thou *knoweſt neither thy maſter nor me. When* thou *makeſt ſuch advances, bring me an authority ſigned by the king's own hand*; *and when* thou *acteſt for an unfortunate prince, like the elector of Bavaria, behave* thyſelf *with humility. The* familiar *freedoms of* thy *nation are ſometimes* overlooked, *and ſometimes* deſpiſed; *but in the preſent caſe, they are* INSUPPORTABLE. *Know, that I am* OFFENDED *and* VICTORIOUS †.

By this time the elector of Bavaria had made an irruption into the Upper Palatinate, in order to cauſe a diverſion in favour of his own dominions, and impede the enemy from marching on, directly, to Munich. Guſtavus well conſidered this movement, and entered the heart of Bavaria notwithſtanding; foreſeeing wiſely, that if he followed the duke, who ſhaped his courſe towards Bohemia, Walſtein and he might then be obliged to unite their forces by expreſs injunctions from the Court of Vienna, and that the two combined armies might overpower him by dint of numbers. He therefore adhered inflexibly to his firſt idea, knowing that he ſhould thereby force the elector back; and foreſeeing too that Walſtein, from a principle of private animoſity, would not digreſs to a point ſo far removed from him, as the capital of the electorate.

Leaving Ingolſtadt, therefore, he marched to Gyſenfelt, where the whole army paid the honours of ſepulture to the young margrave, making two diſcharges of all their muſquetry and artillery. Next day he conducted his troops to Moſberg, a long ſtretch of twenty miles; and thence detached Horn and Hepburn, at the head of 8000 horſe and foot, to beſiege Landſhut, a ſmall beautiful town, ſituated on

* *Le Vaſſor*, tom. vii. p. 169. † *Ibid.*

the

the conflux of the Iſer and Ampter, and uſually ſtyled the *pupil* of Bavaria's eye. When theſe officers arrived, their proſpect of ſucceſs appeared unpromiſing; for 1300 Bavarian dragoons threw themſelves unexpectedly into the place, having made a march that day of ſix and thirty miles; but when they beheld a large column of Swediſh infantry advance, they changed countenance, croſſed the Iſer, and broke down the bridge. Next morning, Horn ſent a meſſenger into the town, firſt by way of ſpy, and ſecondly, with the power of performing the part of a negotiator with the inhabitants; but the fellow found all the houſes locked and barricadoed, nor could he procure the ſight of any human being, even through a caſement. Upon this, Horn commanded all his troops to advance, and raiſed a ſharp contribution of £. 15,000. by his maſter's orders; for this place had undertaken to levy and maintain ſix troops of horſe at its own expence during the whole courſe of the wars. Hence it was, that the ſum demanded was paid with cheerfulneſs, and a reconciling fee of £. 300. * was advanced gratuitouſly to the general.

Next morning his majeſty arrived. When the citizens preſented him the town keys upon their knees, he ſaid to them, *Riſe, it is your duty to worſhip God, and not me* †. He then made a viſit to the palace, or as ſome call it, the caſtle, which he ſurveyed with great pleaſure and attention, as it had been conſidered, at leaſt by the Germans, in the light of a maſterpiece in Italian architecture. Being ſuddenly ſeized with a ſort of fainting fit, he was obliged to repoſe himſelf on a bench in the ſtreets for ſome time. He then mounted his horſe in order to leave the town; but on his arrival at the Jewiſh-gate, found himſelf obliged to take ſhelter there; for a tempeſt of thunder and lightning aroſe, which, for violence cannot well be deſcribed. That being over, he ſaid to Horn, *Go back, and free the inhabitants from their incertitude* ‡; for as yet he had given them no aſſurances of pardon.

His majeſty then returned to Moſberg, and advancing thence to Freyſingen, laid the city and dioceſe under contribution, haſtening onwards with great diſpatch to Munich, upon receiving intelligence, which proved not afterwards true, that Walſtein began to move towards the Upper Palatinate; and chooſing therefore to ſecure the capital of

* One account ſays 3000l. but the additional cypher appears to me a typographical error.

† *Heylmanni* Leo Arctoüs, 4°. p. 58. ‡ *Ibid.* 58, 59.

Bavaria

Bavaria before any other notable diverſion could be effected elſewhere. Here St. Etienne again interfered, and requeſted leave to negotiate a good capitulation with the inhabitants of Munich, but waſted ſo much time in frivolous propoſals and delays, that the king ſuſpected him and marched on. Alarmed a little at ſuch compendious and vigorous proceedings, St. Etienne intreated his majeſty to ſtifle the reſentments of himſelf and army, and not lay the town in ruins: to which was anſwered with an air of frankneſs, *That if the magiſtracy ſubmitted readily and with a good grace, care ſhould be taken, that no man ſhould ſuffer with reſpect to life, liberty, or religion.* The French miniſter ſoon conveyed this intelligence to the inhabitants, who, correſpondently to his majeſty's gracious propoſition, paid their court to him on the road; but in imitation of their maſter, endeavoured to amuſe him with long and artful preliminaries, which had the fate to be rejected almoſt as ſoon as propoſed. At length it was agreed to make him an offer of £.36,000. by way of exempting the town from plunder: but the king inſiſted upon receiving one third more; in which demand it was thought prudent to acquieſce. He next day entered the town at the head of three regiments only, accompanied by the king of Bohemia and ſeveral other great perſonages. The two kings took up their reſidence in the electoral palace. The garriſon received very generous uſage; for though the Swediſh horſe occupied all the paſſes throughout the country, yet it was allowed to retire in ſafety, without the ceremony of a capitulation.

Munich is a large and beautiful city, ſurrounded with vaſt plains, extremely fertile, and as finely watered as any in Europe. Maximilian, the then elector, had erected there a magnificent palace, adorned with pictures, painted by the greateſt Flemiſh and Italian maſters. Guſtavus did not remove a ſingle piece, which is more than can be ſaid of ſome ſucceeding conquerors. Charles I. of England, as we obſerved before, had an inclination to perform, what a great general practiſed afterwards*; but the ſtrictneſs of Guſtavus's morals, in conjunction with the nobleneſs of his temper, would not allow ſuch ſort of plunder, though ſanctified with the excuſes of *con guſto et con l'amore*. There was indeed a chimney-piece of rich marble, which ſtruck the king's fancy; inſomuch, that he declared, between *jeſt* and *earneſt*, that he had a ſort of inclination to tranſport it to Stockholm. It did not, however, anſwer my expectations, when I had

* *Geographie Univerſelle*, tom. v. 192.

an

had an opportunity to examine it, which made me conclude, that our hero's excellence conſiſted more in *military* than *civil* architecture. He was likewiſe greatly pleaſed with the good taſte and modeſty of the monument erected to the memory of William V. which, inſtead of being decorated with plump weeping angels, ſcythes, hour-glaſſes, ſhanks, and ſkulls, conſiſted only of a well-proportioned tomb, ſurmounted with a crucifix.

As to plate, jewels, and other valuable moveables, the Swedes found none in the palace; every thing portable and precious, paintings excepted, being removed to Saltzburg; to which city the elector and electreſs had retired with duke Albert their brother. Thus the *family*, that had diſturbed the peace of Germany for twelve years, proſcribed the perſons, or confiſcated the poſſeſſions, of half the proteſtant princes, and made almoſt every village the ſeat of devaſtation, at the expence of the lives of more than a million of people, was now obliged to leave its own abode, and labouring under a neceſſity, almoſt as diſagreeable as lying beneath the ban of the empire, compelled to ſeek food and refuge in another prince's territories like wanderers and exiles.

When Guſtavus entered the town, many of his principal officers perſuaded him to plunder this palace, as it belonged to the grand fomentor of all diſturbances, and commit it to the flames. His anſwer was, *My good friends, let us not imitate our anceſtors of confuſion, the Goths and Vandals, who, by deſtroying every thing that belonged to the fine arts, have delivered down to poſterity their barbarity and want of taſte, as a ſort of proverb and bye-word of contempt.** Whatever ſome authors may aſſert to the contrary, it appears, from the leaſt diſputable authorities, that the elector Palatine diſcovered a very manly and Chriſtian ſpirit; for though his Bavarian kinſman had plundered and depopulated all his dominions, ſtormed Heidelberg, ranſacked the palace, and tranſported the famous library to Rome; he diſcovered no joy upon contemplating this reverſe of fortune, nor touched a ſingle cabinet, bronze, or picture; and at dinner Guſtavus told him, with a view undoubtedly to his future re-eſtabliſhment, *that he might ſoon expect to eat at Heidelberg, as he could now make a repaſt at Munich.*

As the king entered this city without bloodſhed, he made a preſent of about five ſhillings Engliſh to all the ſoldiers then in his army; and as the inhabitants received him with

* *Le Vaſſor*; Hiſt. de Louis XIII. tom. vii. p. 177.

a cheerful countenance, forgave them that *third* part of the contribution which he had lately demanded. No civilities were ſpared by him of the ingratiating kind: he ſhook one man by the hand, called a ſecond by his name, and ordered a third to put on his hat; and with a view to familiarize himſelf to the eyeſight of the populace, it was his cuſtom to marſhal his ſoldiers every morning with the aſſiduity of a ſimple colonel; nor was it unuſual with him to diſmount various times in one review, take a muſquet from the hands of the loweſt probationer, and teach him the ſeveral poſtures and motions. Here he ſhewed the Bavarians, by way of unuſual ſpectacle, the art of firing in *platoons*, which we have obſerved elſewhere to be his own invention, as alſo another method he had of giving fire upon a new principle in *ambuſcades*.

On the feſtival of Holy-Thurſday, his majeſty ordered, for the firſt time at Munich, the proteſtant ſervice to be performed in the caſtle, as likewiſe a ſermon to be preached on account of his late proſperous enterpriſe, and made choice of the ſinging Pſalms *himſelf*. In the afternoon he went to ſee the popiſh manner of celebrating the aſcenſion. Thence, attended by two companions, he paid a viſit to the Jeſuits college, where the rector pronounced a very magnificent piece of oratory, to which the king replied extempore, in a manner leſs turgid, and more laconic; and as he had been witneſs, that day, to the celebration of maſs, took occaſion therefrom to enter into a ſyllogiſtical diſcuſſion of tranſubſtantiation and communion *ſub unâ*; which diſpute, ſay ſome, concluded with more good manners than real utility.

Others again maintain, that he took Gaſſion, and another officer with him, purely to entertain the major part of the Jeſuits in diſcourſe, and made a digreſſion from the theological parts of the converſation, till at length the reverend fathers gave him ſome intimations *with reference to the train of artillery* which the elector had cauſed to be concealed. On neither point is it in my power to pronounce with certainty. All we know is, he behaved with great friendſhip to the Romiſh eccleſiaſtics in general, and, amongſt others, treated the Capuchins with viſible marks of diſtinction: which was ſuppoſed to be done out of compliment to father Joſeph, who kept a private correſpondence with him and the other proteſtant princes. It is moreover thoroughly well known, that he *allowed* maſs to be publicly celebrated during his whole reſidence in this city; and when a zealous Capuchin exhorted him to embrace the religion of Rome, he heard

him

him with patience, and by his countenance appeared to be in no degree offended, making allowances for the probable goodneſs of his intentions. He then diſtributed money to the populace, and ordered alms to be given to the ſick and indigent. Yet all this humanity, intermixed with politeneſs, could not ſecure to him what he greatly wiſhed to poſſeſs; namely, ſome ſecreted manuſcripts that had been unjuſtly taken from the library at Heidelberg.

Now it was that the Daniſh ambaſſador, whom we have lately mentioned, made a ſecond offer of his maſter's ſervices, in the character of a mediator, between Guſtavus and the emperor: but the former ſaw through the artifice, having reaſon to doubt his northern neighbour's ſincerity, and obſerving, at the firſt glance, that ſuch a propoſal ſerved only to gain time, roundly told him, that he could take no ſtep of ſuch extraordinary conſequence, without conſulting and procuring the aſſent of thoſe powers who had called him from the depths of the north into Germany.

St. Etienne took this opportunity to renew his ſolicitations in behalf of Bavaria; but the king continued immoveable upon that ſubject, and gave him no anſwers but what conſiſted of ſharp invectives, conceived in general and indiſtinct terms.

It was matter of ſurprize with his majeſty to find the arſenal of Munich entirely diſmantled of cannon, which, ſome months before, it was well known to be the beſt ſupplied of any in Germany. It is true he found the carriages, but the artillery was all diſmounted. At length, having received ſome private intelligence concerning the matter, he ſet himſelf, the next day, according to his own phraſe, to *unbury the dead*; and breaking up the pavement, where no marks of concealment were viſible, diſcovered in large vaults beneath, one hundred and forty pieces of field and battering ordnance, twelve of which were very fine ones, of uncommon ſhape and workmanſhip, which the elector uſed to ſtyle, if the profaneneſs of the expreſſion may be pardoned, the *twelve apoſtles*. Three other pieces were found, ſo very large, that it was not poſſible to remove them to any conſiderable diſtance; and on many of them were to be ſeen the arms of Brunſwick, Denmark, and the Palatinate; and in the undermoſt of them all, ſurnamed *die ſau* *, was diſcovered a cartridge more powerful in war than can-

* In Engliſh, the female wild ſwine, an emblem of fury. The torrent of that ravaging river the *Savus* ſignifies *die ſau*, and is ſo called by the natives.

nons themſelves, for it contained 15,000 Hungarian ducats. Abundance of regimentals, were likewiſe found; wherewith the king cloathed a conſiderable part of his army. He now made a ſhort excurſion from Munich, in order to chaſtiſe the Bavarian peaſants, who had maſſacred his ſoldiers, and mangled and tortured them in the moſt cruel manner. It muſt not be diſſembled that the licentiouſneſs of the Swedes had adminiſtered no ſmall provocation, much to their maſter's diſpleaſure; for the beſt diſciplined troops are apt to grow inſolent and barbarous, when it is their fortune to overrun a rich country, without oppoſition.

Whilſt the king was employed in checking the inſurrection of the peaſants, Cratz, in his abſence, attacked Munich without ſucceſs *. He then made a detachment of 2000 infantry and Cronenberg's regiment of horſe, and rendered himſelf maſter of Weiſſemburg, were, through ſome miſapprehenſion, ſuppoſed to be intentional, the articles of capitulation were violated by the Bavarians, and 800 Swediſh infantry, and 200 horſe put to the ſword. The king wrote a ſharp letter, to the elector, on the conduct of his general, threatening retaliation at Munich; but it was only a threat, for he never performed it; and demanded Cratz in perſon to be delivered up to his juſtice.

Fluſhed with this ſlight ſucceſs at Weiſſemburg, the elector of Bavaria returned from Saltzburg to Ratiſbon †, and prevailed on the magiſtrates, as well as Salis the governor, to admit ſome companies of infantry by way of garriſon, who, under pretence of being reviewed, marched out of town on Sunday morning during the time of divine ſervice, diſcharging a certain number of muſquet-ſhots as a ſort of ſignal.

* *Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation*, in Low Dutch, tom. ii. p. 72.

† A moſt agreeable city, with a magnificent bridge acroſs the Danube, which in the Gothic taſte may be pronounced to be an extremely fine one. The diet of the empire has been uſually held here, having received no interruption from 1662 to 1742: when Charles VII. being choſen emperor, and making war againſt the houſe of Auſtria, convened the diet, at Francfort upon the Maine, which, on the election of Francis I. was referred to Ratiſbon.

Few places can be more inſtructive to a traveller, who goes abroad to improve his mind, rather than his eyes or ears. There he may have acceſs to men of underſtanding, deputed not only from every ſtate and principality in Germany, but from courts of great conſequence beyond the limits of the empire: and thus within a circle of inconſiderable circumference he may learn from the beſt inſtructors the maxims, policy, forms of government, military force, commerce, &c. of various nations, eſpecially the northern.

Upon

Upon this Cratz *, who was a ſort of generaliſſimo in Tilly's room, and who was concealed hard by, ruſhed into the city at

* John Philip, count de Scharpfenſtein. I cannot paſs by this ſtrange phenomenon of a warrior without ſubjoining a note, whoſe hiſtory extends beyond the death of the king of Sweden: and indeed Cratz's life was a ſeries of bravery, misfortune, and ill-management. He was an officer of long ſervice, and gave the favourable turn to the battle of Prague in 1620, [*Ephemeris Expedit. in Bohem.* p. 99.] for which reaſon he was created a count by the emperor. It was his maxim never to quit the field of action; and thus it was his unhappineſs to be taken priſoner at the battle of Leipſic. It was not in the elector of Bavaria's power to make him generaliſſimo over the *army of the league*, conformably to Tilly's dying advice; for upon that promotion Walſtein threatened to abandon him to the reſentments of the Swedes without remorſe. Upon this Cratz retired, but his maſter conjured him to return; made him governor of Ingoldſtadt; and promiſed him the poſt of captain general in three months. Walſtein and he had quarrelled, originally, many years before this period, about a lady. When Cratz came back to his duty, he gave the former a piece of intelligence relating to the enemy, formed upon his own ocular obſervation. Walſtein called an aid de camp, and bid him mount on horſeback, and ſee if the circumſtances were truly related; upon which Cratz challanged him without ceremony, and told him he would make his ſword ſpeak plainer than his tongue.

The duke de Weimar, or, as ſome ſay Guſtavus Horn *, thought this a ſufficient reaſon to tempt the Bavarian commander into the Swediſh ſervice, and upon an exchange of priſoners ſent an officer of parts to try his virtue, diſguiſed in the habit of a trumpeter. This negotiator ſoon found an opportunity of looking, as if he had ſomething to impart in private. Cratz complied, and having heard his propoſal unconcernedly, aſked him with a ſmile, *if the duke would make him biſhop of Aichſtadt?* Nothing more paſſed, the officer took the inuendo, and retired.

Some days afterwards, having waited a little for fear of ſuſpicion, the ſame perſon returned in the ſame dreſs, making Cratz an offer of the poſt of camp-maſter-general in the Swediſh army. In return Cratz agreed to give duke Bernard an opportunity, by night, of ſeizing Ingoldſtadt, the key of admiſſion into Bavaria, for Guſtavus's ſucceſſors had not the vanity of aſpiring to croſs the Lech a ſecond time, and to this purpoſe diſpatched the better part of his garriſon on ſome chimerical errand, giving out likewiſe, that a body of Aldringer's men had orders to replace theſe ſoldiers at Ingoldſtadt; for the Swedes were to come at midnight, and perſonate this little army. But as ſtratagems and diſappointments are not uncommon in the military profeſſion, duke Bernard and his detachment miſſed their way, and arrived under the walls a few minutes after day-break. Cratz boldly pronounced this body of troops to be Aldsinger's regiments, and ordered the town-gates to be opened; but an officer diſcovered the Swediſh colours, which the troops had brought with them, propoſing to enter Ingoldſtadt in the night, and perceiving a trumpeter in the firſt rank, whom Cratz had diſpatched that night to Aldringer upon other buſineſs, and whom the Swedes had taken priſoner, and made uſe of as a guide, he immediately comprehended ſomething, and gave the alarm of treachery. Upon this the Swedes returned thoroughly diſappointed, and the governor apprehended it was high time to ſhift the ſcene. Walſtein ſoon diſcovered this perfidy,

* *Galeazzo Gualdo.*

at the head of 2000 foot, and 500 cavalry; and, what was ſtill more imprudent, allowed his ſoldiers to commit moſt outrageous

and diſpatched a courier to advertiſe the elector to arreſt Cratz, and ordered Aldringer likewiſe to ſeize him, if by chance he paſſed through Ratiſbon. Cratz, who told the officers of his garriſon he was going to Vienna in order to lay his commiſſion at the emperor's feet, reached Ratiſbon juſt before the ſecond mentioned expreſs arrived, and had paid a viſit to Aldringer, if an officer had not informed him, that that general had devoted the evening to a banquet of feſtivity, and for certain reaſons would be better pleaſed not to be interrupted. At that inſtant Cratz's ſteward informed him, by letter, that five companies of infantry had taken up their quarters upon his eſtate, which tempted him to mount his horſe immediately, in order to diſpoſſeſs them; but an expreſs from a friend at Ratiſbon overtook him on the road, and told him Aldringer had ſeized his equipage and baggage, and diſpatched fifty cavaliers to bring him back dead or alive. Uncertain what to do, he puſhed on for Poland, through the northern parts of Bohemia, thoſe parts being leſs crowded with Walſtein's ſoldiers. In the proſecution of this journey he met an Imperial commander, and they both knew each other very well, returning from making enquiries after him by Walſtein's orders. The officer applied immediately to a Poliſh noblemen to lend him ſome vaſſals in order to purſue and take the offender; but the Polander told him, It did not become *a prince like himſelf* to act the part of a ſbirro or a conſtable. Cratz then reached Cracow, but to his great mortification the king was abſent. He then ſent an explanation of his conduct to Vienna, and made propoſals of reconcilement; but Walſtein was all-powerful in the cabinet there, and no anſwer was vouchſafed him. After many wanderings from place to place, he at length found his way to the Swediſh army, and conformed to the Lutheran religion; joining duke Bernard the night before the fatal battle of Nordlingen; which gave that prince ſo much joy, that he embraced him, and thanked him in the preſence of all his officers. Nevertheleſs, he joined with Horn in the council of war, and pronounced the diſpoſitions of the enſuing day to be raſh and hazardous.

In that tranſaction he repelled the Imperialiſts in their very firſt fortunate impreſſion, and killed Aldobrandini, grand prior of Malta, with his own hand, and to his infinite regret; for he was the neareſt and deareſt to him of all his friends; but in the hurry of the action he did not recollect him. Duke Bernard ſtaid on the field as long as he could, without incurring the ſuſpicion of being thought a madman, and at length conſented, with tears in his eyes, to a retreat; and as Cratz had fought all day with 1600 Swedes againſt 4000 Imperialiſts, he implored him by an aid de camp to conſult his ſafety, and retire immediately. His anſwer was, that he would ſecure the retreat of the army, and have the honour to follow him by and by. There he fought on till not a ſingle ſoldier was left at his elbow, and mixing with the enemy's troops, walked up and down the field, being unhorſed long before, with his ſword and piſtols in his hand, intermixing with a few inferior officers and ſoldiers, their language and his being the ſame. At length he was left almoſt alone, and one Fontana, a Croatian captain, contemplating him for ſome moments, for he was a fine figure, and a perſon unknown to him, whiſpered him in the ear, with an oath, that he would make an excellent priſoner. This man had certain reaſons to ſuſpect ſomething; for whilſt all the troops a few minutes before had expreſſed a tranſport of joy for the victory, Cratz appeared remarkably grave and thoughtful. Cratz, who ſuppoſed Fontana by his air to be a French officer, told

outrageous diſorders. The elector then joined the garriſon with all his forces, and gave directions for new fortifications in various parts. As Ratiſbon has always been conſidered in the Germanic ſyſtem a ſort of ſacred *Peculiar*, many people looked upon this enterpriſe as a very bold and hazardous one. The court of Vienna was ſtartled at it, and the magiſtracy preferred a complaint, of the violation of ſyſtematical rights, to the emperor, who, as he feared to irritate the elector at this juncture, requeſted him, by means of the moſt lively repreſentations, to behave himſelf with great caution and lenity upon the occaſion.

During this interval, Oſſa, the Imperial commiſſary, newly created general, who had the ſuperintendency of affairs in Alſatia, Tyrol, and the circle of Suabia, beſieged Biberach with an army of 7000 men, compoſed out of the archduke's old corps, the Lorrain troops, and thoſe that had ſerved againſt Mantua. His majeſty ſoon determined to raiſe the ſiege, and diſpatching 8000 men to that effect, overtook them, himſelf, near the river Iſer, having thrown a bridge over it, and appointed, before his departure, the valiant Hepburn to be governor of Munich. Oſſa, on the king's approach, retired to Lindau and the lake of Conſtance. He loſt many troops before the town; and, to his particular mortification,

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him inſtantly, in that language, he would give him 5000l. to contrive his eſcape, and a colonel's commiſſion in the enemy's army. The Croatian took him at his word, and demanded his piſtols and ſword by way of military ſubmiſſion. Cratz delivered the former, but inſiſted that a gentleman ſhould never reſign his ſword; which punctilio of delicacy in all probability coſt him his head. For as they moved along, in order to recover the rear of the Swediſh army, a thought ſtruck Fontana, that his own colonel had been killed by a priſoner, who had promiſed him a large recompence. Upon this he ſhaped his way to the Imperial camp, and meeting a flying party of Swedes, who knew their general, and made an attempt to reſcue him, he cried out aloud for help, and a ſquadron of Lorrainers who recollected Cratz at firſt ſight, flew to his aſſiſtance. His friends thought fit to deſert him upon this freſh onſet, and thus he became an eaſy priſoner: for the horſe Fontana had given him was ſo fatigued that it could hardly move.

Being carried to the duke of Lorrain's tent, that prince told him peeviſhly and haſtily enough, that he would teach ſuch commanders as him how to traduce a duke of Lorrain to the French king. To which Cratz anſwered, That his highneſs laboured under ſome miſtake; for ſince he did not own the accuſation, it was plain he had not deſerved it, it being his cuſtom to ſay more to men's faces than in their abſence.

The king of Hungary had the curioſity to make him a viſit incognito, and ordered his ſword, which the duke of Lorrain had taken from him, to be reſtored. Bernard of Saxe Weimar offered the payment of any ſum to diſcharge his ranſom, or propoſed to exchange the biſhop of Wurtzburg againſt him, a prelate and prince of far greater conſequence than the priſoner. But the court of Vienna, or rather Walſtein, continued inflexible, and brought him to death, as he juſtly merited, on a public ſcaffold.

was repulſed chiefly by the women, who not only exhorted their huſbands to behave courageouſly, but carried ammunition from place to place, and threw down fragments of ſtone from the walls on the aſſailants.

By this time the reſentments of Walſtein, who had rank before the elector of Bavaria in the military commiſſion, began to exaſperate, as well as endanger affairs overmuch; for the court of Vienna did not care to ſee that prince humbled to the duſt, and yet dreaded the conſequences of an irruption from Guſtavus in the central parts of the hereditary dominions. At length the generaliſſimo, who affected to be without a maſter and above direction, found himſelf obliged, through common decency, though with infinite reluctance, to take the field in the beginning of April, and leaving the elector and Tilly, which latter was then living, to become a prey to the conqueror, employed himſelf upon more eaſy operations againſt the Saxons; namely, the reduction of Bohemia. The elector of Saxony, flushed with the ſucceſs gained at the battle of Leipſic, had on foot a fine army with reſpect to numbers, and external ſhow: but that prince was both indolent and inſincere; and Arnheim was always prepared to negotiate with Walſtein, upon condition he could diſtreſs the Swedes, whom he hated;——extract ſome advantage for his maſter, and, above all, make a good ſeparate bargain for himſelf;——So that never was a conqueſt deſerted with more baſeneſs, and leſs regard to appearances than that of Bohemia was. Nevertheleſs, Walſtein, who was an adept in artifice and diſſimulation, felt the elector's pulſe firſt, by way of negotiating, and made him conſiderable offers: yet they were not great enough to counterbalance the danger of quitting Guſtavus; and perhaps the Saxon miniſters, who were no way deficient in point of cunning, concluded likewiſe, that the emperor had not power enough at that time to make good his promiſes. Suppoſing both, or either to be the caſe, Walſtein in part carried the point he aimed at, which was to render the Saxons *ſuſpected* by the Swedes. Some hiſtorians aſſign other reaſons, which appear to me not quite demonſtrative; as that Walſtein made theſe advances out of gratitude, becauſe the elector had ſpared his fine palace at Prague, and moreover had been alarmed a little by Battiſta Seni, his aſtrologer, who predicted in that month the culmination of a planet very unpropitious and adverſe to his fortunes. Without entering into theſe matters, the treaty, at that time, vaniſhed into nothing, though colonel Spar, by Walſtein's orders, had gained over moſt of the Saxon officers by propoſing ſuch rewards as always came

from Walſtein; who, little diſmayed with this diſappointment, repaired to Pilſen, and reviewed his army. He had, by his bounty and dexterity, collected together all the diſbanded veteran troops, that had ever ſerved under the Imperial enſigns, and took care to draw to himſelf each commander of note, who had declined the ſervice out of ill humour againſt the court of Vienna, or from attachment or perſonal friendſhip to himſelf. Neither did he omit to ſolicit any officer of note, of which ſort there were then many, whoſe ſwords and conſciences were always ready for ſale. Though he puniſhed with more than Roman rigour, yet he rewarded with more than Roman profuſion; and for this reaſon, men who knew they had military merit, delighted to ſerve under him. Nor was the court of Vienna idle in her co-operations. Orders were given to ſupply the army with every neceſſary that could be imagined. The provinces were all requeſted to make generous contributions, and upwards of £. 30,000. were ſent to Aldringer to ſet in motion the troops which he commanded in Suabia. At the ſame time a conſiderable reinforcement was expected from Poland, as the diet had been convened at Warſaw the month before, and as the emperor had formerly ſent 10,000 men, under Arnheim, to the aſſiſtance of the Poles, in conſequence of a treaty of alliance concluded in 1621: but Sigiſmond, who died ſoon afterwards, had an inſurmountable averſion to engage himſelf in any farther military conteſts with Guſtavus, and pleaded, by way of excuſe, the intractable nature of his form of government, and the apprehenſions he had of new diſturbances from the ſide of Tartary and Moſcovy. It is true this prince loved the houſe of Auſtria cordially and unfeignedly, but the States maintained a ſort of underſtanding with Guſtavus. To content the king for their undutifulneſs they made a very decent proviſion for a couple of his ſons, at the expence of two conſiderable biſhoprics.

At Pilſen, Walſtein received a deputation from the ſenate of Nurenberg. The gentlemen, who compoſed it, repreſented to him, that the honours and civilities paid the king of Sweden were things of indiſpenſable neceſſity at that time, and in that conjuncture of affairs. Walſtein knew their errand before they ſpoke, and, with an air of politeneſs and indifference, put their memorial into his pocket without reading it. Nevertheleſs, he entertained them ſplendidly, and ordered an eſcort of troops to conduct them home.

He then, at the head of 40,000 men, inveſted Prague, which was defended by 2000 regular Saxons, and about 5000 militia. The garriſon made good ſhew of reſiſtance, at firſt, and

and after a conſiderable breach was opened, repulſed the enemy in two ſeveral attacks, which enraged Walſtein to ſuch a degree, that, having commanded his infantry to make a third attempt, he ordered two regiments of horſe to puſh them on with drawn ſwords, and by theſe means compelled them to mount the breach.

Thus was Leſſer Prague taken. The garriſon retired to the caſtle, where they and the reſt of the Saxon troops agreed to ſurrender at the expence of their artillery, ammunition, and colours, reſerving nothing except their ſwords, and ſeventy baggage waggons, which were granted them. Upon this the emperor ſent Walſtein a patent creating him duke of Great Glogau in Sileſia.

About this time it was that the elector of Bavaria, who found himſelf on the brink of a precipice, determined to make a bold adventure, once for all, freely and openly, without reſerving to himſelf the poſſibility of playing an after game either with France or with Guſtavus. Of courſe he conſigned his life and fortunes to the emperor's protection, hoping perhaps by ſuch an implicit act of generoſity to procure compaſſion; and publiſhed a manifeſto *, which may be conſidered as no mean effort in politics, wherein having taken care not once to mention Walſtein, whom he hated, or the king of Sweden, whom he dreaded, and touching gently on his *thrice-dear* couſin the elector Palatine, whoſe patrimony had been devoured by him, he paints in the warmeſt colouring his indiſpenſable allegiance to the emperor, as well as his obligations of gratitude, and ſuppoſes none could ſuſpect him of concluding a ſeparate bargain with a great weſtern monarch, with whom he had ſigned and ratified the eighth of May 1631, but ſuch as were either profeſſed enemies to his proſperity, or detractors from his virtue. He then pays France, in the ſame breath, no ſmall tribute of adulation, but inſinuates, in the words of the prophet, alluding to that crying ſin of co-operating with heretics, *That thou*, meaning France, *ſtoodeſt that day on the other ſide; in the day, that the ſtrangers carried away captive our forces, and foreigners entered into our gates, and caſt lots upon Jeruſalem; even thou waſt as one of them* †.

There

* *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part ii. p. 182, & ſeqq.

† *Obadiah*, ver. 11. The curious in hiſtory may peruſe an example, equally ſtrong, of this prince's uncommon talents for diſſimulation and artifice, by conſulting a letter from him to the elector Palatine in the month of September 1620, ſome few weeks preceding the battle of Prague. [*Expedit. in utramque*

There is a certain circumſtance, very peculiar, in this manifeſto: for though it mentions abundance of facts, yet they are ſo cautiouſly collected, and alledged in ſuch general terms, that it is not poſſible to aſcertain the chronology of this extraordinary compoſition; ſince all we know is, that it was diſperſed here and there in various courts, about the ſpring of the year 1632.

As it is not my intention to deſcribe the war in full detail, with exception only of thoſe parts where Guſtavus was preſent, it may ſuffice to obſerve, in regard to Walſtein, that in ſix weeks after his acceptance of the dictatorſhip, and juſt as long before the death of Tilly, he had good ſenſe and foreſight enough to diſpatch Don Baltazar di Maradas *, at the head of 8000 men, into Bohemia, with a view to diſtreſs and haraſs the Saxons. The vigilant Spaniard, though in truth a better courtier than a general, for he had three or four civil employments, equally lucrative and honourable, *his armis illa quoque tutus in aula*; made a ſhift however to take Satz, the capital of a circle, by ſome called Zadeck; and having utterly ruined Bindhauf's regiment, which compoſed the garriſon, gave the firſt check to the cauſe of the proteſtants. Indeed the elector of Saxony's conduct was quite inexplicable in an honourable ſenſe, for, beſides ſome omiſſions, already mentioned, not wholly reconcileable to a ſincere alliance, he had left Bohemia, not many weeks after the reduction of Prague, at a time when he was victorious without oppoſition, and carried Arnheim his general with him, under pretence that no one elſe was capable of negotiating with Oxenſtiern at the diet of Torgau, which was held in February 1631, and to which the emperor diſpatched a deputy, who propoſed ſome indiſtinct advantages. The Swediſh chancellor ſoon cut the matter ſhort, by telling him roundly, whether with ſincerity or otherwiſe one cannot ſay, that the king, his maſter, and his proteſtant allies, expected firſt, by way of preliminary, to ſee the expences of two campaigns refunded to them.

What ſtill rendered matters more ſuſpicious, was, that previous to this, the elector of Saxony, in his own perſon, received

utramque Auſtriam & Bohemiam Ephemeris. 4t°. Monachii. 1621, p. 50. 54.] Lib. rariſſ.

* To this commander a pretended Low-Country captain alludes, in one of Dryden's plays;

Brave man at arms! but weak to Baltazar.

Alluſions are made to him likewiſe in ſome of Johnſon's latter comedies.

received propoſals from a duke of Saxe Lauenberg*, who had reconciled himſelf to the catholic religion, and acted the part of an Imperial agent. Nor was it leſs extraordinary, that a prince, uninterrupted in his conqueſts, ſhould relinquiſh a country, at leaſt in effect, three better parts whereof he had entirely ſubdued, at a time when hardly any oppoſition could be made againſt him; and when his own troops, not to mention the addition of count Thurn's army, amounted, in caſe he had choſen to collect them, to 10,000 cavalry, and 27,000 infantry. I am ſenſible, it is true, that this number may appear to many readers overcharged; but then the Saxons muſt make themſelves reſponſible to poſterity for the miſtake, ſince the liſts ſtood thus, according to the accounts which they themſelves publiſhed. Dewbatel likewiſe laid in Luſatia at the elector's elbow, and with his own Swedes, Germans, and Hamilton's Engliſh, had expelled Goëtz and Tieffenbach out of that province; and beſides this, the elector of Brandenburg had 8000 men, all prepared to unite with Dewbatel, which junction was afterwards effected.

Nor muſt we here paſs by another piece of equivocal conduct in the elector of Saxony; for though, on the reduction of Prague, moſt of the late proſcribed and exiled proteſtants returned home, after a baniſhment and proſcription of twelve years, yet they found their new friends ſo very vigilant and clear-ſighted in the article of levying contributions, that the difference appeared to them only *nominal*, between an *evangelic* or *popiſh* government: ſo, of courſe, the greater part withdrew themſelves as voluntary exiles, to the very places which they had lately quitted.

Before we permit the king to leave Munich entirely, it may be highly neceſſary, to lay open a very extraordinary converſation betwixt him and the Engliſh ambaſſador, which has perplexed and puzzled me more than any ſingle incident through the whole progreſs of my work; and the rather, ſince, though I have ſtrong reaſons to conjecture that his majeſty's conduct might be juſtified, if any accounts could be obtained beſides this of Vane, who hated Guſtavus, and had neither parts nor inclination to ſerve the cauſe, yet the misfortune is, that no profeſſed hiſtorian, on the ſubject of this period, mentions a ſingle circumſtance relative to the preſent affair. Notwithſtanding all which, the love of truth, joined with a diſapprobation of partiality, forces me to lay the tranſaction before the eyes of the public, and leave it to

* Henry Julius.

work

work its own way upon the reader's mind. It had been eaſy for me to have paſſed by the whole ſtory, as being the firſt producer thereof, after it had ſlept without notice for the ſpace of one hundred and twenty-five years: but it is not my principle to ſerve even an hero under ſuch conditions. All men have, more or leſs, ſome failings of human nature; nor do I pretend to engage in drawing a faultleſs character*: yet, by a mere chance, it may lie in my power to throw ſome little light upon Vane's account, and extenuate, if not entirely exculpate, his majeſty. In the firſt place, therefore, I ſhall preſent the reader with Vane's letter, or memorial, tranſmitted by him to the court of Whitehall. It is drawn up in French: and that ſeems to me an affectation; for the French language then, and now, is better known in Germany than the Engliſh, in caſe his pacquet had been intercepted. The letter tranſlated, runs as follows:

Lieutenant colonel Douglas †, being thrown into a common priſon by his majeſty's orders, for making a journey to Munich without his maſter's permiſſion, it was my fortune the next morning, the ſixteenth inſtant ‡, the king being then upon the point of leaving the ſaid city, as I was going to take my leave of the king of Bohemia, to meet his Swediſh majeſty, by mere accident, in the great ſaloon, when it appeared to me neither impertinent nor unſeaſonable to ſolicit him in favour of the ſaid Douglas, and make an attempt to procure his liberty; remonſtrating in his behalf, that though he had taken this ſtep without his majeſty's concurrence or conſent, yet that, nevertheleſs, he had obtained permiſſion and leave to go, from the Swediſh chancellor. Upon which the king, kindling into ſome warmth, *ſwore he would take care to ſee the chancellor hanged.* As his majeſty went down ſtairs, in order to ſtep into his coach, I renewed my applications, and beſought him, once more, to receive Douglas into favour: upon which, turning ſhort, he replied with vehemence, *By heaven! if you ſpeak one ſyllable more on that ſubject, I will order the man to be hanged before your eyes:* to which my reply was, *that I hoped his majeſty would never commit ſuch a ſort of action. And why ſo?* anſwered

* One or two voluminous German compilers aſſert, that Guſtavus had a natural ſon, ſuppoſed to be born about two years before he eſpouſed the princeſs of Brandenburg: but I have never yet received light enough to ſay any thing in ſupport of the allegation.

† This officer, afterwards Sir George Douglas, betook himſelf to a civil employment.

‡ May, 1632.

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the king, *By heavens! if your maſter was preſent, I would do the ſame; and if the man, who has affronted me in this manner, were held in the arms of his Britannic majeſty, I would tear him thence, although obliged to go to England for that purpoſe, and commence a war of an hundred years duration: but ſure I am, the king of England will never ſupport a ſubject in a cauſe where I am affronted.* To which my anſwer was, *Your majeſty may ſay, at Munich, whatever you pleaſe, but will never perſiſt in ſuch an opinion after mature reflection.* Upon which he replied, *Do not tempt me into a paſſion. Sire,* ſaid I, *you cannot be offended, when an ambaſſador of Britain interferes for one of his maſter's ſubjects. Well then,* rejoined the king, *I at length releaſe him upon your parole only, but will not be affronted a ſecond time**. To which my anſwer was, *Sire, it never appeared to me in the light of an affront, to interpoſe in behalf of a cavalier, who had ſerved your majeſty with ſo much fidelity. Yes,* replied the king, *to ſeek to quit my ſervice, after I had releaſed him, was not only an affront, but a contravention of my military edicts* †. *Sire,* added I, *I acknowledge the favour, which your majeſty have formerly granted to my ſolicitations; and it will ſtill be a freſh act of clemency, if you condeſcend to pardon him, even after a ſecond tranſgreſſion.* To which the king added once more, *Do not provoke me into a paſſion. Adieu, Sire,* replied I; and being on the point of departing from him, *By heavens!* cried the king, *the fellow is a raſcal, and I do not chuſe to be ſerved by ſuch ſort of animals. May it pleaſe your majeſty,* anſwered I, *I have always underſtood, that the ſubjects of the king, my maſter, have rendered you the moſt excellent and faithful ſervices. Yes,* ſaid the king, *I acknowledge the people of your nation have ſerved me well, and far better than any others; but this dog, concerning whom we are talking, has affronted me, and I am reſolved to chaſtiſe him.* It was my purpoſe then to have returned the converſation, but the king cut me ſhort, by ſaying, *Sir, I requeſt you not to take exception at what has lately dropped from my lips; it was the effect of a warm and haſty temper. I am at preſent entirely cool, and beſeech you to pardon me* ‡.

It is now high time to make ſome obſervations on this extraordinary dialogue, concerning which I ſhall briefly premiſe, though the remark has been made by me, more times

* The king meant Douglas, but Vane artfully enough takes it upon himſelf.

† By this it appears that Sir Henry Vane had interceded formerly for Douglas, on ſome other offence, and obtained his pardon.

‡ *Sir Henry Vane's* letters in the Paper-Office.

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than one, that Guſtavus's frailty was an undue warmth of temper, which, at the ſame time, manifeſted the goodneſs of his heart; for the people, that ſerved under him, did not diſlike an harſh expreſſion, inaſmuch as his anger was momentary only, and the amends he made thoſe, whom he had chagrined, more than repaid them for the tranſitory uneaſineſs of a ſlight mortification. Perhaps one cannot defend him better, upon this occaſion, than by inſerting the very words of his own apology to his generals, at a council of war: *I am thought by many of you*, ſaid he, *to ſpeak haſtily and angrily on certain conjunctures; but, alas! conſider, my fellow ſoldiers, what a weight lies upon my mind. I am to perform all, and be preſent every where; and when the human thoughts are on the ſtretch, obſtacles and interruptions of the grand purſuit make men peeviſh. You muſt bear with my infirmities, in the ſame manner as I ſubmit to your's: one general has a tendency to avarice, another has a paſſion for wine, a third wiſhes to wage war with the barbarity of a Croatian; yet, without going further than admoniſhing and adviſing you, I have diſcarded no man, but, on the contrary, have kept you all about my perſon, and, more or leſs, eſteemed you all* *.

Thus far with regard to the ſudden guſts of a great and high ſpirit, like that of Guſtavus. As to Vane's narrative, much may be remarked; it is certain he diſliked the king, neither had the king a favourable opinion either of his abilities, or of his intentions. It appears, by the notes on his memorial, and from what ſhall be remarked before we leave the ſubject, that he ſets forth juſt ſo much as ſerves to gratify his own ſpleen, namely, that Douglas came to Munich by Oxenſtiern's conſtrained conſent, without the king's permiſſion. From the face of his own recital, it appears highly ſuſpicious, that a paſſion, ſo fierce and violent, as he deſcribes the king's to be, muſt have been kindled and exaſperated by ſomething more offenſive, and more provoking, than Sir Henry chooſes to diſcloſe; for Guſtavus alludes to ingratitude, having pardoned Douglas once before, at the ambaſſador's interceſſion, as likewiſe to diſobedience, perſonal affront, and a thought conceived of paſſing into the enemy's ſervice.

It appears, in the next place, that Vane was anſwerable, in a great degree, for that very anger, in the repreſentation of which he labours afterwards to traduce the king's character: for his ſolicitation was of the teaſing kind; and when he had gained his point, he ſtill wanted *more laſt words*. He caught at thoſe circumſtances where he knew the king's temper was

* See *Soldat Suedois*, p. 865, &c.

inflam-

inflammable, and dwelt upon them: and when he received a rough anſwer, laid the foundation of producing a ſecond, that was ſtill more ſo. His ſincerity likewiſe is much to be doubted. He knew Guſtavus better than to ſuppoſe him in earneſt about hanging Douglas; yet makes a reply with the gravity of a ſchool-divine, or a caſuiſt; and when the king ſpeaks of Douglas's ſecond affront, paſſes that by, and ſuppoſes the affront to proceed from himſelf. Nor ſtands he quite clear in point of politeneſs, and common good manners; for when Guſtavus felt the infirmity of paſſion coming upon him, as Vane ſtill adminiſtered freſh fuel to it, and beſought him twice to drop the converſation, and not puſh matters to greater extremities; yet he ſtill perſiſts, even after he had obtained the object of his wiſhes. Under this claſs of incivility I rank likewiſe, the telling a paſſionate perſon, that he threatens more than he ever could expect to make good upon mature reflection. Whoever underſtands the human mind, knows, that ſuch a reflection carries its own poignancy along with it; and it was highly rude and indecent to aſſure the king, that he might perform at Munich what he durſt not preſume to do in England.

It appears alſo that Vane was either reſolved to exaſperate Guſtavus, or ill underſtood the better half of his political trade, which conſiſts in ſeizing the *moments of addreſs*; ſince by the *diary* of the king's actions, it appears, that he was *then* ſtepping into his coach, in a great hurry, in order to raiſe the ſiege of Biberach, and give Oſſa battle. Now on ſuch an occaſion, it may well be ſuppoſed that his majeſty's ſpirits were all on a flame, and his mind wholly occupied on a ſubject, where interruption only, without impropriety, teaſing, or ill manners, would naturally produce ſome haſty and unguarded anſwers.

Nevertheleſs, after various difficulties on this head, it may be poſſible, at laſt, to obtain ſome knowledge of the groundwork of his Swediſh majeſty's reſentments, and that from a perſon no leſs inſtructed than Fowler *, ſecretary to Douglas, afterwards created a baronet, who, in conſequence of this broil, exchanged the laurel for the olive, and went from England to Poland in the character of ambaſſador extraordinary, with inſtructions to act the part of a mediator at the treaty of Stumbſdorf, in Pruſſia, 1635. As

* *Hiſtory of the Troubles of Suethland, and Poland*, &c. Relation of the treaty of pacification, between Poland and Suethen, concluded at Stumbſdorf in 1635. Brief commemoration of the life and death of Sir Geo. Douglas, knight, lord ambaſſador extraordinary from England, fol. Lond. 1656, inſcribed to the lord protector.

Fowler

Fowler loved and honoured his maſter, Douglas, extremely, it is highly natural to expect no great partiality on the Swediſh ſide; yet enough is ſaid, whereby one may be enabled to ſay ſome little matter in behalf of Guſtavus; however, upon the whole, I fairly acknowledge that both parties were to blame, and perhaps equally.

Once for all, therefore, we will make an abſtract of the author's narrative *.

Douglas tranſported a company of Scottiſh infantry into Sweden, in the year 1623; and was afterwards advanced to be lieutenant-colonel in Sir James † Ramſey's regiment of foot; and as that officer happened to receive a diſagreeable wound, as we have mentioned before in its proper place, he commanded the corps at the ſiege of Wurtzburg-caſtle, if my relation *fail* not ‡; and at the taking of Creützнach, he, by the king's commands, repreſſed the inſolence of the ſoldiery in ſo ſatisfactory a manner, that his majeſty deſtined him to be the *governor* of that moſt important place.

Before this commiſſion could be ſigned, a reverſe of fortune changed the commander of a town into a priſoner; for, on account of ſome ſtrange expreſſions in a memorial or letter to the king his maſter, who was naturally warm, and very jealous, in points of honour, orders were ſent from Guſtavus to confine him; but Guſtavus, on reconſidering the whole affair more coolly, forthwith commanded him to be ſet at liberty, and directed that his commiſſion of governor ſhould be delivered to him.

"And here it may be thought," ſays Fowler, "that our lieutenant-colonel had cauſe to reſt contented, having received ample ſatisfaction, by a preferment ſo honourable §:" but Douglas was not to be reconciled; proteſting he had received an affront, which he would bear from *no hand whatſoever*; and therefore, when Oxenſtiern tendered him the commiſſion, he demanded a paſs for Munich, in order to debate the matter with his ſovereign. This, the chancellor told him, he could not, and dared not grant; but upon over-perſuaſions, as he perſonally loved the man, he at length, reluctantly, granted him a ſhort furlough, that he might, if he pleaſed, attend the king, and demand his diſcharge.

* *Fowler*'s Hiſtory, 216—219.

† Some ſay Alexander Ramſey.

‡ Here Fowler ſuſpects a miſtake: we will ſubjoin, that he ought to have ſaid Marienberg-caſtle.

§ Such it certainly was, for the king run the riſk of his life in taking this fortreſs, which he conſidered as the ſtrongeſt place he had ever beſieged.

What made Douglas the keener was, the hope of ſheltering himſelf under the wing of Vane, the Britiſh ambaſſador then going to Munich; who never in his heart loved Guſtavus, and therefore, it is probable, encouraged this officer to embroil the miſunderſtanding afreſh. By all accounts from hiſtory, Douglas, though a man of worth and honour, and an excellent ſoldier, was as haughty, though not very high in command, and to the full as paſſionate as Guſtavus. This greatly exaſperated the king, who thought the ambaſſador and ſoldier had both conſpired to give him the bravado in the name of the Britiſh nation.

Nor did Douglas uſe any addreſs or management upon this occaſion; but, inſtead of employing his friends to ſeize the *mollia tempora* of applying to Guſtavus, preſented himſelf abruptly before him in a public tennis-court, where the kings of Sweden and Bohemia were amuſing themſelves.

This want of reſpectful duty and common good breeding ſoon ſtruck a mind like the king's, naturally warm on receiving affronts: *Sir*, ſaid he, *why are not you at your poſt of command? Sire*, replied Douglas, *I have none. Commit him to priſon then*, rejoined the king, and ſpoke no more *.

This ſpirited act of authority, which the ambaſſador thought fit to look upon as an inſult on the prince he ſerved, and the whole Britiſh nation, made both him and the king alike peeviſh and equally paſſionate.

Thus have we given a ſlight recapitulation of all that Fowler ſays in behalf of his patron, which ſeems, according to the beſt of our judgment, to incline the turn of the ſcale in favour of the northern monarch. Fowler declares, too, that he knew all the dialogue which paſſed between the king and the ambaſſador, and yet, for certain reaſons, thought convenient to ſuppreſs it. For my own part, I have ventured to tell the ſtory from authentic papers, and hope, as it was my buſineſs to conceal no one conſiderable fact in hiſtory, that I have thereby done no injury to the memory of Douglas or the *manes* of Guſtavus, who, to ſhew his humanity, and forgiving temper, after a ſhort recollection, releaſed Douglas a ſecond

* It was certainly Douglas's duty to have aſked his diſmiſſal by letter or memorial, ſtaying on his poſt till a proper ſubſtitute could be found to replace him, and not have left ſo important a charge in the midſt of war, and the royal army ſo far removed from him. By all military laws, he was diſobedient: nor could he ſay to the king, he had *no employ*, till he had firſt petitioned to be diſcharged, and had ſeen his ſucceſſor in poſſeſſion. For, if the commander of a town, upon any diſguſt, not repreſented, is at full liberty to leave his charge, what prince, or general, can be ſafe with ſuch a ſervant, or who can be ſecure from treachery, or deſertion?

time.

time. The former part Vane himself acknowledges, in a subsequent letter * to secretary Coke, dated from Augsburg, nine days after the first-mentioned dispatch: "The king of Sweden," says he, "three or four days after this embroilment †, sent my lord Spense to my lodging, professing to be exceeding sorry for the discourse he had held, especially wherein it touched the king my master, which, if it were possible, he would redeem at the deerest rate. That he was his majesty's brother, and servant, whose friendship he valued more than any others, having none but him, on whom he could rely: that though his satisfaction had been public, as well as his offence, yet, not content therewith, he would have written to his majesty, by an express, to excuse the heat of his passion; but either he must have accused himself, or cast the burthen upon me, as if my solicitations had provoked him to that passion; which he, willing to avoid, desired me to make a favourable report to his majesty."

But to return to the affairs of Germany. Within a few days after this altercation with Douglas, an embarrassment appeared of a very different nature; for Gustavus's old rival in war, Sigismond, king of Poland, died of an apoplexy ‡, after a wearisome and turbulent reign of forty-five years. On this event the Poles were divided in their affections, between Uladislaüs, the elder son of Sigismond, and Casimir; and during the interregnum, prince Radzivil §, who loved Gustavus, and had made him a visit in the late king's decline, for Sigismond had many warnings of his approaching fate, received orders from the senate to command the army then prepared to act against the Moscovites. Some very sensible historians, and Le Vassor ‖, amongst the rest, seem disposed to think, that Gustavus had an eye to this kingdom in his own person, which they ground on no other proof than that Radzivil held a correspondence with him, and that he dispatched ambassadors into Poland, to watch the motions of the future election. But his Swedish majesty, at that time, had building enough to erect, without enlarging his plan, and

* *Letters* of Sir Henry Vane in the Paper-office.

† His majesty could not make the acknowledgment sooner, for he was absent, in order to raise the siege of Biberach.

‡ April 29, 1632: and Uladislaüs was elected, if I mistake not, the October following. See more of this negotiation below.

§ He had been mortified, because Sapieha, palatine of Vilna, had been preferred to him, as supreme commander in Lithuania. *Kobierzicki* Hist. Vladisl. p. 920.

‖ Tom. vii. 179, &c.

that greatly too; nor was he a prince to amuſe himſelf, at ſuch a conjuncture, with a proſpect ſo remote in point of diſtance, and ſo chimerical in its own nature, if one rightly conſiders the perverſeneſs, as well as changeable diſpoſitions, of the Polanders. Had he not engaged in this German expedition, true it is, he had pretenſions to urge, and a head and hand capable to ſupport them; but at preſent it appears to me that he laboured only to form a party in the diet, ſufficiently ſtrong to prolong the *truce*, which would otherwiſe end in three years, between him and the Polanders; a circumſtance of great conſequence to a warrior, who had his hands full, and wanted no collateral buſineſs. All other ſteps taken by him ſeem conformable to this firſt idea: and if he preferred Caſimir to Uladiſlaüs, it was becauſe the former ſeemed leſs attached to the court of Madrid, as well as that of Vienna.

We have related before, that Cratz made himſelf maſter of Weiſſemburg, whilſt the king marched from Munich, where, amongſt other things, as we ought to have obſerved, he ſeized 8000 new regimentals, in order to give battle to Oſſa, who had inveſted Biberach; and to cruſh the inſurrection of the Bavarian peaſants: but the former, having loſt the beſt part of his artillery, retreated towards Lindau, and the lake of Conſtance; and the latter ſubmitted without reſiſtance. Upon this occaſion, it was obſerved of Guſtavus, that his enemies could never project an undertaking, which he did not counterwork by deviſing a remedy the firſt moment he attained the knowledge of their intentions. So that, it is difficult for us which to admire moſt, the inventive powers of his genius, or the celerity wherewith he executed any deſign, immediately after he had conceived it *; it being a maxim with him, that the grand ſcience of war conſiſted in ſeizing incidents, or keeping always in a ſtate of preparation, though the particular ſtroke may be unforeſeen. He then committed the army to duke Bernard's care, who purſued Oſſa almoſt to the feet of the Alps, and cut to pieces one of his fineſt regiments, that of Annibal count Hohen-Ems, though the commander had thrown himſelf into a walled village. Eight enſigns were loſt, but the count and 400 ſoldiers, that ſurvived, were ſent priſoners to Ulm.

Meanwhile the king, attended by a few followers, flew to Augſburg, and taking with him, from thence and the country adjacent, a ſtrong detachment, conceived great hopes of

* *Monro*'s Second Expedition.

relieving

relieving Weiſſemberg, a place of great importance to him, as it ſecured the retreat from Augſburg to Nuremberg; but the Bavarian general had performed his buſineſs before it was poſſible for the Swediſh army to arrive, and, dreading the approach of Guſtavus, evacuated the town almoſt as ſoon as he poſſeſſed it; which may be conſidered no ſmall omiſſion.

It was during the prelude, in Bohemia, towards a more ſerious and general campaign, but what period we cannot preciſely ſay, that a party of Imperial troops took priſoner, after a ſharp rencounter, Torſtenſon, who was then known to be the beſt officer of artillery in Europe, and uſeful to the king, his maſter, beyond expreſſion. But ſuch ſingular good fortune ſerved only to ſupply Walſtein with freſh opportunities of exerting that generoſity, and magnificence, which were peculiar to him; for he paid Torſtenſon's ranſom to the Croatians out of his own purſe, and reſtored him to Guſtavus without delay *.

Walſtein then finiſhed the reduction of Bohemia, by inveſting Egra, where ſomething happened equally heroical and extraordinary with regard to himſelf: for the magiſtrates knowing there was a young lady in the town whom he paſſionately admired, arreſted her without ceremony or previous notice, and ordered her, upon pain of death, to command the general to deſiſt from his enterpriſe. This woman, caſt by nature in no common mould, made a ſemblance of complying with great frankneſs, and ſealing up the following billet, addreſſed him thus; *Regard not my life; I am prepared to die, upon condition your Excellency can obtain true glory and ſerve your maſter with fidelity and ſucceſs* †. But the females of that age aſpired to vie with the men in acts of fortitude. Banier's wife ‡, following her huſband, in his expedition into Saxony, was brought to bed of a male child in her coach; which reſembles an accident of the ſame ſort, which happened to Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus §; and at the battle of Rhinfeld, in particular, ſeveral ladies ſtaid in the field during the warmeſt part of the action; nor did they retreat when the troops of their huſbands, who were Imperialiſts, were cut to pieces. So that ſome were killed, ſome robbed, and the remaining few eſcaped with difficulty ‖.

By this time Walſtein began to edge round towards the

* *Riccius* de Bell. Germ. 4°. 412.
† *Memoires d'Electrice Palatine*, 4°. 197.
‡ The counteſs of Lovenſtein.
§ *Memoires d'Electrice Palatine*, 4°. 196.
‖ *Ibid.* 198.

eaſtern ſide of the Upper Palatinate, on whoſe ſouthernmoſt ſkirts lay the elector of Bavaria with all his forces. It now behoved Guſtavus to make an exertion of thoſe great talents which Providence had beſtowed on him; for he had a conqueſt to ſecure behind him of ſeven or eight hundred miles in length, and half the breadth; and two armies to confront, the one equal to his own, and the other doubly ſuperior. Far from being puzzled or diſmayed, he maintained a preſence of mind that aſtoniſhed even his own generals; and without calling in a ſingle army to his aſſiſtance, he had no leſs than *five* ſmall ones in the parts adjacent, he rather adviſed them to purſue their ſeparate buſineſs; and inſtead of thinning them by detachments, augmented them from his own corps. With the compoſed coolneſs, therefore, of a man victorious, he even ſent away many commanders, whom he wanted much, if that can be ſuppoſed; for he detached Horn towards the Upper Palatinate, and permitted duke Bernard, whom indeed his brother William replaced in a ſhort ſpace, to purſue Oſſa, and left Hepburn commander in chief at Munich, and over the whole duchy of Bavaria; whilſt Oxenſtiern, Banier, and duke Julius the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg*, and ſir Patrick Ruthven, all commanded ſeparate bodies, in or near the circles of Suabia and Franconia. He then made a treaty of accommodation with the city of Straſburg, through whoſe territory Haracour had lately marched a detachment of Lorrainers to the aſſiſtance of Oſſa and Montecuculi the elder, a circumſtance not extremely agreeable to the king's ſyſtem; and therefore, for theſe reaſons, he ſpared no pains to bring the Straſburgers into terms of friendſhip; and the rather, becauſe he thereby ſecured his chancellor † from a like occurrence in his government of Mentz, and in the protection of the Lower Palatinate, which department was alſo aſſigned to him. He had an apprehenſion too, that a reinforcement of Spaniſh troops might paſs the Valteline from the Milaneſe, and unite themſelves with Oſſa; and on this account he wrote a letter with his own hand to the cantons of Switzerland, who had lately aſſembled at Lucerne, and were now adjourning to Baden. Its tenour ran to this effect; and as I have an old tranſlation now before me, I ſhall content myſelf with correcting a few inaccuracies of language, and faults of connection, here and there:

* The king had ſome ſuſpicions of this prince, and having confirmed the alliance with him, reſolved to ſtation an army near him, to enforce the obſervation of articles, that had been agreed upon, *de novo*.

† Oxenſtiern.

" Gentlemen,

" Gentlemen,

" Being informed that the king of Spain attempts, by all poſſible methods, to perſuade you to grant free paſſage to his troops, out of Italy, into the parts of Germany now near me, in oppoſition to the progreſs and proſperity of my arms, and to the advancement of his own pernicious and unjuſt deſigns, as well as the ſupport and aſſiſtance of my enemies, and their proceedings; I have thought good to exhort and admoniſh you, in the moſt affectionate terms, to recollect within yourſelves, that the republic of Switzerland has ever, hitherto, flouriſhed in high reputation, and glorioufly maintained its liberties againſt all encroachers and invaders whomſoever, in oppoſition principally to the two houſes of Burgundy and Auſtria, each of which has made frequent attempts to diveſt you of thoſe invaluable bleſſings; particularly that liberty which exceeds all other ſorts of liberty, namely, the *free exerciſe of conſcience*; not to mention various efforts tending to the deſtruction of your civil rights and freedom.

" Therefore, gentlemen, let me beſeech you to remember *that* good underſtanding which I have always maintained with your commonwealth; and for theſe reaſons, permit me to adviſe you to ſtand vigilantly upon your guard from henceforward, perſevering firm and conſtant within the bounds of an exact neutrality, conformably to that good faith ſtill ſubſiſting between us; neither commanding nor allowing paſſage to the enemy, nor granting him aſſiſtance or favour under any ſhape. Otherwiſe, I ſhall find myſelf obliged to begin firſt, and declare hoſtilities againſt you; and then, in caſe an event ſo diſaſtrous ſhould take place, you yourſelves would draw down the war upon your own heads, and all the ruin, deſolation, and calamity, that uſually attend it. But I have conceived much better hopes of you, *my friends*; and, for my own part, hereby aſſure you all in general, and each in particular, of my beſt love and affection towards you.*

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS."

This letter was accompanied by a couple of Scotch colonels, with inſtructions to ſolicit leave for levying two regiments of Switzers.

The anſwer † returned to the king's letter was very polite and cautious, containing a fair aſſertion, that no demand had

* See more of this negotiation, and letter, in the *Hiſt. or Auth. Relation* in High Dutch, fol. tom. ii. p. 55.

† *Mercure François*, tom. xviii. p. 359.

been made, hitherto, on the ſubject in queſtion, by the court of Madrid: nor ſhould a repreſentation of that nature be liſtened to whenever it might happen to be preſented. That the neutrality, ſo generouſly propoſed, was embraced at the ſame time with the utmoſt thankfulneſs, upon ſuppoſition, that it interfered not with any prior obligations: and laſtly, it was acknowledged, that as the progreſs of the Swediſh army ſeemed to approach the Alps, it was hoped the Cantons ſhould enjoy their proportionable ſhare of royal favour; and ſuffer no diminution of rights and revenues in ſuch of their poſſeſſions as laid in adjacent provinces, then made, or thereafter to be made, the ſeat of war.

His majeſty, by this time, being returned to Augſburg, and having conquered in two years, or brought over to his intereſt, nearly three hundred cities, fortreſſes, and walled towns, collected together his own little army, which conſiſted of about eighteen or twenty thouſand men, and marched to Donawert. He then took the two epiſcopal cities of Aichſtadt and Dillingen, as likewiſe Pappenheim-caſtle, which lies eight miles to the weſt of Aichſtadt, removing the beſt ordnance in all three places to his grand magazine at Augſburg. By the ſeventh of June he arrived in his old encampment at Furt, near Nurenberg, where duke Bernard, who had purſued the Imperialiſts to the lake of Conſtance, joined him. What his intentions then were ſoon appeared to the public, by the anſwer he made the magiſtrates, who requeſted him to honour their city with a viſit; *Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *I ſhall not deny myſelf the pleaſure; but at preſent I had much rather ſee Walſtein than Nurenberg**. The truth was, the king intended to have paſſed through the Upper Palatinate, where Horn then was, and given Walſtein battle, before the elector of Bavaria could have joined him; but the country was ſo ravaged and waſted, partly by war, and partly by expreſs order from the Imperial general, that the enterpriſe was laid aſide, becauſe it was thought impoſſible to ſucceed. The king, who had actually began his march towards the Walſteiners, returned to his antient lines, and intrenched himſelf according to the great abilities he poſſeſſed in that then unknown branch of the military ſcience. His ſubſiſting himſelf in this hazardous ſituation, for the ſpace of *ſixty-one days*, and his reſiſtance of the efforts of 60,000 men, with only 20,000, not to mention that he had the confidence, upon receiving ſome ſmall reinforcements, to attack his adverſary ſword in hand, though intrenched up to the

* *Swed. Intel.* part ii. 181.

eyes,

eyes, and protected with barricades of trees and battering artillery, beyond number, *will be always eſteemed,* by *ſuch* generals as are maſters of the finer parts of their buſineſs, *the higheſt pitch of ability which the human mind can attain in the profeſſion of arms.*

Indeed this conduct of his majeſty appears nothing near ſo wonderful in *our* days, as it certainly was in the *laſt* century, foraſmuch as the practice has been *copied,* more or leſs, by all experienced commanders ever ſince: yet the exertion of the idea, in its maſterly manner of execution, is firſt due to the GREAT GUSTAVUS. The thing, it muſt be allowed, ever has been and will be a real and equal truth in all ages; but then the perſon, who makes the experiment, muſt be like the man, whom I have lately mentioned. When a genius, ſuch as Guſtavus, has once adjuſted certain previous circumſtances, he may ſafely face a *treble* number of troops for a long duration. Like the great maſter of mechanics, who uſed to ſay, that if certain poſtulata could be granted him, he would undertake to move the world with a ſingle thread: *Δὸς πᾶ τω, καὶ τὸν κοσμὸν κινήσω.*

In theſe encampments againſt forces ſometimes *doubly* and ſometimes *trebly* ſuperior, as was the caſe partly at Werben, and more particularly here, it is impoſſible for me, either to analyſe the king's abilities, or explain the various principles upon which he proceeded. It may ſuffice to remark, that in military fortifications, of all ſorts, he had then no equal, and particularly in the management of his artillery. It was he who firſt fortified the weaker parts of his camp with *thoſe* ſort of redoubts, the carrying of which reſembles ſtorming ſo many ſeparate towns ſword in hand.

Under this article I ſhall juſt mention a ſlight circumſtance, having touched upon the point in other parts of my hiſtory more than once. In the former part of the laſt century, cannons were made much longer than they are at preſent; concerning which ſomething was ſaid in the ſiege of Ingoldſtadt, with reference to the piece of artillery from which a ſhot ſtruck the king's horſe; till at length it was conjectured by ſome, that a cannon, formed two feet and a half ſhorter than even thoſe in common uſe, might convince mankind that a ball moves with greater force through a leſs ſpace than a larger. This Guſtavus proved by repeated experiments, in the year 1624, when an iron ball, of forty-eight pounds weight, was found to go farther, from a new ſhort cannon, than another ball of ninety-ſix pounds weight out of a larger piece; whereas, in other reſpects, it is certain, the larger the bore and ball, the greater the range.

By

By this time the duke of Bavaria invaded the Upper Palatinate with all his forces, and whilſt he reduced Amberg, the principal city of the country, diſpatched a part of his army to inveſt Sultzbach, which belonged to prince Palatine Auguſtus, whom we have often mentioned. This place, after ſome reſiſtance, capitulated; but Schomberg, who commanded the detachment, violated every article of the agreement; for he enlarged the garriſon contrary to the terms ſtipulated, deſpoiled the citizens, plundered the prince's caſtle, and raiſed one thouſand pounds by way of contribution. This ſcene of perfidy ſharpened Guſtavus's reſentments, and determined him, as we obſerved before, to enter the ſaid Palatinate, and give the Elector battle before he could form his junction with Walſtein: but the country was ſo waſted and ruined, that it was impoſſible to ſubſiſt a ſecond army therein, and the Imperial generaliſſimo, who longed to ſee the duke deſtroyed, and yet found himſelf obliged to preſerve appearances, had commanded a body of 3600 cavalry to advance to the aſſiſtance of the Bavarians.

Elevated with his late ſucceſſes in Bohemia, he diſpatched colonel Spar to the elector of Saxony, with freſh propoſals of accommodation, and as things now began to take a leſs favourable turn with regard to himſelf, he condeſcended to caſt his eyes upon them. How great was his aſtoniſhment, when he perceived that Walſtein raiſed his tone to an immeaſurable height, and declared, that the loſſes the elector had ſuſtained at Leipſic, when Tilly plundered it, were more than counterbalanced by the repriſals made by the Saxons on the town of Prague: that to reinſtate himſelf into the Imperial favour, he ſhould advance two months pay to the army, freely and ſpeedily reſign the *bona eccleſiaſtica* he had impropriated, and join in the common cauſe of driving Guſtavus out of the empire: and then, by way of acknowledgement for all theſe compliances and advances, the Bohemians were to enjoy the free exerciſe of the evangelical religion.

In truth, Walſtein, beneath theſe appearances, determined to make the example of Saxony a terror to all Germany, and therefore named conceſſions impoſſible to be granted, unleſs with extreme diſhonour. He beſides had a great number of penſioners in the electoral army, the titular prime-miniſter was one, though Arnheim indeed was every thing, and always expected ſome advantage either from mutiny or deſertion. Some letters too had been diſcovered, even before this period, between him and the general, which gave the

Swedes no ſmall ſuſpicions *. But matters were not yet ripe for defection on the Saxon ſide.

It was therefore Walſtein's deſign to intercept the retreat of Arnheim's army in the noted paſs and defile between Auſſig and Leütmeritz. To this purpoſe he approached his enemies, as near as he could, without alarming them, and ordered ſome troops, under pretence of taking in an inconſiderable town or two, to file off privately towards Saxony. He then made new and not diſadvantageous propoſals to Arnheim; and ſent an officer of great experience, whoſe perſon was unknown to the Saxons, to deliver the conditions to him, being diſguiſed in the habit of a trumpeter. Thus he learned the poſture and ſituation of the enemy's camp. It was unlucky for Walſtein, that Arnheim had been formerly his pupil, his confident, and his favourite. The ſcholar ſoon penetrated into the deſigns of the maſter, but profoundly diſſembled all ſort of ſuſpicion, and affected to be ignorant of the march of any troops whoſe buſineſs it was to intercept him: and wrote back by the trumpeter, that he had authority and orders to treat, and was ready to do ſo at a minute's warning, and then diſpatched couriers every hour with freſh expreſſes, growing every hour more compliable. That night he paſſed his cannon and army over the bridge at Leütmeritz, which he broke down immediately after him, having previouſly detached a choſen body of troops to ſecure Auſſig, and conſequently both ſides of the Elbe: and by preventing the Walſteiners in this ſingle circumſtance, entirely ruined all their ſcheme. At Pirna he croſſed the Elbe on a bridge of boats, and intrenched himſelf ſtrongly, waiting for his maſter and Banier, who had promiſed to reinforce him with 10,000 men. Though this retreat depended more on political than military genius, and though it cannot be compared in all points with that of Banier in the year 1637, and many others during the courſe of the thirty years war; yet it muſt be acknowledged a very fine one, and may be conſidered as the maſterpiece of Arnheim's performances in the capacity of a general. Thus in half a campaign the emperor recovered Bohemia with the ſame eaſe that he loſt it in a preceding one.

During this interval, Pappenheim, general of the catholic league in Lower Saxony, had ſeveral rencounters of various kinds and ſucceſſes againſt the Swedes, availing himſelf of the miſunderſtanding that ſubſiſted amongſt their commanders. The magiſtrates of Hildeſhein ſent him a meſſage of

* *Chemnitzius* de Bello Sueco-Germanico, tom. i.

accommodation,

accommodation, to which he returned for anſwer, that he would make them a viſit very ſoon, and ſave them the trouble and expence of a formal deputation; notwithſtanding which, he never had the power to keep his word. Amongſt others, the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel ſet himſelf to oppoſe his conqueſts, and met with ſeveral diſagreeable checks here and there. About this time an event broke out, which had like to have done the Swediſh cauſe conſiderable miſchief. Some Daniſh ſoldiers had been cut to pieces in the town of Friedberg, by the troops of the archbiſhop of Bremen, who was an ally of the crown of Sweden. The courts of Vienna and Bruſſells took care to aggrandize this breach of faith to the utmoſt: and Pappenheim dexterouſly laid hold of an expedient, which went very near to detach the Daniſh king from the Swediſh, and throw the former into the arms of the emperor: for poſſeſſing many towns in the dioceſe of Bremen, where the prince of Denmark was coadjutor, and finding it expenſive, and perhaps hardly poſſible to keep them, he offered to ſell them at a moderate price to his Daniſh majeſty, thereby hoping to produce a miſunderſtanding between Sweden, Denmark, and Bremen. When the ſtates of the ſecond of theſe countries were convened to take the propoſal into conſideration, the prudence of the ſage and moderate ſoon got the better of a few impetuous and turbulent ſpirits, who had given heedleſsly into the ſnare. Thus the miſconduct at Friedberg being entirely placed to the archbiſhop's account, an embaſſy was ſent to Guſtavus in order to reconcile theſe reciprocal grievances, and place matters, for the future, on a more ſolid and amicable footing. In a word, there was ſomething peculiarly gallant and heroical in the demeanor of all his Swediſh majeſty's enemies during the invaſion which he made into Germany; for no arts, intrigues or promiſes could ever induce Denmark, Poland or Moſcovy to diſtreſs or perplex him. Or ſuppoſing this not to be the caſe, and that they took no ſecret pleaſure to ſee the houſe of Auſtria reduced to a ſtate of humiliation, then it is plain they dreaded leſt Guſtavus ſhould conclude a ſudden peace with the emperor, and deſtroy them without the poſſibility of being ſuccoured or ſupported by the latter.

The Swediſh general Todt inveſted Staden; but Pappenheim gave him battle, and compelled him to raiſe the ſiege by throwing into the town three regiments, who croſſed the river Schwinga upon portable bridges. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be acknowledged, that the Swedes retreated in good order; and as the Bavarian colonel Boninghauſen, a principal com-

mander under Pappenheim, was diſpatched after them with a large body of cavalry to haraſs the rear, they prepared an ambuſcade for him, and cut to pieces two thirds of his detachment. Animated with this lucky change of fortune, Todt returned to his poſt, and there had the honour, in his turn, to blockade Pappenheim, who, according to his cuſtom, made a furious ſally, and carried his troops through the Swediſh army; which he effected the more eaſily, as Todt and the duke of Lunenberg hated each other, and performed nothing in concert. The former was therefore recalled to the king, and replaced by Bauditzen.

As Pappenheim's preſence was looked upon to be highly neceſſary in other places, and as it was thought impoſſible to maintain his conqueſts in the archbiſhopric of Bremen, he reſtored the keys of Staden to the magiſtrates, and having exhorted them to continue their allegiance to the houſe of Auſtria, recommended his ſick and wounded ſoldiers to their humanity and protection. By this voluntary ceſſion the Swedes became maſters of the Elbe on either ſide, from Hamburg to the Baltic.

He then paſſed into the territory of Brunſwic and the biſhopric of Verden, and extracted no ſmall advantages from the new miſunderſtandings that aroſe between the duke of Lunenberg and the archbiſhop of Bremen; and having made a general deſtruction of forage and proviſions in the country round him, left part of his troops under the command of count Gronsfield, and advanced with others into the territory of Heſſe-Caſſel; and then commanded, as it were, the ſtates aſſembled at Zell to enter into no meaſures prejudicial to the Imperial intereſts, ſince that would oblige him to march over the ruins he had already made. The ſtates of Lower Saxony perceiving, plainly, he was on the wing of departure, conferred the ſupreme command on the duke of Lunenberg, and conſtituted Bauditzen lieutenant-general under him. It was thought by ſome, that Pappenheim meditated this retreat in order to conſult his friends, and attempt to ſucceed Tilly in the employment of generaliſſimo to the princes of the league: but that appears improbable; for, beſides a diſlike to be near Walſtein, he loved no ſuperior, eſpecially one of ſo interfering a temper as the elector of Bavaria; and therefore preferred a ſeparate command in a ſtation leſs diſtinguiſhed.

When he diſlodged from Lower Saxony, the Swediſh generals reviewed their army, which amounted to 9000 foot, 5000 horſe, and 700 dragoons. During his abſence they repoſſeſſed ſo many places, that he found himſelf obliged to

to return to Brunſwic, and ordered Gronsfield to join him. He then made Bauditzen an offer of ſelling Nienberg to him for £.9000.; but the latter ſent him word, that he hoped to poſſeſs the place as a ſoldier, and not as a merchant. The landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel defeated four regiments under Boninghauſen, and took that officer priſoner.

Thus was almoſt every town in Lower Saxony, Weſtphalia, and Heſſe, taken and retaken half a dozen times in the ſpace of a year, at the expence and to the affliction of the poor inhabitants, and with little advantage to the contending parties; for, in thoſe parts, they who conquered in the field ſoon became maſters of the rivers and the towns.

War was carried on with like ſucceſs, and upon the ſame principles, in the circle of the Rhine, where William margrave of Baden-Baden, Oſſa, Montecuculi, and Haracour with his Lorrainers, ſupported the part of the emperor; whilſt Oxenſtiern and the Rhingrave, with one ſmall army, and the dukes of Birkenfelt and Weimar with another, ſuſtained the cauſe of Sweden. To the relief of the former parties the count of Embden made a very dexterous march at the head of 8000 Spaniards through the biſhopric of Liege, and croſſed the Moſelle about the middle of April with little or no moleſtation, though the inhabitants mortally hated the nation which his troops belonged to, and that for reaſons of the freſheſt date. Oxenſtiern formed a reſolution to intercept one half of his army in its progreſs; and for that purpoſe diſpatched the Rhingrave at the head of the very choſen party of his cavalry, who lodged that night at a village called Nieder-Ulm. Of this, Luca Cagro, commiſſary general of the Spaniſh forces, procured intelligence, and diſlodged at midnight with 1200 horſe to give the Rhingrave a *camiſado*; for in that age all attacks in the *dark* were ſo called, and had no *other* name: but the latter being appriſed, by his ſpies, of the Spaniards' intentions, poſted himſelf in an advantageous paſs mid-way, and gave them ſo rough a reception, that they ſoon betook themſelves to flight, and overturned 1000 horſemen, who had advanced out of the lines to ſupport their retreat. The Swedes took eight colours, and purſued the enemy ſo far, till the cannon of the camp compelled them to retire. To reſtore matters a little after this ſignal affront, Don Philip De Sylva joined the count with 3000 infantry, and ten pieces of artillery; in conſequence whereof the town of Spires * was beſieged and

* The Imperial chamber here, which we have mentioned more than once in the courſe of our hiſtory, was removed to Wetzlar in 1693.

taken

taken by capitulation; for which Horneck the governor was immediately arreſted by Oxenſtiern's order, and condemned to death by a court-martial; nevertheleſs, his majeſty was pleaſed to pardon him, at the queen's interceſſion. The Spaniſh general extorted, by way of compoſition out of the poor inhabitants, £.10,000. which he refuſed to apply to the emperor's uſe; and diſcovered a coffin in the houſe of the knights of the Teutonic order, where Horneck had ſecreted the greateſt part of his wealth.

This unfortunate panic which ſeized Horneck, made Oxenſtiern extremely vigilant in ſtrengthening the fortifications of Mentz and Wormes; and at the ſame time care was taken to reinforce the garriſon of Manheim. The chancellor * then erected two bridges acroſs the Rhine and the Maine; and when the French ambaſſador complained to him, that the governor of Mentz had ordered all the eccleſiaſtics to retire, upon the approach of the Spaniards, he immediately cancelled the ſaid governor's decree, and aſſured the ambaſſador, that what had been done was contrary to his maſter's intentions, and his own orders.

Some days afterwards her Swediſh majeſty ſignified an inclination of taking up her reſidence at Mentz; upon which the grave ſtateſman Oxenſtiern, with the politeneſs and gallantry of a young courtier, accompanied by all the nobility and princes that ſerved in his army, paid his attendance to her at Coſtheim, on the other ſide of the Rhine, at the head of the flower of his cavalry; and on the oppoſite bank of the river ranged two bodies of infantry, each conſiſting of 4000 men, who made the queen and court-ladies an unaccuſtomed compliment in one general diſcharge of their fire-arms. Her majeſty, attended by her own guards, entered the city with a train of twenty coaches, and lodged in the archiepiſcopal palace.

About this time the margrave of Baden-Baden received orders from Vienna to demand the town of Spires in the emperor's name; but count Embden told him, that every ſubject was to ſerve his reſpective ſovereign; and that he could not order the garriſon to diſlodge, till proper inſtructions arrived from the court of Bruſſells. Nevertheleſs, he began now to find himſelf greatly ſtraitened in the neighbourhood of Spires, and Oxenſtiern preſſed and perplexed him more and more, having ſurprized a courier with ſome of his diſpatches, by which he became informed of the enemy's wants and diſtreſſes. It is true the Infanta Iſabella took all poſſible care of this general's ſafety, and don Gonſalvo di Cordova

* Oxenſtiern.

received

received commands to march to his ſupport with 8000 freſh troops; but the vigilance of the Swediſh chancellor was ſo great, that it was difficult to form this junction, and of courſe Cordova advanced to Triers, and then deſiſted.

Embden was much diſconcerted at this diſappointment; and having left a garriſon of 1000 men in Spires, filled the magazines of Frankendale, and furniſhed it with a defence of 1500 infantry, and 250 horſe, owed his ſafety to a feigned march, and a well-managed retreat. To effect this, he ordered his troops to aſcend the Rhine, and join Oſſa; but at midnight turned his courſe ſhort, and made all imaginable expedition to Triers. Oxenſtiern, whoſe army was now enlarged, watched his motions with 18,000 effective men, but Embden haſtened with ſuch extraordinary diligence, that it was next to impoſſible to overtake him. Nevertheleſs the chancellor continued to purſue him with the bulk of his army, and diſpatched the Rhingrave, with all the cavalry, to embarraſs his retreat, and force him to halt, if that could be, and ſo draw him into a general action. In the valley of Steinbach the Rhingrave at length came up with and obliged him to turn round and defend his rear, which he did with great firmneſs, but cautiouſly avoided a full and deciſive engagement, refuſing to ſeize little advantages, and ſkirmiſhing only, till the artillery and baggage had gained a place of ſafety. Cordova joined him at Triers, and Merodé, at the head of ſome Imperial troops, increaſed their numbers.

As the elector of Triers had made a ſeparate treaty * with Loüis XIII. and as France had engaged to become the guaranty of his dominions, for we have made it manifeſt that ſhe always loved to have a finger in German affairs, ſo now, as that prelate, who had loſt Coblentz, Philipſburg †, and all his ſtrong places, except Ehrenbreitſtein or Hermanſtein, found himſelf ſurrounded, tormented, and devoured on every ſide, it was thought neceſſary to march 24,000 men to his aſſiſtance, under the command of the marſhals D'Effiat and La Force. The Imperialiſts were chagrined above meaſure, nor was Guſtavus thoroughly pleaſed, when the elector reſigned fort Hermanſtein or Ehrenbreitſtein to the French; which indeed that prince was not greatly inclined to do, but the two generals told him, that in proportion as he became ſafe, he became forgetful likewiſe, and that they expected realities from him, as well as promiſes. This

* It was ſigned at Ehrenbreitſtein, April 9, 1632, APPENDIX, No. XXVIII.

† This town belonged to Philip Chriſtopher, elector of Triers, as biſhop of Spires.

fort

fort had the good fortune to command the Rhine, and was rendered next to impregnable by ſituation and art. As to Coblentz, the elector appeared very willing to reſign it into the hands of the French. It is a town of no ſmall importance, as it ſtands on the conflux of the Rhine and Moſelle in ſuch a manner, that nothing but the firſt-mentioned river ſeparated the ſubjects of Triers from the Spaniards. Nevertheleſs, the latter contrived to throw a ſufficient garriſon into it, which piqued the two marſhals of France not a little, for few nations hate one another more *cordially* than the French and Spaniards. Guſtavus ſoon made his allies happy in this reſpect, for he diſpatchd Horn from Mentz, with an army of 14,000 freſh troops, in order to diſperſe the Imperialiſts; chaſtiſe the chapter of Triers; and repoſſeſs Trarbach and Coblentz: which latter place, by a convention between the two kings, was delivered up to the French, and the inhabitants reimburſed the Swedes for the charges of the expedition as well as the ſiege.

Horn afterwards made himſelf maſter of Graffenberg and Trarbach, a ſtrong fort on the Moſelle, about thirty miles from Triers, both which places were garriſoned by Spaniſh ſoldiers. He then entered Spires, for the Caſtilian governor diſlodged at his firſt approach; and laſtly, poſſeſſed Straſburg, which had long fluctuated between the then contending powers, and at length made a formal declaration in favour of Sweden.

Meanwhile the elector of Triers had not power to conſign his own metropolis into the hands of France, for the chapter, which was in the Imperialiſts intereſts, and more zealous catholics than their biſhop, had rebelled againſt him, and ventured, titularly at leaſt, to degrade him; inſomuch that a count Iſenberg who ſerved the emperor, had taken care to ſecure the city for his maſter. The elector then ſent a trumpeter to his own commander at Philipſburg, but this man's loyalty had received a taint from his Spaniſh neighbours at Frankendale, and all the anſwer he returned his ſovereign was, that he acknowledged no authority but what came from Vienna, nor could afford him any other admiſſion than ſuch as could be procured by the point of the ſword: and, to manifeſt the ſincerity of his intentions yet further, he burnt all the houſes that ſtood near the fortifications, and having manned his walls, placed his artillery in a poſture of diſputing the event.

The two marſhals not caring to waſte time on an officer of ſo ſingular an humour, advanced with their troops into the duchy of Deuxponts, and paid their compliments to the

duke, who received them in a manner, almoſt peculiar to himſelf. This prince had uncommon talents of wiſdom, politeneſs, dexterity, and perſuaſion. During a civil war of twelve years continuance, he had *aided* none, and *offended* none: and though the ſeveral marches of Imperial, Lorrain, and French troops had produced ſome inconveniences to his ſubjects, yet every general, upon the firſt converſation with him, found himſelf ſo ſtruck with his eloquence and addreſs, that far from burthening the inhabitants, he ſought to eaſe them. La Force was ſoon recalled, upon advice, that *Monſieur* had entered France. D'Effiat croſſed the mountains of Vogheſi * with all his cannon, and raiſed contributions from Straſburg, not in money, for that Guſtavus might have oppoſed, but in neceſſaries for the ſupport of his army. He had inſtructions from the cardinal to behave politely and humanely to all people, and of courſe always aſked for quarters even in neutral, or friendly countries. Having advanced to Lutzelſtein, he there died of a camp fever. Upon this event, the maréchal D'Etrée received the brevet of command in chief, which the viſcount Arpajou, general, *pro tempore*, reſigned to him.

It was D'Effiat's purpoſe to have croſſed the Rhine at Germerſheim or Spires, and beſiege Philipſburg; but De Charnacé, the French ambaſſador to Guſtavus, told him, that, beſides the difficulty of the attempt, his Swediſh majeſty, who already poſſeſſed the greater part of the biſhopric of Spires, would never allow the French to fix their footſteps in that dioceſe. The reſolution was conſequently formed to lay ſiege to Triers.

During this period the contending generals were not inactive in the circle of Suabia and the territories adjoining, where Oſſa, Furſtenburg † and Montecuculi acted againſt Banier, duke William of Weimar, Schavaliſki, Ruthven, and the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg, concerning whom we have ſpoken already. Nor was the circle of Franconia leſs quiet; for the duke of Saxe-Coburg, and the margrave of Culmbach, commanded the Imperial party, and the colonels Haſtver and Muffel conducted the Swediſh. To deſcribe

* This chain of mountains, which Claudian, if I remember right, expreſsly mentions, takes its riſe near Daun in the Sungau, and ſtretches on to the duchy of Deux-ponts, and a part of the Lower Palatinate. From the Vogheſi mountains the Maeſe, Moſelle, Marne, and Saon take their riſe.

† This was not the perſon who commanded the main body at the battle of Leipſic.

the

the various rencounters, conflicts, and little battles, that happened here, and in the ſeveral departments above-mentioned, would ſwell my account to ſuch a ſize, that though it might aſtoniſh my readers, yet it would bear too hard upon their patience at the ſame time. It may ſuffice therefore to conclude this ſketch of the war in parts ſeparate and remote from Guſtavus, with obſerving only, that if he had not recalled duke Bernard to Nurenberg, on the expectation of Walſtein and Maximilian's junction, it is probable, *that* ſpirited and fiery young warrior would have carried the Swediſh arms through the Tyroleſe, and driven the archduke from his own capital.

It appears, by this time, that the ſtream of the war ran entirely againſt the emperor; yet nothing embarraſſed or afflicted him ſo much as the forlorn condition to which he ſaw the elector of Bavaria reduced. He not only pitied this unfortunate prince, but knew him to be *capable* of deſerting the cauſe; and feared alſo, leſt Guſtavus ſhould puſh the war into Upper Auſtria. Couriers upon the heels of couriers were diſpatched to Walſtein day and night, to diſſuade him from invading Saxony, which was then his intention, and implore him to carry his aſſiſtance into Bavaria. At length the ſplenetic general complied, merely becauſe it was indecent and dangerous to refuſe any longer. In all probability, what moſtly determined him was, that ſome of his perſonal enemies, or ſome who wiſhed well to the houſe of Auſtria, had ſpread a report, that he feared to confront the king of Sweden. The ſureſt way to animate or exaſperate the heroes of the ſword, is to throw out ſuſpicions on their conduct, or their courage; for then reaſon, philoſophy, and even preſence of mind, the moſt ſhining of all their qualifications, are obliged to give way. It was under theſe *circumſtances* that Tilly loſt the battle of Leipſic; and the valiant Hepburn, favourite of Guſtavus, reſigned his commiſſion, and refuſed to be reconciled to his maſter, who *condeſcended to aſk the continuance of his friendſhip*. In a word, a thorough enthuſiaſtical warrior can ſupport moſt things but an impeachment of his military character; and from my knowledge of hiſtory, ſuch as it is, it appears probable to me, that more generals in proportion have died of chagrin, and a broken heart, than poets, and enamoratos. In the wars we are now ſpeaking of, the amiable duke of Feria paid his life a ſacrifice to the perverſeneſs of Aldringer; for Aldringer, it is well known, was ordered by Walſtein to contradict that general in every point which he had at heart; and Spinola, whitened with the ſervice of forty campaigns, whom fortune

courted many years after she is accustomed to desert others, retired at last to a little niche in the terrestrial system hardly known *, crying out, *m' hanno levato l'honore, m' hanno levato l'honore*; and grasping in his hand, on his death-bed, his catholic majesty's letter, which authorized him to act according to the very manner in which he had acted †.

But to resume my narrative: Walstein having reduced Egra, Elnbogen, and Leütmeritz, left Don Baltazar near the last place, and Holk in the neighbourhood of the second, with two separate armies, and then joined the elector of Bavaria at Luditz, near Egra. Perceiving therefore it was now high time to draw Gustavus towards the Baltic, he judged it proper to advance towards the centre of the Swedish conquests, and made more than a semblance of possessing Nurenberg, a town, whose interests his majesty had greatly at heart, for the sake of the inhabitants and himself. No man could be more eager to form this junction than the elector; insomuch that he mounted his musqueteers behind his horsemen, to perform the march with greater expedition. Nor could the king impede the union of the two armies; for his scheme of entering the Upper Palatinate, and posting himself between them, proved impracticable on the first attempt; and of course the pass of Rhinsberg laid free and open to the admission of the Bavarians ‡. Still it was necessary to possess Nurenberg, even at the expence of making a long circuit in marching; for if that town, sincerely attached to the king from inclination as well as religion, had been preoccupied by the enemy, it was highly probable, that the armies in Suabia, under duke William of Weimar, Banier, and Ruthven, had been intercepted, and cut to pieces, in their advance to support their master. By this position, likewise, Gustavus secured to himself the diocese of Wurtzburg, and was open to receive the separate corps under Oxenstiern, and others, then stationed in the circle of Franconia, and the Lower Rhine. As Walstein was now advancing, and the service threatened to become extremely warm, the king, like a sensible and prudent prince, took care to discharge the arrears of his officers and soldiers.

When the Imperial general left Egra, he brought up the rear of his army himself, count Galas conducted the main body, and Aldringer led the van. As he crossed a wood, a musquet-ball passed through his coach, and missed both him and Tertski, his brother-in-law, very narrowly. Whether

* The fort of Scrivia. † Galeazzo Gualdo. Vita di Mazarini.

‡ Monro, Second Expedition, 129.

this

this was done by accident, or design, cannot well be ascertained; however Walstein, for political reasons, resolved to take it in a serious acceptation. When he and Maximilian met, though each of them were masters of the most profound dissimulation, yet their personal resentments ran so high, that neither one nor the other had the power of concealment: but the elector had the mortification to be obliged to make his first advances. The number of the two combined armies amounted to 60,000 effective men, and upwards; though Walstein, who loved to rhodomontade like a true Austrian, gave out a list, on approaching Nurenberg, of 59,000 infantry, and 24,600 cavalry, besides Croatians*. At all events this was the largest army, that had appeared in Europe since the days of Charlemagne: but it was a maxim with its leader, *Que la fortune favorise toujours les gros escadrons:* Nor did he spare any pains, by false reports, fictitious declarations, and pretended movements, to draw the king off from Nurenberg; but the latter knew his business, and remained immovable, at the head of 18,000 or 20,000 men, at most, it being a maxim likewise with him, in his turn, *That a great general, with a small army, can hardly ever be obliged to fight.* Upon this account he had, for some days, formed a resolution to encamp near Nurenberg, and on that spot justify his theory, and exhibit to the world one of the most shining efforts in the art of war that has or can be found in history. Being, to a certain degree, in an hostile country, he had three great difficulties to contend with; namely, how to support his army; how to prevent an enemy, of strength trebly superior, from forcing his lines; and how direct the reinforcements, that were to join him, to advance their marches in such a manner as not to be intercepted and cut to pieces. As to the *first*, he had penetration enough to see that the Nurenbergers loved him; and that the town had sufficient provisions, as well as bills of exchange, to support his army, till he should have strength to march abroad and confront his enemies in open field: besides, being inferior in numbers, it was not in his power to subsist his camp by convoys and remote magazines. As to the *second*, he displayed the full perfection of one of those talents he particularly prided himself upon; for never ground was better chosen, and, if the times be considered, no camp

* In other words, the list ran to this effect; 197 companies of foot, at 300 men in each company; and 246 troops of horse, besides some irregulars, at 100 in each troop. The Bavarian army included, consisting of 58 foot-companies, and 124 troops of horse.

had ever been fortified in ſuch a manner, and upon ſuch principles of art. Nor had outworks, and redoubts, of three miles circumference only, ever been protected with 300 pieces of artillery. And laſtly, as to the *third point*, there alone laid all his diffidence; for though Horn, Banier, duke Bernard, and others, were each of them, as it were, a ſecond Guſtavus, yet he felt the ſharpeſt anxieties, when he reflected, that theſe generals might miſcarry in their attempts to join him, and then his ruin was next to inevitable.

The town of Nurenberg had behaved more generouſly towards the king, than any one free Imperial city in the empire; for it had declared in his favour, as long ſince as the November preceding. His majeſty was not of a temper to ſee himſelf outdone in acts of ſhining and more diſtinguiſhed friendſhip.

Here, round the ſuburbs of the town, he fixed his camp; and as Walſtein was ſuppoſed to be in full march to attack it before it was completed, than which the king expected nothing with greater degree of probability, one half of the army performed the duty of pioneers, day by day alternately, aſſiſted by a conſiderable number of peaſants, as well as citizens; to whom the king allotted a portion of work diſtinct from the Swedes, in order to excite emulation between the two parties. Walſtein ſaw the plan, and dreaded to aſſault the work, even in its infancy. Eight diſtinct forts were erected, one particularly ſurnamed the royal, all guarded with abundance of cannon, not to mention batteries, baſtions, half-moons, and every other ſort of fortification. The ditch of circumvallation was in all places twelve feet wide, and eight deep; and in critical ſituations, its width was eighteen feet, and its depth twelve. Advantage likewiſe was taken of the river Pegnitz, and of all troubleſome and irregular ground. The whole camp, not comprehending ſpace allowed for irregular angles, and outlines of defence, intrenchments, and redoubts, of various ſhapes, all conformable to the genius of the ſpot of earth, contained, as nearly as I can calculate, and the account came from Hepburn, about 219 clear ſquare acres: and thus the king, by this grand maſterpiece of contracting his boundaries, reſerved to himſelf the full power of bringing more hands to act than Walſtein could overcome. Perſons of leſs abilities would have wanted proportionably greater ſpace to move in. The common demands for food and forage muſt have ſpread the troops at greater diſtances, as appears, evidently, to have been Walſtein's caſe; and the providing magazines, and eſcorting them to the head-quarters, muſt

have separated the army too much, and weakened it by daily skirmishes, however fortunate and successful. The king, taking previous care to see Nurenberg excellently provided, made it, at one and the same time, his granary, his stable, and his shambles, for the space of eight weeks and five days: and one thing is very remarkable, that though the town fed the royal army, which afterwards increased, and maintained at least 20,000 mouths besides, for many gentry and peasants flocked into it; yet corn, at last, rose to a price not much higher than it then sold for in London.

The mind is lost in astonishment, when it considers the wonderful foresight made use of on this extraordinary occasion. Indeed it may be asked, how the king, with so small an army, could furnish and protect his camp with such a number of cannon as 300 pieces? But the question solves itself, when we reflect, that part of the artillery along the ramparts was at his disposal, and that the arsenal of Nurenberg, both then and now, was as well furnished as most in the empire. Here one may subjoin another remark, namely, that when I make his majesty's troops amount to the number of 20,000 men, the garrison of the place, a sort of city militia, is supposed to be comprehended in the calculation. This body of troops consisted of twenty-four companies, and carried for arms, on their ensigns, the twenty-four letters of the alphabet.

Notwithstanding all these conveniences, though it must be acknowledged one half of them was created by dint of parts and genius, it has been thought by many*, and not without some appearance of reason, that the king fixed on Nurenberg more from a principle of generosity and gratitude than from any local advantages: for had he, say they, withdrawn first to Mentz, and then returned and encamped beneath the walls of Bamberg, he might have eaten out the territories of a prelate, who had used him basely, and joined his own armies, a point then of the highest consequence to him, with one third part of the danger and difficulty. Still setting apart the obligations of gratitude, and ties of reciprocal affection, Nurenberg seems to me, upon all accounts, to be the preferable place; it had both provisions and money in great abundance; it had a district round it, of about sixteen English miles square, all subject to the king's good pleasure; it was connected with a considerable number of free towns, and little protestant adjoining states; and had abundance of artillery, which the king wanted above all

* Le Vassor, &c.

things: whereas at Bamberg, the dioceſe had been devoured, in turns, by each contending party; the ordnance would have been removed, or rendered uſeleſs; magazines within the town there were none; and the inhabitants were all zealous Romaniſts, and profeſſed enemies. As to the arrival of the Swediſh armies, the king had planned that meaſure with cool reflection, and had great reaſon to hope he ſhould effect that junction under the walls of Nurenberg, and within ſight of Waſtein.

As a proof of this, in his worſt ſituation, he diſpatched a perſon he valued * to the elector of Saxony, exhorting him to behave like a man of ſpirit, and ſhew no ſymptoms of deſpondency; *Tell him*, ſaid he, *whatever appearance things may carry, I will make him a viſit ſoon, attended by my valiant and faithful army.* His majeſty had ſtill a further view in this embaſſy; for he charged his negotiator with a ſecret commiſſion, and that was, to pacify an unaccountable jealouſy and averſion, which ſubſiſted, on the Saxon ſide, againſt the king of Bohemia. He then informed the French king very compoſedly by letter, *That he was not diſtreſſed to ſuch a degree as the enemy ſet forth; but, on the contrary, had troops ſufficient to oppoſe againſt him; and that the bravery of his ſoldiers was never to be extinguiſhed, except by death. We perform our exerciſes*, continued he, *every day in the field of Mars, and will give Waſtein to underſtand what, and how much, can be performed by men who fight the cauſe of public liberty, and defend princes and nations who groan under tyranny and perſecution* †. He had preſence of mind, at the ſame juncture, to diſpatch an ambaſſador to Ragotſki, prince of Tranſylvania, under pretence of accommodating ſome differences between him and the fair Catharina of Brandenburg, relict of the late Gabriel Bethlem; but in reality, to induce him to attack the emperor in his Hungarian dominions. From Tranſylvania, the miniſter had orders to haſten to Conſtantinople, in order to learn the ſentiments of the divan, in reference to the Ger-

* Auguſtus, count Palatine of the Rhine, who paſſed on from Dreſden to Berlin, and finiſhed a ſecond negotiation there; but returning to join his maſter at Nurenberg, died at Weinſheim in Franconia. He was a young man, from whom the king had great expectations, both as a ſoldier and a politician.

† Le Vaſſor, tom. vii. 345. Whatever the king might write, yet Richelieu was ſo terrified with his majeſty's ſituation, that, fearing Wallſtein might totally deſtroy him, and of courſe render the courts of Vienna and Madrid too powerful for that of Verſailles, he immediately made propoſals of an accommodation with the duke of Orleans.

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manic wars: but in the latter place he obtained nothing, except fair words and an obliging reception.

By this time the Imperial general arrived, and having viewed the king's intrenchments, determined at once, contrary to his intentions on the road, not to aſſault, but attempt to ſtarve him: and, upon this principle, he pronounced, vain-glorioufly enough, that Europe ſhould ſee, in a few weeks, who was maſter of Germany, whether Guſtavus or himſelf. In truth, this extraordinary perſonage, putting fear out of the queſtion, did not chooſe to bring his dictatorſhip to ſo ſhort a concluſion; upon which the elector of Bavaria, who diſliked both his phlegm and his vanity, preſſed him earneſtly to force the Swediſh lines ſword in hand; "Sir," ſaid Walſtein, aſſuming an air of coldneſs, "begin the attack with your whole army, and I will ſupport you with all my forces."

Meanwhile Walſtein contemplated the new intrenchments, made by Guſtavus, with the ſame attention as a geometrician could be ſuppoſed to ſtudy a freſh work of Euclid, juſt recovered from obſcurity; being reſolved to force it, if the attempt was practicable, confiding greatly in the ſuperiority of his numbers: but, upon examining the fortifications erected, and precautions taken, he changed his reſolution, for he was thoroughly aſtoniſhed; having chanced to forget, that a few troops judiciouſly poſted, and intrenched up to the eyes, were at leaſt a match for whole Imperial légions, who were to act in a ſtate of expoſure above ground. He then coolly traced out a camp, almoſt within ſight of, yet three miles diſtant from the king. Its defence was very ſlight and inſubſtantial, conſiſting only of a ſmall ditch, protected in various parts by interlaced foreſt-trees, baggage-waggons, and gabions. He then cauſed his troops to lodge in eight different diviſions, and covered ſuch an extent of ground, that the whole appeared more like a populous country than like a camp.

As to ſubſiſting an army, there indeed laid his chief excellence; for in the management of his artillery, of which he had enough, he was no great genius, and had few good hands; nor was he, as an honeſt Briton ſaid bluntly of him, *in any degree a notable ſpade-man* *. But in reſpect to proviſions and forage, he ſhewed himſelf a purveyor of the firſt claſs. Amongſt other things, his ſtore-bread was admirable. In hard times this makes half the ſtanding diet of a ſoldier, and anſwers all purpoſes very well, when nothing

* *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part iii. p. 9.

better

better can be obtained. As he had troops to ſpare in great abundance, it was his intention to check the Swedes in all little excurſions for the ſupport of their camp; and this he partly effected, having daily more men at leiſure, than the king could bring to act upon the moſt trying emergency.

The country behind him, and on each ſide, was all open to his devotion, and proviſions and ammunition were conveyed to him even from Vienna and Munich; the firſt by water-carriage, as near as Ratiſbon. He poſſeſſed all the towns and paſſes in the circle of territories which ſurrounded him, except only beyond that little ſegment which the king occupied. He then ſtationed two large bodies of troops in the dioceſe of Bamberg and the Upper Palatinate, and cauſed his Croatians, like beaſts of prey, to ſcour the whole country night and day, in a line croſs-wiſe from Munich to Bamberg; a tract of excurſion, which meaſures at leaſt one hundred miles.

Having ſlightly ſketched out the ground-plot of a camp, he drew up ſeventeen regiments at the head of his intended lines, by way of bravado, a practice extremely common in thoſe days, being a fine *pons aſinorum* for thoſe hot-brained fighting warriors, who miſtake animal vivacity for true courage. The king humoured Walſtein in this ſort of interlude, though determined in his own mind not to hazard an engagement at that juncture, and drew out his cavalry in line of battle, juſt under the enemy's noſe; for he well knew, that a ſmall river divided the two armies, and ſerved both for a barrier and an excuſe. This river, called the Pegnitz, having traverſed Nurenberg from eaſt to weſt, paſſed between the two camps, and ſupplied both armies: but as the weather was extremely dry, and the ſeaſon of the Dog-ſtar began to approach, the Swedes and Imperialiſts ſuffered much from the ſcantineſs and corruption of the water, ſo that petechial fevers multiplied exceedingly *.

It ſoon became manifeſt to all men, that Guſtavus's conduct not only puzzled Walſtein, but created ſerious apprehenſions in the mind of that general; for it made a viſible change in his way of thinking and ſpeaking. He altered that deciſive tone which he had formerly uſed in matters of war. From being confident, he became diſtruſtful; and what was once haughtineſs and obſtinacy, began now to ſoften itſelf into ſomething, which carried the appearance of

* Brachelii. Hiſt. noſtror. Temp. p. 282.

deference

deference and docility. He found himself neceſſitated to make his military motions ſtep by ſtep, having to do with one who was capable of ruining him from the *inattention* of a ſingle moment. So that his *greateſt chance* conſiſted in the hope of compelling the king to liſten to ſome neceſſary accommodation, occaſioned partly by hunger, and partly by the interception of his re-inforcements. Perhaps he had ſome hopes too of corrupting the fidelity of the town of Nurenberg; but that was an airy and childiſh expectation. Therefore as one ſingle ſtroke, if the compariſon may be allowed, oftentimes determines the character of a general, as much as a painter; he ſaw with grief, that though Guſtavus had had ſeemingly *no* choice, yet he had choſen for his encampment *one of the beſt* places he could have found in all Germany. No town but Nurenberg could ſupport him; and in any *other* ſpot, Walſtein might have ſtarved him in a fortnight's ſpace, or hunted him, like a fugitive, from one extremity of the empire to another.

It was matter of aſtoniſhment to all mankind, that two armies, on whoſe conduct the fate of Germany depended, ſhould lie gazing on each other for eight weeks, without ſtriking more than one ſingle blow, if we except, and that indeed was unavoidable, the little onſets, ambuſcades, and ſkirmiſhes betwixt *partiſans*, who roamed here and there to procure forage, and intercept convoys: yet in all the time above-mentioned, it is not certain that a muſquet-ball was exchanged in earneſt, or one conſiderable alarm given by either party from the two encampments. The truth of the whole was this: Walſtein durſt not *attack*, and the king, for prudent reaſons, *declined* engaging; yet ſuch was the vivacity of his high ſpirit, that he declared himſelf, more than once, to be quite out of temper with the *ſhyneſs* of Walſtein, who, though he well knew the weakneſs of the Swedes, yet likewiſe knew their valour and diſcipline; and of courſe, as Gaſſion tells us *, reſolved to make it "*the campaign of ſtarving.*" And hence it was he declared ſo confidently, that the myſtery of re-eſtabliſhing his maſter's affairs did not conſiſt in giving frequent battles; that his predeceſſors had played *this* game many years, without obtaining the object of their wiſhes: Therefore, ſaid he, I ſhall take the liberty to wage war upon different principles.

This plan was not unworthy of a great general, and Walſtein had parts to comprehend the idea in its full extent; yet it is plain he proceeded upon ſelfiſh and ambi-

* *Memoires*, tom. i. p. 68.

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tious motives alſo. His grand object was to *protract* the war; he ſerved his Imperial maſter ſparingly and grudgingly; and had no deſire to remove hoſtilities from the threſhold of the Bavarian territories, whoſe elector he conſidered as the principal cauſe of his late diſgrace.

The king diſpatched couriers to the ſeveral generals he intended ſhould join him, and ſubjoined to each letter a plan and ſketch of their reſpective marches, drawn out by his own hand. He then amuſed himſelf, at intervals from more immediate buſineſs, with reviewing his troops every day, and ſeeing ſome ideas in exerciſe realized, which his inventive genius had lately brought to light. As the trial of ſkill conſiſted in ſtarving with good grace, he reſolved to fight the firſt moment he could increaſe his handful of men to a moderate number, knowing preciſely how long, and in what manner to ward the blow, or when to return it; and in the interim employed all his thoughts how to procure a mouthful of bread, when Walſtein had none. Indeed, the effects of this foreſight and economy ſoon made their appearance; for by this time, he reduced that magnificent perſon, who affected a table ſpread with princely profuſion, to ſix diſhes at dinner, for himſelf and officers, and two bottles of wine, both which reductions he was obliged afterwards to diminiſh yet further. The king, with his ſmall body of troops, haraſſed his convoys, and deſtroyed his magazines; not to mention, that Walſtein's ſupplies came by land-carriage from Ratiſbon, having no navigable ſtream to befriend him. As to the Rednitz, which ran through his camp, notwithſtanding it came from the country of his firm ally the biſhop of Bamberg, yet it was too narrow, and too ſhallow, to admit boats of any ſize; and, to increaſe this inconvenience, the ſtream was againſt him. Guſtavus, upon the whole, was the beſt purveyor; though indeed it is hard to comprehend, how an inland town like Nurenberg, could be ſupplied in the manner it was; for neither meat, nor ammunition, nor bread, were wanting; and the quantity of oats was beyond deſcription. Amongſt other things, the city furniſhed his army each day with 8000 loaves. Thus, though Walſtein took care to poſt his troops on every road that led to Nurenberg, and by the ſame methods that he deprived his enemy, ſupplied himſelf, being maſter of all the paſſes, and having a communication open with Forcheim, where the Germans gravely tell you Pontius Pilate was born *, as likewiſe with Wurtzburg,

* The verſes on the occaſion are *ſo claſſical*, both in *ſtyle* and *quantity*, that one cannot abſtain from citing them:

Forcheimii

burg, Cronach, and all Bavaria; yet the king lived better than he; not that he could diſpute every inch of ſuperiority with him, being four degrees inferior to him in reſpect of cavalry *, but by procuring better intelligence, and watching the critical moments of advantage and ſurprize.

Guſtavus, notwithſtanding his great parts and foreſight, felt ſome miſgivings in his own breaſt, in reference to the dangers that attended his little armies, which were now in full march towards him from various quarters. Far from diſcovering the leaſt external ſymptoms of diſmay, he aſked the ſeparate opinion of every general, and condeſcending even to ſend for Gaſſion †, then not arrived to the rank of a lieutenant-colonel, explained to him the critical and perilous ſituation of his army with familiarity and confidence; expreſſing no kind of *diffidence* with reſpect to his own conduct, but manifeſting *ſome* apprehenſions with regard to the fate of his reinforcements. Hence it appears, that the braveſt of men, and ſuch Guſtavus truly was, can be alarmed, though not dejected, with danger. Such preſentiments make the great general what he is, upon ſuppoſition that they do not diſturb his preſence of mind, or, in other words, the free exertion of the powers of his underſtanding.

Meanwhile Guſtavus depended as much upon the want of good agreement between Walſtein and Maximilian, as Hannibal ever expected advantage from the miſunderſtandings that ſubſiſted betwixt the Roman conſuls and the generals under them. The Bavarian elector, being a perſon equally well ſkilled in penetration and diſſembling, ſoon found, that oppoſition, far from humbling Walſtein, only ſerved to inflame and exaſperate him; and ſubmitting therefore with the beſt grace he could, he had the mortification to ſee his new and well-beloved acquiſition, the Upper Palatinate, laid waſte and devoured by his own allies. Walſtein went ſo far, as to refine upon the paſſions of reſentment and malice; for, perceiving that his rival hated Guſtavus with a mortal hatred, he affected a thouſand politeneſſes and civilities towards him, and ſpoke of him in the ſtyle of ſomething *more* than human. One circumſtance, about this period, ſeems highly probable and generous in Guſtavus; for when he ſent a route of the roads, planned by

Forchemii natus eſt Pontius ille Pilatus,
Teutoniæ gentis, crucifixor Omnipotentis.

* See *Le Blanc.* Hiſt. de Baviere, tom. iv. p. 393.

† *Vie du maréchal Gaſſion*, par Michael Le Pure, tom. i. p. 69.

by himſelf, with uncommon judgment, to every commander who was to march to his aſſiſtance; *Gentlemen*, added he, in the concluſion of his letters, *your king, and military protector, can only direct his abſent diſciples in general terms: incidents will ariſe, which no human foreſight can predetermine:* ſeize the moments; ſnatch the proffered opportunities, which take birth and flight in one inſtant. *I reſign into your hands* full diſcretionary *power*; *uſe it in a manner worthy both of me and yourſelves**.

We have kept ſilence for ſome time, with reſpect to the ſituation of affairs between Guſtavus and Charles I. but an incident preſented itſelf at this period, almoſt to a day, and we ſhall juſt touch upon it in our progreſs. Vane, piqued as the *offending* party uſually is, with the late converſation betwixt him and Guſtavus, had withdrawn himſelf, by way of reſentment, from Munich to Ulm, and renewed his ſolicitations about the reſtitution of the Lower Palatinate, moſt of which the Swedes had then conquered. This ſtep he had taken according to his old cuſtom, or, in other words, with impropriety and teaſing; and what inclines us the more to form this conjecture, is, that the king of Bohemia neither co-operated with, nor imparted his deſigns to him, as Vane himſelf confeſſes.

The ſtreſs of the difficulty laid here. Guſtavus had a full deſign to *conquer* and *reſtore* the Lower Palatinate, but as he knew the Spaniards, then very powerful at ſea, might interrupt his commerce, a point, if he had had leiſure, very near and dear to him, and perhaps ſend a fleet to give laws to the Baltic, he made it a preliminary *ſine quá non*, that England ſhould declare a *naval* war againſt Spain; than which, as with great judgment he foreſaw, nothing could be eaſier to her, or more agreeable to the bent of the nation, if the king had wiſhed, in earneſt, to ſee his brother reinſtated. Charles hung like a dead weight upon this topic, and refuſed to comply.

To the preſent part of the queſtion Vane ſays nothing; but an extract from his letter †, with reference to the preceding paragraph, may be worth tranſcribing:

"The king of Sweden, within theſe few days, hath plainly told the king of Bohemia, that he would neither conclude with him, nor myſelf, until he had ſpoken with the elector of Saxe."

* Vide *Chemnitz*, tom. *i.* p. 311.

† Dated from Ulm, June 23, 1632. *MS. Paper Office.*

"This

" This I have certain information of, though not from the king of Bohemia. Whereupon I thought fit to write him the incloſed letter. * * * Thus you ſee the hard game I have to play; and which is ſo much the more difficult, in regard of the great intelligence there is between the king of Sweden and ſome of his majeſty's ſubjects, by intercourſe of letters out of England into the army. But this is a tender point, and tenderly to be dealt in; and therefore no notice to be taken of it at preſent. What iſſue the preſent conjuncture may produce is not to be foreſeen; but I conceive it worthy of his majeſty's great wiſdom, and the ſtate's, ſeriouſly and timely to take into their conſideration the true balancing the eſtates of Chriſtendom, for they are now upon a criſis."

He then adds, that the king of Sweden, " though he had raiſed himſelf by contributions and otherwiſe, yet did not pay his troops a farthing, but ſuffered them to plunder *; and if he ſhall be obliged to retreat, and pay them no better, they may poſſibly diſband of themſelves†: therefore he (Sir Henry) hopes, that he ſhall have orders to put the king to a point, for what he holds in the Lower Palatinate, and to return to England."

As to occaſional rencounters in the field, for nothing paſſed between the main armies, never troops were kept in better breath than the Swedes and Imperialiſts: but this ſort of war *in detail*, or *la petite guerre*, as the French call it, merits not to be recorded, as it decides nothing, excepting here and there in a particular inſtance, which ſhall be juſt mentioned in my way. Yet one thing highly deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity. The king, in frequent conflicts with the Croatians, a ſet of beings he mortally hated, as way-layers, robbers, and murderers, deviſed a new practice in the military art, for mixing dragoons, who then carried a ſhorter muſquet, and not carbines, with his own light cavalry, either ſerving on foot, as occaſion required, or doing great miſchief on horſeback, as their pieces diſcharged a heavier ball.

* For the confutation of this unchriſtian and infamous report, in every branch, which Vane had dwelt upon in other letters, and we have replied to occaſionally *in loco*, compare particularly the pages 276—277, 278, &c.

† This is a ſuſpicion highly tinctured with malice: for, in the whole courſe of the king's wars, I find no deſertion, which, beſides other things, proves incidentally that his pay was punctual. Vane remembered well the old rule, *Calumniari fortiter, ut aliquid remaneat.*

Amongſt

Amongſt theſe leſſer actions of a ſignificant caſt, the valiant colonel Dewbatel, at the head of his own regiment, ſupported by ſome few of Sperreüter's * men, having defeated a party of Croatians, fell in unawares with 6000 Walſteiners; upon which event, he led his ſoldiers on four or five times to the charge, and made incredible efforts to cut his way through the enemy, till at length, having loſt one half of his little army, he found himſelf unhorſed in the engagement, and conducted priſoner to the Imperial general. His majeſty having received intelligence of this rude and unexpected ſhock, poſted away full trot, with a ſelect body of cavalry, in order to diſengage his brave commander, but unfortunately found the field of battle covered with the dead bodies of his ſoldiers, and nothing elſe; for the Imperialiſts very wiſely retired the very moment after they had performed their buſineſs.

Walſtein received Dewbatel with uncommon marks of eſteem, and commanded Peroni, ſteward of his houſehold, immediately to diſcharge his ranſom, which in thoſe days, for an officer of that rank, ran ſometimes to the amount of *one thouſand pounds*. More reaſons perhaps than *one* induced him to perform this act of politeneſs. He knew the man to be a favourite with Guſtavus, and hoped probably, by ſuch an inſtance of generoſity, which indeed agreed with Walſtein's natural temper, to open an honeſt warrior's heart, and extract ſome uſeful intelligence from him. Therefore from theſe motives, and under pretence of admiring Sperreüter's turn of mind and diſpoſition, he created occaſions of holding ſeveral private converſations, which ran chiefly upon encomiums with regard to Guſtavus, and on the earneſt deſire he had to give peace to Germany, and produce a reconciliation between the emperor and his majeſty of Sweden.

Not many days afterwards, ſome Swediſh partiſans, with Gaſſion amongſt them, had the good fortune to ſeize Darmitz, an officer of Walſtein, in whom that general placed a peculiar confidence, who was haſtening without a ſufficient guard from one quarter to another. Him his majeſty examined ſtrictly, *upon oath*, ſuch was his uſual cuſtom with priſoners of condition, and finding that Walſtein intended to remove to his camp the next day a large magazine from Freyſtadt, which contained all that could be amaſſed in Bavaria,

* What this officer's real name was, I know not; for the king one day in Poland, returning over the field of battle, ſaw a ſoldier pierced through with a pike, and the inſtrument remaining in his body, without diſcovering any ſymptoms of pain or uneaſineſs; which ſtruck his majeſty ſo much, that he ſurnamed him on the ſpot Sperreüter, *or knight of the ſpear*.

the

the Higher Palatinate, and the biſhoprics of Ratiſbon and Aichſtadt, he conceived an idea of intercepting or deſtroying the convoy, and put the execution thereof into Dewbatel's hands, who by this time was returned from the Imperial army *. This officer, impatient to juſtify his majeſty's choice, left him towards the cloſe of the evening, having received his private orders, and mounted on horſeback, at the head of three regiments of cavalry, his own dragoons being one, which the king allowed him to ſelect from all the army. Gaſſion had a private order from his majeſty ſome minutes before, and had the honour to aſſiſt in this expedition with his own ſhattered regiment, conſiſting only of 300 horſe. They arrived at Freyſtadt, a ſmall town near Neumarck, about ſixteen miles from Nurenberg, about two hours after midnight; ſecured the corps de guard unperceived, and fixed three petards to the town-gate, the laſt of which ſucceeded. Dewbatel ſhaped his entrance one way, and Gaſſion the other; ſo that in two hours the whole garriſon, being oppreſſed on either ſide, was either killed or diſarmed. Then the Swedes had leiſure to load 200 waggons with military ſtores, and burnt more than 1000 loads of corn and hay; after which they began their retreat compoſedly and in good order, driving with them an incredible number of cattle. Who could have imagined, that the Swedes, with ſo ſmall an army, would have undertaken an enterprise, which befitted the perſons only, who had a ſuperiority of forces? Meanwhile the king, who knew what Walſtein would do on this occaſion, almoſt as well as Walſtein himſelf, advanced with a body of 2000 cavalry, to ſecure the retreat of his men. Eventually, as he concluded, the Imperial general took the alarm in an inſtant, and diſpatched Spar, ſerjeant-major di battaglia, with his own regiment of muſqueteers, and ſome other infantry, eight ſelect troops of Gonzaga's and Coloredo's horſe, and twenty ſquadrons of Croatians, to make an example of theſe adventurers. But as his majeſty accidentally fell in with Spar, without ſeeing his own troops, or being ſeen by them, they retired without any moleſtation, and knew nothing of all that happened, till the fortune of the day had been decided. Spar, the Imperial general, who outnumbered the king doubly, for his majeſty thought by joining his own troops to preſerve an equality in numbers, felt himſelf animated with the glory of fighting a battle in miniature with the great Guſtavus; and, of courſe,

* *Hiſt. or Auth. Relations*, in Low Dutch, fol. tom. ii. 82. 82.

gave him ſo deſperate a charge, that colonel Reiſs was ſhot through the body; and a gentleman of the bedchamber, and Cratzenſtein, one of the pages, were both killed at their maſter's ſide. As Reiſs led the commanded muſqueteers, the king was obliged to diſmount, and conduct them himſelf, perſevering with incredible patience, knowing well that his men would never deſert him. At length the Croatians began gradually to diſappear, by little and little. The regular horſe behaved well in part; but two Imperial regiments * performed wonders, for, having gained the covert of a ſmall wood, they fought on till they had not a ſingle charge of powder remaining; and then, by mutual conſent, filed off among the trees, but the ground behind perplexed them in their eſcape. Gonzaga's horſe ran away, for which Walſtein convened him before a court martial, though he had the honour to be couſin to the empreſs, and though it appeared, on his trial, that he kept the field after every man of his regiment had deſerted it. This rough encounter happened in the neighbourhood of a village, called Burgtham, about three miles from Altdorf †. The king, during the conflict, was ſo pleaſed with the behaviour of Leſlie and Gordon, who were afterwards concerned in Walſtein's death, that he declared publicly, if he took them priſoners, he would diſcharge them without delay, and pay their ranſom himſelf. This he did; but ſome obſtructions deferred the execution of his promiſe for the ſpace of five weeks. When the confuſion of the action was partly over, ſome Swedes ſaw a horſe, richly capariſoned, faſtened to a thorn-tree, and aſking an Imperial horſe-boy ‡ if he knew the owner, received for anſwer, that it was his general's; and amidſt ſome officers and ruſhes juſt by, for the ground there was very moraſſy, and the cavalry could not clear it, at length Spar was diſcovered, who, making ſome reſiſtance, received two very rude ſtrokes from the club end of a muſquet, and ſoon loſt the maſſy gold chain which hung round his neck. This officer was ſomewhat unfortunate, for he had paid one ranſom the preceding year; and what perplexed him afterwards in his examination, and gave the king ſome advantage over him, was, that he had paſſed his parole not to ſerve againſt the Swedes for a certain duration of time. When brought to his majeſty, in the field of action, the king only ſaid, laughing heartily, *Ah!*

* Theſe regiments were Iriſh and Scotch.

† *Inveſtions of Germany, cum Fig.* 12°. p. 76. Lond. 1638.

‡ Theſe horſe-boys, in both the ſervices, were probationiſts for the cavalry.

monſieur

monſieur Spar, I ſee you love me ſo dearly, that you cannot poſſibly refrain long from my company *.

Beſides thoſe already mentioned, Tertzki likewiſe, Walſtein's brother in law, was taken priſoner. The enemy loſt 800 choſen men on this occaſion; but only two pair of colours, having taken care to tear the others into pieces. His majeſty rewarded the common ſoldiers, who brought him theſe colours, very generouſly, gratified many officers, and complimented all, ſpoke to ſeveral inferior men by name, and applauded them highly. At night he returned Dewbatel public thanks before the principal commanders of his army; and thought the advantage ſo conſiderable, as to ſend for his chaplain, and order mention to be made thereof in the devotions of next day.

Gaſſion, with his comrades, reached the camp before his majeſty arrived; upon which, with fifteen choſen horſemen, he remounted immediately, and went in ſearch of his maſter, whom he found returning. The king embraced him with a ſmile, and aſked his intentions: "Sire," ſaid he, in military Latin, for he then could not talk German, "you once promiſed me the honour of dying near you, and I haſtened now to take my chance." *Frenchman*, replied Guſtavus, for that was the appellation he always gave him, *take my word, I will engage in no battle, but you ſhall ſhare in the blows given and received on either ſide.*

As Spar had violated his *parole* of honour, given at Franc-fort upon the Oder, of not ſerving againſt Guſtavus and his allies for a certain period of time, he proved a priſoner that might be depended upon, as he was expoſed to the rigor of the then eſtabliſhed military practice. Being twice examined by the king in perſon, upon oath, he anſwered, on the faith of a Chriſtian, that he knew nothing of Walſtein's deſigns, as that general made no participators in his ſecrets: but the commonly received opinion, with which his own coincided, was, that he aimed only to compel him by hunger into a treaty. The king inſiſted no farther, and was perhaps the only prince or general, as the cuſtom then run, that would have pardoned Spar in ſuch a ſituation as that officer ſtood.

In this partiſan war, a ſort of piracy and murder, offenſive to a generous ſpirit, and particularly as it rarely determined any thing, his majeſty began to diſcover great uneaſineſs; for many of the beſt generals, including the common ſoldiers almoſt to a man, began to grow cruel and

* *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part iii. p. 22.

rapacious. This hurt the king's mind both as a Chriſtian and a warrior; for it was a maxim with him, that avarice was illiberal in a military man, and that barbarity uſually implied cowardice. Beſides, he plainly foreſaw, that want of *morals* would ſoon create want of *diſcipline*; and that *then* his once invincible army would be reduced to the level of the common ſtandard. Nay, he remarked, that even Walſtein in the preſent campaign preſerved a ſubordination and regularity which were quite the reverſe of that licentiouſneſs with which he had formerly indulged his troops. Sending therefore for every commander to his tent from the lieutenant-colonels to the lieutenant-general, the latter being the ſecond poſt then in all armies, and aſſuming, which is very difficult, an air of affliction and firmneſs at the ſame time, he delivered his ſentiments in the following words:

Gentlemen,

*You partly belong to thoſe numbers who have ſhewn themſelves unfaithful and diſloyal to their own country *, having endeavoured to procure and complete its ruin to the utmoſt of your power. You, my generals, and all you my inferior officers, I have ever eſteemed as brave cavaliers, and make this confeſſion now to your honour; teſtifying at the ſame time, that, upon all occaſions of ſervice offered, and more particularly in the hour of battle, you have given me ſuch demonſtrations of your valour, as have entirely ſatisfied my moſt ardent wiſhes. But when I reflect on the ravages, extortions, and cruelties lately committed †, and believe me, my friends, the ſeeing you all before me enlivens my memory with the ſtrongeſt recollection, and that you, perſons of rank, birth, education, and competent incomes, have been guilty yourſelves of thoſe very inſults, and companions of thoſe who neither obſerve diſcipline, nor ſee it obſerved;——I own my mind is ſtruck with aſtoniſhment and horror. Turn your eyes inward upon your own conſciences; and I aſk no more. Is it not a caſe afflicting and deplorable; is it not a ſight odious to the Supreme Being; that one Chriſtian, even of the ſame profeſſion in religion, ſhould deſpoil another? That brethren ſhould render brethren miſerable, and friends deſtroy friends? Demons themſelves, as far as can be conjectured, have more juſtice and leſs barbarity!*

How often has anguiſh cut me to the heart, when the voice of fame reports, on numberleſs occaſions, that the Swediſh ſoldiers

* Meaning Germany; for the German officers and ſoldiers were neither ſo moral nor ſo well diſciplined as the Swediſh.

† In Bavaria; where uninterrupted ſucceſſes firſt rendered them inſolent.

are

are more cruel and more licentious than the Imperialiſts! But here lies a miſtake. All my troops are denominated Swedes, but the offence ſprings from the native Germans: and had I known the caſt and complexion of the nation in the ſame manner as I now ſtand informed; and that you, Germans born, had no more natural affection for your mother-country than has ſince appeared, rendering it no better ſervices, and diſcovering no greater fidelity towards it; believe me, on the honour of a ſoldier, I would never have ſaddled a horſe in your behalf; much leſs hazarded my life, kingdoms, and reputation, as alſo the perſons of thoſe brave and faithful men, who accompanied me hither, for you.

No——ſince I now perceive, that you are animated with a rage for the deſtruction of your country, it would have been my choice and judgment both to have left you preciſely in the ſtate I found you; that is, in other words, plunged and buried in the depths of ſlavery as well mental as corporeal.

Let your own conſciences bear teſtimony, that it is not my uſual cuſtom to deny any of you a requeſt that is reaſonable; and the Supreme Being knows moreover, that I never intended more than, by the co-operation of divine aſſiſtance, to reſtore every man to his own, and his own to every man; and for the acquiſitions propoſed to be made in Franconia and Bavaria, it was my fixed intention to diſtribute them impartially to the nobility and gentry of the German nation, and leave no man's good ſervices unrewarded. But this diabolical practice of ravaging and deſtroying lays a dead weight, I muſt confeſs, on my beſt purpoſes, and checks the vigour of my chriſtian reſolutions. But anſwer me, fellow ſoldiers! have you not the ſpirit and dignity of ſentiment to reflect a little, what kind of idea poſterity will form concerning you in future hiſtories? Remember, likewiſe, I conjure you, what perplexities you are creating to your honour and conſciences, and what viſitations and puniſhments you are now drawing down, not only on your own perſons, but on your country and ſucceſſors, by theſe outrageous acts of oppreſſion and inhumanity! Oh! that you could once reflect what an account you have to ſettle at the great tribunal! Happy, thrice happy had been my condition, if I had ſtill remained in my own kingdoms, and not travelled ſo far to behold ſuch enormities as I have beheld!

You will ſay, perhaps, that you want money, and yet it is evident to all mankind, that I pay you and the whole army punctually, to the full extent of my power: but by your depredations, extortions and ravages, you bring the honour of my credit in queſtion, and deprive me of the very means to ſupport my forces. And whence, I demand a ſecond time, proceeds it, that you are not ſatisfied? What ſhare have I received, in any

inſtance, from all your plunder?——Juſt nothing. Here therefore I proteſt, in the preſence of the Supreme Being, for what I ſay is religiouſly true, that in all this war I have not enriched myſelf to the amount of ſix German dollars*. *Nay, I can make it appear to demonſtration, if any doubting perſon amongſt you deſires to be ſatisfied under this article, that I have drawn from my own patrimonial treaſures, ſince I have left Stockholm, at two and thirty ſeveral remittances, the full and complete ſum of three hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds; all which I have expended for your advantage, and for the re-eſtabliſhment of ſuch princes as are united with me in the ſame truth of religion. This, it is true,——for there may be ſome tincture of vanity in the recital, I ought perhaps to have kept in the dark: but one thing there is, which I can never allow to be buried in oblivion, and that is, the loſs ſo many brave and excellent officers, whoſe virtues indeed ſurpaſs all eſtimate. Here gratitude and human nature muſt break forth: for I valued ſuch perſons beyond all my riches.——And to proceed ſtill farther, what have you, gentlemen, from the firſt to the meaneſt, ever contributed towards the expences of the war?*

Henceforth therefore I requeſt *and* COMMAND *you to deſpoil no man of his goods or poſſeſſions. As you have ſpirit and intrepidity, leave the marks of them on the breaſts of your enemies; but ſtain not the honour of a warrior by committing outrages on the unarmed and the innocent.*

BE CONTENT WITH YOUR WAGES †, *as a ſoldier ought; and ſubſiſt not by pilfering and plunder, like banditti and Croatians! Otherwiſe, you, from the higheſt to the loweſt, will be always* infamous; *and I, with ſuch aſſiſtants, ſhall never become* victorious †.

Thus ſpoke the king; and the ſpeech which is here produced, almoſt verbatim, carries its own marks of authenticity with it, being of ſuch a caſt, that few hiſtorians will have the *vanity* to ſay they were able to *invent* it. The effect was, it ſoon melted the rugged audience into tears, and produced afterwards a thorough reformation. Nor was a ſyllable offered by way of juſtification or excuſe. Nevertheleſs, his majeſty purſued the blow with a general proclamation, to which it was annexed by way of penalty, that thenceforwards he would pardon no man, of what rank ſoever, either of

* About one guinea Engliſh. In the original he pointed, it is ſaid, to the boots he had then on: *I have not gained*, obſerved he, *this ſingle pair of boots, which I now wear.* See *Schefferi* Memorab. 149.

† *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part iii. p. 24, 25, 26. See alſo *Chemnitz*, tom. i. p. 317: and, *The Hiſtorical, but Authentic Relation*, fol. Low Dutch, tom. ii. p. 80, &c.

birth

birth or military ſtation, in caſe he appeared to be a delinquent. *And if*, added he to ſome German officers, *you dare pretend to* deſert *or* mutiny, *I have enough left of my faithful and valiant Swedes to cut you all to pieces even in Walſtein's preſence: for having* reaſon *and* Chriſtianity *on my ſide*, I WILL BE OBEYED. He then cauſed a lieutenant to be hanged, whoſe ill ſtars led him to be the firſt offender; and when a poor peaſant complained of a common ſoldier, who had ſtolen the ſupport of his family, a ſingle cow, he ſeized the fellow with his own hands, and calling for the regimental executioner, commanded him that inſtant to perform his office; *Friend*, ſaid he to the criminal, *every ſoldier is my child: yet it is better for thee to die, than that the wrath of God ſhould deſcend, on account of this tranſgreſſion, upon me, and thee, and the whole army aſſembled round us* *.

Walſtein ſtill continued his politeneſs and deference towards Guſtavus, and reſtoring to him a captain Reiſchel, after having entertained him at his own table, and diſcharged his ranſom to the Croatians, beſought that officer to aſſure his majeſty, That he conſidered him as the *firſt general* in the world, and ſhould die contented, if he could only have the honour of concluding a peace between him and the emperor. His majeſty received this meſſage at table with a ſmile, and anſwered, *That Walſtein, it muſt be confeſſed, was a perſon of magnificence; and as he was always ready to do him juſtice, ſo he was too honeſt a man to wiſh his death, eſpecially till he could once have the pleaſure of giving him a good ſhake by the collar in open field* †.

By this time maladies began to be extremely rife in either army: for the water of the Pegnitz, which ſupplied them both, grew ſcanty and diſturbed, and the putrefaction of dead horſes was ſuch, that petechial fevers raged to a degree ſcarcely credible. His majeſty ſuffered moſt from want of green forage, and was maſter only of a ſtrip of meadow-ground for that purpoſe. It was now reported not only at Vienna, but throughout all Europe, that Guſtavus had humbly ſued for peace. True it is, the *pacificator-general* of the empire ‡ made a tender of his ſervices; the Daniſh ambaſſador renewed his late attack, and interpoſed a little; Chriſtian-William, late adminiſtrator of Magdeburg, and

* Chemnitzius de Bello Susco-Germanico, tom. i. 316.

† *Mercure Franç.* à l'an. 1632, p. 388.

‡ So the king always ſtyled, in a ludicrous manner, the landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, who was ſuppoſed to be a ſecret penſioner to the emperor,

couſin to the queen of Sweden, had private permiſſion, being before a priſoner, to leave Vienna, in order to ſound the king's diſpoſitions; and Spar propoſed to make terms with Walſtein from his own free will; but his majeſty continued ſhy, and deſired to be excuſed from hearing the *bare mention* of any ſingle preliminary. As a proof of the ſincerity of his declarations in this reſpect, he wrote to Oxenſtiern, commanding him to join him; *but*, ſaid he, *conceive not your maſter in* ſuch *a ſituation, as to ſuppoſe yourſelf obliged to run ſuch bold and hazardous riſks, as men uſually do in affairs of deſperation. Proceed coolly and ſolidly; let no apprehenſions hurry you from the free exertion of your underſtanding.* I can look the enemy in the face for a longer continuance.

It may be worth while now to conſider this great maſter-ſtroke in the art of war, the conduct of Guſtavus; who remained, begirt with numbers trebly ſuperior to his own forces, from the beginning of June till the 21ſt of Auguſt; for *that day* his ſeveral armies reached him. Their firſt conjunction with themſelves was tedious and difficult, and their combined march, in order to join their ſovereign, was long, intricate, and dangerous. The chancellor Oxenſtiern then laid in the electorates of Mentz, Triers, and Cologn, where he had upon his hands the Spaniſh troops, whom Horn held in play with a ſmall army during his abſence. He had a junction likewiſe to form with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, who was to ſteer his courſe through Pappenheim's troops; but fortunately for him, that vigilant general was then making his *romantic* and *heroic* journey to the relief of Maſtricht. When it was that the king wrote firſt to Oxenſtiern with directions to advance, I once knew, but the memorandum is miſlaid; nevertheleſs, it was, if I miſtake not, about the middle of June; but the chancellor could not poſſibly move till the 11th of July.

Duke William of Weimar, his younger brother Bernard being recalled to Nurenberg, was then near the lake of Conſtance, ſo that Milan firſt, and all Italy afterwards, began to tremble. This perhaps is only a figurative manner of expreſſion in the author I am now peruſing *, and took its riſe, probably, from the zeal of the honeſt Finlanders, who being no great geographers, aſked the peaſants about Lindaw, *how many days march it might be from thence to Rome?*

This general, about the time that Walſtein *beſieged* the king, for that indeed is the moſt proper expreſſion which can be uſed on the occaſion, this general, I ſay, received orders

* *Loccenii* Hiſt. rerum Succicarum, p. 596.

to

to haſten in perſon from the foot of the Alps almoſt to the Baltic; namely, to the duchy of Magdeburg, and the biſhopric of Halberſtadt; in order to glean up the Engliſh and Scottiſh remains of Hamilton's army, now reduced to two regiments, the firſt commanded by Ballandine, and the latter by Alexander Hamilton. Our vigilant and induſtrious countrymen ſaved their future general a part of his labour; for, venturing forwards of themſelves with generous reſolution, they reached Halle in Saxony, where they found the blue and green brigades, four companies of Mitzval's infantry, and two regiments of cavalry. Thence paſſing through Lutzen and Zeitz, they found their commander, who had with him few forces, except his own guards, that attended him from Suabia; and then croſſing the foreſt of Thuringia, reached Franconia, where five Saxon regiments joined them, of which two were horſe. At length they fell in with the chancellor Oxenſtiern at Wurtzburg about the tenth of Auguſt.

The general, Banier, who led the *third* army, was then near Augſburg, where he commanded againſt Cratz, late Bavarian velt-marechal under Tilly *. On receiving his inſtructions he croſſed the Danube, nor durſt his enemy purſue him; and gliding by the weſtern ſide of his maſter's camp, ſo far was the king from wanting his aſſiſtance, advanced to Weinsheim in the margraviate of Anſpach, with a view to facilitate the approach of Oxenſtiern and duke William of Weimar. But how vaſt was his ſurprize, and how greatly did he admire the king's judgment and intrepidity, when he found his brother Bernard poſted there with a ſtrong detachment from the royal camp! Hence it is plain, that Guſtavus with his handful of men deſpiſed all the efforts of Walſtein; and felt no pain but how to enable his combined armies to reach him with ſafety; blending and conſolidating them together in one point from the greateſt diſtances; overlooking the loſs of days and weeks, with reſpect to his own diſtreſſes, and expoſing himſelf to all ſorts of dangers, upon condition only, that he could once make them ſtrong enough to look Walſtein in the face, in caſe he marched from his lines to intercept their approach; which he knew to be both poſſible and

* It may be worth while to remark here once for all, that the poſt of velt-maréchal was beneath that of the lieutenant-general; which the French hiſtorians are ignorant of in their accounts of theſe wars: for they talk of a velt-maréchal as commander in chief; whereas it appears from hiſtory, that Francis Albert, duke of Saxe-Lauenberg, after the king's death, was appointed velt-maréchal of the Saxon army under lieutenant-general Arnheim.

practicable:

practicable:——provided the Imperial general had ſpirit enough to undertake the enterpriſe.

The Swediſh troops being thus ſurprizingly aſſembled together, advanced ſlowly and cautiouſly, for ſuch were their directions, to Hertzog-Aurach, which, as it was a walled town protected with a ſtrong caſtle, the king took, in ſpite of Walſtein, for their conveniency, a few days before. From this place they proceeded gently to Bruck, which lies ten miles to the north of Nurenberg, where the river Aurach falls into the Pegnitz: and on the weſtern ſide, the town and caſtle ſtanding to the eaſtward, which ſhews what an excellent defence the king's prudence ſecured for them, they fortified and encamped themſelves for three days. There Guſtavus made them a viſit, and led them triumphantly to his camp under Walſtein's noſe. They amounted to 26,000 hardy veterans, who deſired nothing more than to come to blows. His majeſty acknowledged their zeal and diligence, their affection and fidelity, with a tranſport of joy; and ſoon availing himſelf of their ſpirit and ardour, determined to bring this *gazing* and *ſtarving* conteſt to a ſhort concluſion.

Walſtein's countenance began to change at this junction; and as he had not ventured to attack the Swediſh reinforcements in their approach, people thence formed preſages favourable to the proteſtant cauſe. The king burnt with impatience to talk to the Imperial general in a higher ſtyle. When he had troops to act, it was never his humour to allow them to ſit with their arms folded; and he, whoſe eyes penetrated into, and whoſe ears were open to every thing, had chanced to maintain a correſpondence with a couple of futlers in the Imperial army; but one of them, happening to be detected in ſtealing Cronenberg's ſervice of plate, confeſſed the treaſon, and impeached his accomplice. They were both broken on the wheel the ſame day; and thus the king's correſpondence was entirely ruined.

The king having ſet apart a day of public thankſgiving for the arrival of his armies, and borrowed money of the Nurenbergers at ſix *per cent.* in order to advance a month's pay to his forces, balanced immediately in his own mind, whether he might not have recourſe to forcible means, inaſmuch as artifice had failed him, and his information been deſtroyed at the very ſource. At length he formed the heroical reſolution, to which an unlucky circumſtance afterwards contributed, of beſieging and attacking Walſtein in his own lines, determined either to enter his camp, or compel him to diſ-

lodge. *This* general, as well as the elector of Bavaria, aſtoniſhed at the ſight of ſuch extraordinary preparations, ſent expreſs upon expreſs to Pappenheim, beſeeching him to aſſiſt in reſcuing them from their dangerous ſituation: but that commander, who loved neither of them, and who made the ſacrifice of his plain-dealing to no man, affecting independency, and having his own particular ambition and humours, made them no return but ceremonious excuſes, and well-ſtudied delays; for he conſidered himſelf as the only antagoniſt worthy to oppoſe Guſtavus, in the character of generaliſſimo of the Imperial armies. The reaſon he was ſo ardently ſought for appears to be as follows. Walſtein, apprehenſive of ſtarving, had ſent Holk, into Miſnia, with ten thouſand men; ſo that he only exceeded the Swedes by fourteen thouſand, and ſuch troops as he could draft from outpoſts and neighbouring garriſons; which might make about half an equivalent for thoſe he had detached.

His majeſty, with little ceremony, thundered upon Walſtein from three vaſt batteries of cannon; and that general, who, by this time, had learned to copy Guſtavus in expecting great things from the force of artillery, erected batteries in all convenient places, and gave his officers charge, under pain of his higheſt diſpleaſure, which with him was but another phraſe for diſgrace, degradation, or death, never to be tranſported by any heat of paſſion, or any ſeeming fitneſs of opportunity, into an engagement, more than barely defenſive and repulſive. As this attack was undertaken, diſcontinued, and reſumed for ſeveral days, it ſo happened, that whenever the king's troops advanced too near, or expoſed their flanks, the Walſteiners treated them very roughly, but always contented themſelves with the firſt advantage, and never once gave a momentary opening, which Guſtavus watched for, and ſtrove to entice them too, whereby things might be drawn on to a general action; ſo implicitly was Walſtein obeyed. Indeed, never was a commander better calculated to break the ſpirit of that dangerous ſort of officers, who do great miſchief merely by poſſeſſing animal courage, without coolneſs and conduct. In one of theſe engagements Banier received a muſquet-ſhot in his arm, juſt above the elbow-joint, which remaining there, gave him inexpreſſible torment.

The king then diſmantling his batteries, employed two days in paſſing the greater part of his forces over the Rednitz, at a ſmall diſtance above the town of Furt; in croſſing which little river, William Harvey, only ſon of the earl of Briſtol,

Briſtol, was unfortunately drowned. He was a young man endowed with every amiable quality, and ſerved, that day, with the curioſity of a ſtranger, being then returning home from a tour of three years duration over France, Italy, and Germany.

In making this movement, the king propoſed to diſlodge Walſtein from a part of his encampment; for by ſeizing a certain eminence, he had then full power, which he wanted before, to bring three newly-erected batteries to perform their duty. The Imperial general foreſeeing the conſequence, retired to the old caſtle of Altenberg, which name implied an high ſituation, and there intrenched himſelf anew. The foreſt of Altenberg ſpread itſelf round him; the aſcent of the hill was ſteep and craggy. He immured himſelf behind a three-fold barrier of trees, each riſing in a ſemi-circle one above the other; and in ſhort poſſeſſed a lodgment hardly poſſible to be taken, provided the defendants acquitted themſelves like men of honour.

It is thought, that Aldringer, who was a perſon of ſharp and ready parts, induced the king, by an artifice, to aſſail a poſt, which upon cool examination, if the king had been left to himſelf, he would certainly have declined. For at nine o'clock, juſt after finiſhing morning prayers, which were longer than uſual, as the day was a feſtival *, a valet de chambre of Aldringer, who had himſelf been a valet de chambre, and riſing by his dexterity and courage knew how to chooſe an enterpriſing genius, was brought priſoner into the king's preſence. This adventurer, who threw himſelf purpoſely into the way of the Swedes, told his majeſty, with an air of confident firmneſs, that the Imperial commander was then actually decamping, in order to comply with the remonſtrances of his troops, who declared they were ready to die as ſoldiers ought, but did not chooſe to periſh by famine. The king from his eminence ſoon diſcovered the enemy in great motion, and ordering his men to advance, learned at length this fatal truth, that they were only haſtening to ſeize a poſt †, which, if Aldringer's ſervant had not miſled his judgment, he had ſurely taken poſſeſſion of before Walſtein could do ſo. Piqued therefore to ſee himſelf overreached by a ſuborned diſſembler, concerning whoſe future fate or puniſhment we know nothing, he ſaw the deſperate nature of the undertaking, yet reſolved to proceed; ſtung to the

* St. Bartholomew, Auguſt 24.

† An old fortreſs called, The Burgſtal.

heart

heart with the phlegm of Walſtein and the artifice of Aldringer. Thus when the paſſions are thoroughly diſturbed, there appear to be certain moments in war, where the parts of a finite being are hardly ſufficient; ſince ſomething of human infirmity will ever adhere to the moſt perfect man.

The king, forming his reſolution in an inſtant, and ordering the dragoons and part of his cavalry to diſmount, advanced ſword in hand at the head of the van-guard of the left wing*, having ordered each poſt to be relieved every two hours; but the main attack againſt the ruinous caſtle of Altenberg was ſupported wholly by commanded muſqueteers, all drafted from the ſeveral brigades, who left their colours below the mountain with their companions †. There was an arched projection on one ſide of the hill over-hung with trees; and in this hollow the king lodged his body of reſerve. Many other deſperate attacks were made, and one particularly on the poſts where Aldringer and Caraffa were lodged, and where Walſtein, Galas, and Aldringer ſtood during the courſe of the engagement. The firſt diſappointment ſeemed rather to ſharpen than blunt his majeſty's courage; for all the batteries being now mounted, he thundered upon the enemy continually, with more than two hundred pieces of cannon, to which Walſtein replied with unwearied diligence. The king, though ever fixed in one place, formed the diſpoſition of each attack, and diſpatched his orders accordingly; and the whole combined operation proceeded only upon one principle, which was, to poſſeſs the ſummit of the mountain; a taſk rendered difficult by nature, and more ſo by the intervention of art, and the obſtinate reſiſtance of the imperial troops; for Walſtein's army was a piece of machinery, which he forced to act almoſt as long as he pleaſed. On the contrary, Guſtavus's men loved and adored him on a principle of honour, and fought death out of free choice and pure magnanimity. Yet the height of the mountain was

* The curious may like to know, how the poſts of honour were diſtributed on this important day's ſervice. Duke William of Weimar was lieutenant-general; and his buſineſs was to take the command in caſe of accident: his brother Bernard conducted the cavalry, and general Strief, an old Manfelder, ſerved under him. Some ſubſtitute acted for Banier as commander of the infantry, and Torſtenſon directed the artillery. Hence it appears, that Oxenſtiern had riſen to no great employment as a ſoldier; nor had the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, both then preſent, any diſtinguiſhed command. Guſtavus never made compliments of rank or ſeniority in a battle.

† Theſe aſſailants were all ſubdivided into little bodies, conſiſting of 500 men; and an experienced colonel, for the king had ſometimes five in a brigade, a lieutenant-colonel, and other proper officers, were aſſigned to each body.

unattainable,

unattainable, though not a ſingle Swede behaved amiſs. The reader may form ſome idea of its ſtrength from the following circumſtance: word was brought Walſtein by an aid de camp, that *the king had mounted the hill.* He anſwered haſtily, with a mixture of profaneneſs and ſurprize, for he was extravagant in his language, beyond all imagination, *That he would not believe there was a Supreme Being in heaven, if that caſtle could poſſibly be taken from him* *. Now, if a man reflects coolly on this monſtrous expreſſion, which nothing but the fidelity of an hiſtorian would have allowed me to repeat, I think it is pretty plain it aroſe more from being diſconcerted than from impiety. I mention it partly to ſhew, that Walſtein wanted preſence of mind upon great emergencies; and being firmly perſuaded, that the place was not to be conquered by human means, broke out into a profuſion of downright nonſenſe as well as profaneneſs.

Now began the ſharpeſt ſervice that had been ſeen during the courſe of the thirty years wars: ſo that the old officers, on either ſide, all agreed, that the battles of Prague and Leipſic were but a ſort of holiday reviews, when compared with the bloody ſervice of this day. The Swedes were expoſed and naked from head to foot. The Walſteiners, on the contrary, laid buried in their intrenchments, not to mention parapets of felled oaks diſpoſed in treble and fourfold rows, inſomuch that it was impoſſible for the Swediſh cavalry to act, or even ſuſtain their infantry. The conflict laſted ten hours without intermiſſion, which probably never happened in the ſame degree of violence, either before that time, or ſince; and the fire of the cannon and muſquetry was ſo fierce and unremitted, that the whole mountain appeared to be in a flame †, as if the king purpoſed to perform ſomething eminent in the way of artillery near Nurenberg, where, according to moſt accounts, the invention of cannon made its firſt appearance. Walſtein wanted no advantage that he could wiſh; and though ſix thouſand men filled the principal poſt, yet he had the power to replace them from his camp every half hour; and beſides, within the walls of the caſtle, he had opportunity to lodge one thouſand ſoldiers, who, out of the reach of cannon-ball, ſtood

* *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part. iii. p. 50.

† By the account of the military ſtore-keepers, the king fired that day almoſt 200,000 cannon-ſhots. *Chemnitz.* vol. i. 313. This ſeems a miſtake, for each piece of ordnance muſt have been diſcharged nearly 1000 times.

prepared

prepared to ruſh forth upon the leaſt emergency. Many Swediſh regiments returned ſix, ſeven, and eight times to the attack, for the king never left the front line, ſince it was a ſervice of ſo deſperate a nature, that a commander in chief was obliged to put himſelf upon a worſe footing than the meaneſt ſoldier that ſerved under him. In a word, it was thought, both parties engaged, we ſpeak of infantry and dragoons, almoſt to a man, ſome in one place and ſome in another; for the deſperate raſhneſs of the Swedes, and the obſtinacy of the Imperialiſts, were not to be paralleled.

Amongſt the ſeveral attempts upon Walſtein's camp, duke Bernard's attack appeared upon trial to be more practicable than that of the king; and when the report was communicated to his majeſty by an aid de camp, colonel Hepburn was diſpatched immediately to ſurvey the ground; and bringing word, that the account was juſt, the king flew thither and examined the ſituation himſelf. *Sir*, ſaid he to Hepburn, *you have made a true and faithful report; yet I muſt not aim at making my principal impreſſion here. It demands at leaſt my whole body of infantry, and then the artillery and cavalry are left naked to the mercy of the enemy, who may chuſe where to make his capital effort, or aſſault me, if he pleaſe, in two places at once.* This account has been delivered down by Hepburn himſelf, a perſon who at that juncture bore his maſter ſome *ill will*; and confutes a rumour, then current over the empire; namely, that Guſtavus might have carried his point, and diſlodged Walſtein, if he could have departed from his obſtinacy, and, following duke Bernard's advice, reſigned an ill choſen poſt in exchange for a ſecond, that was better ſituated. So far was this aſſertion from being true, that on the contrary, all the generals teſtified their approbation of the king's ſedateneſs of judgment, as well as quickneſs of deciſion.

Having mentioned ſomething relative to Hepburn, it may be worth obſerving here, that one or two ſharp expreſſions had paſſed between him and the king a few days before, upon which the former angrily and haughtily declared, that he would never more unſheath his ſword in the Swediſh quarrel *. Therefore, in the preſent action, he attended the king as a ſimple ſpectator. When duke Bernard's impor-

* Part of this account is taken from *P. Bougéant's Hiſtoire des guerres, &c. qui precedérent la paix de Weſtfalie*, and it is the only paſſage wherein I have derived the leaſt aſſiſtance from him: for though his work is a clear piece of proſe, well methodized, yet his materials are few and meagre, nor are his *three* original authors, whom he copies, judiciouſly choſen.

tant

tant information arrived, the king turned round and exclaimed with ſome eagerneſs, Where is any able officer to haſten away and ſurvey the ground*? But the confuſion and ſlaughter being ſo great, that none could be found, for each commander had full employment in his reſpective poſt, the brave Scottiſh warrior made a tender of his beſt ſervices; *Go*, ſaid the king, *I am much obliged to you.* Having returned to Guſtavus, and made his report, and accompanied him a ſecond time to the ſpot of ground in queſtion, he returned his ſword into the ſcabbard, ſaying, Now, Sire, I ſhall never draw it more in your behalf. His late maſter made no anſwer at that time, either becauſe his affairs were in ſuch a ſituation, that he had not a moment to ſpare; or more probably, becauſe he thought the uſage ſo harſh and abrupt, that he rather diſdained to make a ſuitable reply to it, and therefore conſidered ſilence as the anſwer which carried with it moſt expreſſion, and the greateſt degree of dignity.

His majeſty, as the afternoon began now to decline, perceived plainly that nothing could enſue that day but fruitleſs attempts and inevitable ſlaughter; and therefore leaving, for the honour of his troops, the muſqueteers, employed in attacking the hill, to maintain their ground, commanded the groſs of the army to form on the plain below. Before theſe orders could be completely executed, a large part of Walſtein's cuiraſſiers iſſued out of their lines, and fell with all the fury and inſolence of conquerors on a body of Swediſh infantry, conducted by Torſtenſon, who, with muſqueteers and pikemen, faced a four-fold number of aſſailants with incredible firmneſs; till at length, half overpowered by numbers, he ſaved the remains of his men, keeping ſtill next the enemy, at the expence of his liberty, which he ſoon regained in exchange againſt Spar. Meanwhile Cronenberg†, with his own regiment of 1500 horſe, ſurnamed the *Invincible*, flew like lightning upon Stalhauſe‡, who commanded 200 Finland cavalry; but the latter had the courage and fortune to repel the Imperialiſts, and purſued them, till the cannon of Altenberg caſtle ſtopped him from advancing farther.

* Others ſay, that colonel Erpach, being mortally wounded, Hepburn, at the king's requeſt, ſupplied his place, and maintained the poſt.

† It was Cronenberg who carried off Tilly at the battle of Leipſic.

‡ This colonel, a Finlander by birth, roſe purely on account of his merit, being originally a footman to Sir Patrick Ruthven. He was remarkable for ſpeaking excellent Engliſh.

And

Night, the moſt expeditious as well as moſt effectual of all truce-makers, introduced a breathing ſpace at leaſt, after a day's work of moſt deſperate ſervice. The honour of the action remained equally diſtributed between either party. The Imperialiſts kept their intrenchments, and the Swedes ſlept all night in plain ground, juſt in the front of the enemies lines; ſo that nothing ſaved the former, as they themſelves confeſſed, but the great advantage of ſituation. Thus ended the obſtinate conflict at Altenberg, which, in the ſenſe of ſome, was a ſort of victory, for Guſtavus miſſed his aim, and Walſtein maintained his ground: ſo that, according to the example of Marcellus, and the other Romans who repelled Hannibal to the gates of Nola, he and his generals all concluded that they had obtained ſome very ſignal advantage; and flattered themſelves with the expectation of future victories, having once beheld the day, when they had *ceaſed to be beaten* by a conqueror equally formidable with the great Carthaginian.

In addition to the misfortunes of the Swedes, there fell moſt violent rains, which laſted till morning, ſo that the king ſate till daybreak in his coach, and his domeſtics laid round a *nominal* fire, for it was hardly poſſible to make it burn.

Walſtein, who did not mount on horſeback till news was brought him that Guſtavus had ſtormed the caſtle of Altenberg, had his horſe killed under him by a muſquet-ball; and, by another ſhot, the king loſt part of the ſole of his boot, next the toe; and a domeſtic was killed at his elbow by a cannon-ball. Duke Bernard, that day, gave ſpecimens of conduct and courage, which no ways miſbecame the ſucceſſor of Guſtavus. He gained an eminence that was almoſt upon a level with the old caſtle, and by the king's orders erected a battery thereon; but, in the interim, the Imperialiſts retired to a ſecond diſtance, and having intrenched themſelves afreſh, clogged the new aſcent with the fall of ſo many trees, that it was impoſſible for the troops to get up without expoſing their whole body to inevitable deſtruction.

Though hiſtorians make the loſſes to be nearly equal on either ſide, that is to ſay, about one thouſand killed, and fifteen hundred wounded, in each army, yet ſure it is, that the Swedes muſt have ſuffered moſt conſiderably, as appears from the very nature of the deſcription. Among the latter, fell general Boetius, count Erpach; Crailſham, a Britiſh officer of repute *, and many others; and the Imperialiſts loſt Maria de Caraffa, a young nobleman of great hopes,

* *Invaſions of Germany*, Lond. 1638, 12°.

Chiesa, and Fugger, all colonels. The latter died, bravely, in the opinion of some, though not in the character of a man of honour; for being examined by the Swedes, in his last moments, and the king, if I mistake not, stood by, he called for a bumper of wine, and said, "Gentlemen, it is now no time to dissemble; my general, in his turn, will assault you;" and having thus drank, he expired immediately. As to what the Imperialists suffered, we know nothing that is very certain; but the list of the wounded, on the Swedish side, was very great; for as many officers, higher and lower, were disabled for a season, as were thought sufficient to conduct 6000 men.

Next morning, his majesty, after having passed a wet, cold, and tedious night, reflecting, all the time, with great compassion on the fate of the *commanded* musqueteers, who lay directly under Altenberg castle; and asking his domestics anxiously, at break of day, if any officer of the field was near him, received for answer, that none but Hepburn was there, who, as we observed before, came there only out of curiosity. Him the king requested earnestly, notwithstanding Hepburn's *late* behaviour, to make a visit to the poor soldiers above-mentioned, and remark likewise if any place could be discovered, from whence the ordnance might be brought to act against the old castle. He then desired him to call, in his return, upon duke Bernard, and command his troops whilst the general came to receive fresh instructions. I think, all these circumstances, combined with others that have been mentioned, may serve to shew, that though the king was warm and hasty, yet, when the transport of his resentment was over, he subsided always into the friendly and condescending character; and asked favours, very often, on purpose to give an opening to reconciliation. When Hepburn returned, he made report to his majesty, that the musqueteers were almost buried in dirt and water, but that he had discovered a spot of ground, whence, if the earth was raised a little, four pieces of battering artillery might be brought to bear against Altenberg fortress, at the distance only of fifty paces: *I had rather*, said the king, with great emotion, *you had found me a place at ten times that distance; I cannot bear the thoughts of seeing my men torn to pieces a second time* *. Therefore, having held a short consultation, to which duke Bernard had been lately summoned, in his own coach, he gave orders for a general retreat; which was performed with such regularity and firmness, that Walstein

* *Monro*; Second Expedition.

durst

durſt not uncouple one ſingle band of Croatians to haraſs his rear. Indeed, part of the ſtreſs of the difficulty turned upon bringing off the *commanded* muſqueteers with reputation and ſafety, for they laid more advanced towards the enemy, than any other Swediſh troops: and his majeſty felt ſo much uneaſineſs in this particular, that though duke William of Weimar had undertaken to ſee the buſineſs performed, and had ſent Monro, then the firſt time acting as colonel, which made his general deſtin him to ſome diſtinguiſhing ſervice, to conduct the retreat, at the head of 500 picked muſqueteers; yet Guſtavus, ſtill impatient concerning the event, reſolved to ſee with his own eyes how that officer and his ſoldiers acquitted themſelves; and overtaking Monro, whom he obſerved to be wounded, having received, the day before, a muſquet-ſhot in his ſide, had the generoſity and humanity to bid him return to his tent, leſt his health might be endangered. Taking the partizan courteouſly out of his hand, the king performed the duty of a ſimple colonel himſelf, and brought his men back with ſuch compoſure and reſolution, that the enemy, far from preſſing on his heels, durſt not diſcharge a ſingle muſquet. It is true, many may think this office, humane and compaſſionate as it was in itſelf, beneath the dignity of a crowned head; but it was the king's *humour*, as Tilly ſaid on a leſs important occaſion concerning himſelf, and *that* muſt ſuffice for a general anſwer; for it was a maxim with his majeſty, and perhaps the only dangerous one which he ever adopted, *That no duty, compatible with the honour of a ſimple colonel, miſbecame the greateſt commander.**

Whoever ſhall conſider the whole of the tranſaction at Altenberg diſpaſſionately and ſenſibly, will perhaps admire Guſtavus more, in this inſtance of diſappointment, than in many of his ſhining and moſt proſperous victories. Miſled by falſe intelligence, and warped a little in his judgment by the warmth of his temper, and an impatient ſenſibility of diſgrace, it is certain he took the ſtep too *precipitately*; and thus much ſome of his generals modeſtly ſuggeſted: but then in what manner did he retrieve an error, ill conſequences of which in another commander had been unavoidable?—He ſeized his opportunities, and ſhifted and reſumed his hold, with ſuch acumen of judgment, inducing the army, by his own example, to act with a reſolution not to be paralleled; that though the chances againſt him were at

* *Character of Guſtavus Adolphus*, Lond. 4°. 1633.

leaſt as *three* to *one*, yet he brought the amount of loſs, on either ſide, to be nearly equal; formed his retreat, the next day, with ſuch boldneſs and gallantry, as gave his enemies the option of a ſecond battle; and then intrenched himſelf afreſh under their beards, where he remained unmoleſted, from the twenty-fifth of Auguſt till the eighth of September.—All *military* engagements, of *equivocal* ſucceſs, are beſt judged of by their *conſequences*; but this action was attended by no conſequences, either good, bad, or indifferent. It occaſioned no ſingle variation in the king's future motions; nor did it influence his intended decampment, which took place a fortnight afterwards.

The king, after this bold but unavailing attempt, changed his plan undiſmayed; and removing to ſome little diſtance from his laſt lines, ſketched out a new camp, ſtill nearer to Walſtein's than the former; for a cannon-ball could do execution, from one to the other, at its greateſt range. Matters being now reduced, for a time, to a ſtate of pauſe and quiet, the Engliſh ambaſſador made a farther attempt, without being furniſhed with a freſh degree of power, and of courſe received a repulſe more ſtrongly worded than the laſt had been. For this, we have his own authority againſt himſelf, his maſter, and the miniſtry*. "The king of Sweden *complained*," ſaid he, "that he had been *amuſed and led on with ſubtilty and fineſſe* by the ambaſſador, and ſaid publicly, *That this was a* RIGHT ENGLISH TREATY, for they uſed to be *eternally in treaty*, but *never concluded*."

What piqued the king, was the preſeverance and ſhuffling of the Engliſh court. He wanted an *offenſive* treaty of *definite* duration, but could not gain it; he requeſted a *naval* war againſt Spain, but could not procure it: and knowing Charles's mutable and timorous temper, reſolved to chain the Proteus, or elſe leave him at full liberty. He had conceived, likewiſe, a diſapprobation of Vane's errand, from the firſt moment he ſaw his inſtructions at Mentz, under the great ſeal of England; which inſtructions were never altered afterwards in any material circumſtance; and the tenor of them ran invariably, that the ambaſſador ſhould engage in no league, but ſuch as was purely of a *defenſive* nature. Whence it appears to demonſtration, that the reconqueſt and reſtitution of the Palatinates, points wherein the honour and religion of England ought deeply to have been concerned, were never thought of ſincerely, conſiſtently,

* Letter, dated Aug..... 1632, MS. *Paper-Office.*

or

or in good earneſt. This both the elector and electreſs Palatine knew, and deſpiſed their profeſſing and proteſting brother accordingly. Sorry I am, that ſuch truths as theſe ſhould paſs from my pen, at ſo great a diſtance of time. I know the reverence that is due to the aſhes of a crowned perſon, and touch them with a cautious and unwilling hand: for, as a man of private virtue, and an encourager of the fine arts, I reſpect and venerate the memory of Charles I. and make ſome allowances for the untoward circumſtances of the period of time into which Providence was pleaſed to throw him.

To return to the negotiations before us, concerning which ſome farther information may be given by producing an extract from a third letter of Vane* to ſecretary Coke, which ſeems to me to precede the laſt cited in order of time; but the date of the day being either omitted in the original, or overlooked by the perſon who had the goodneſs to tranſmit the copy to me, I can only ſay, that they both came from Nurenberg, or the king's camp, in the ſame month, namely, Auguſt 1632. "Having been in treaty, in conformity to your laſt directions, with the king of Sweden, we not agreeing *de genere fœderis*, nor upon the *indefiniteneſs* of the time,——he preſſing a league defenſive, *(offenſive)* and *time certain*; I, going according to my inſtructions, from which your honour knoweth I am not to depart; on the nineteenth of the preſent, after four hours conſultation, with ſome of his council, on this affair, he ſent his ſecretary Camerarius † to me, with this declaration, that he had ſo long been in agitation between himſelf and me, that he gave his majeſty many thanks for the honour he had done him, in ſending his ambaſſador *to offer him* an alliance; and gave me thanks for the pains I had taken therein. The concluſion was, *That he would not accept of the auxiliary treaty, nor of the condition propoſed by me; and for the indefiniteneſs of the time, it was againſt all form of proceeding in alliances. That he ſhould write to his majeſty, to give him thanks for the continuance of his good offices towards him.*"

It appears, upon the whole, that Guſtavus, well knowing his Britannic majeſty's timidity, inſiſted upon a public declaration of a *naval war* againſt Spain; and being well ap-

* MS.

† A politician of great abilities, as appears from ſome letters I have ſeen. He had formerly ſerved the elector Palatine in England. I have been informed he wrote the famous *Apology*, publiſhed in Latin, 4°. 1624.

prized of Charles's irresolute temper, demanded a *time specified* for the duration of the alliance; paying little regard, either to British subsidies, or the transportation of British forces, having well digested in his mind, what had formerly been done, in that respect, for the elector Palatine; and more lately, with reference to himself. Therefore not being able to possess Charles wholly, he disdained to compound for the tythes of his friendship, the payment of which he foresaw to be precarious; and thus the matter ended, honourably to the penetration and magnanimity of Gustavus.

Walstein and he laid gazing at one another in a second state of inaction, if we except only rencounters, surprizes, and intercepting of convoys. Gustavus, for want of more important employment near Eubach, cut to pieces a regiment of Croatians, a set of warriors he mortally hated, being of somebody's opinion in that age, I forget now who the person was, that defined a Croatian *to be a sort of Christian, who did not acknowledge the eighth commandment:* and then remarking that Walstein derived all his provisions either from Bavaria, or the Upper Palatinate, which latter road lay through the town of Neumarck, placed Sperreüter on the Bavarian side, with 5000 men, near the pass of Wilsburg and Weissenburg; and lodged 3000 chosen horse on the Neumarck side, from whence an Imperial convoy was expected hourly, and missed little of seizing the generalissimo himself, who, being advertised of the Swedish designs, ventured in person to secure the arrival of his troops. A page belonging to him was taken prisoner, and reported that his master escaped by stealing through the labyrinths of a thick wood. Still I have some doubts concerning the fact; for Walstein rarely placed himself in the way of danger; which, whether it proceeded from prudence, or timidity, some extolling him for such practices, and some depreciating him, cannot well be ascertained.

During this interval a body of Croatians, which had placed themselves in ambuscade to intercept a party of Swedes, stumbled by mere chance on a party of gownsmen that belonged to the university of Altdorf, and made them all prisoners of war, without any respect to the *jus publicum*, or the *German Muses*. Thus the professors Agricola, Nesler, and Bruno, had the misfortune to lose all they possessed, except their learning. A detachment from the king's army made reprisals on the town and rich monastery of Castel, about thirteen miles to the east of Altdorf, where they found two Jesuits, one of whom, attempting to escape through a window, missed

miſſed his footing on the ladder, and broke his neck; but the other, being carefully ſecured, ſerved in exchange againſt the Literati.

The king grew impatient to ſee moments of importance waſted upon depredations and ſkirmiſhes, that determined nothing. He therefore, once for all, formed the reſolution of poſting Horn, now returned from the electorate of Mentz*, and Banier,† then recovered from his late wound, at the head of two ſmall armies, near the town of Lichtenau, a ſtrong fort in the burgraviate of Nurenberg, not far diſtant from Anſpach: thereby propoſing to make this

* Others ſay duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar; which, upon recollection, appears to be moſt probable.

† We will here, once for all, ſay ſomething of this excellent officer, who, when he was between a child and a youth, fell from a window four or five ſtories high, without groaning or ſhedding a tear. Guſtavus hearing of it pronounced him born for great events, and made him a ſoldier. He was deſcended from one of the beſt families in Sweden, and reſembled his maſter extremely in perſon, with which the king was not diſpleaſed. It was computed he had killed eighty thouſand men, in the ſeveral pitched battles where he had commanded, and taken ſix hundred colours. As a ſoldier, his retreat from Bohemia may be looked upon as a maſterpiece; for in this branch of ſcience, he excelled all officers before or ſince. As a politician, his reconcilement of the proteſtants, after the battle of Nurenberg and the peace of Prague, to the Swediſh intereſts, may be looked upon as an act of prudence and firmneſs worthy of Oxenſtiern himſelf. His letters to the maréchal Guebriant, and others, ſhew him to be very great and very determined. Nevertheleſs, there was ſomething of levity in his ſecond marriage. He buried his wife, who was a counteſs of Lovenſtein, whilſt he laboured under the chronical illneſs which occaſioned his death. No huſband appeared more inconſolable; but in his return from the funeral, chancing to meet the margravine of Dourlach on the road, he was ſo aſtoniſhed with her charms, that he made application to, and married her in a few days.

In his laſt teſtament, he bequeathed Torſtenſon, then in Sweden, to the army as his ſucceſſor; and requeſted his conſort, in the ſtrongeſt terms, never to allow his body to be unbowelled and embalmed, 1640-1.

He had received an excellent education, which made the king call him one of his *learned* generals. Before he fought and gained the battle of Witſtoc, 1635, he baniſhed every known coward from the Swediſh army, and gave the deſponding and timorous full permiſſion to quit the ſervice. *Continuat. Lower Auſtr.* fol. 42.

One ſlight circumſtance more ſhall be mentioned. His retreat, environed by the enemy and the Elbe, at Torgau, at a time when all Germany gave him over for loſt, and by which he preſerved a very fine army with little or no loſs, has ever been conſidered as a maſterly performance in the military art, and an *emblematical* print was publiſhed, whence came the well-known expreſſion of *cal de ſac.* [*Memorab. Suec. Gent.* 46.] The emblem took its riſe from Banier's own words on the occaſion: "The Imperialiſts," ſaid he, "incloſed me in a bag, and though they tied the mouth of it with great ſtrength and diligence, yet they forgot to darn up a trifling hole, which was at the bottom."

body of troops ſuperior in force to all flying parties; and alluring Walſtein, at the ſame time, to march out with his whole army in order to diſlodge them; when the king expected a fair opportunity to give him battle upon equal ground. As things thus ſtood, no military ſcheme ever appeared better concerted, for he left his adverſary but *three* choices, without any ſubterfuge or ſuccedaneum, namely, *fighting*, *ſtarving*, or *decamping*; ſince an army poſted at Lichtenau had the power of cutting off the channel of intercourſe with Bavaria and Suabia. An unforeſeen accident, however, deſtroyed all this ſublime plan in one moment, and gave his majeſty the keeneſt mortification.

Scheverlin, a patrician of Nurenberg, defended this fortreſs of Lichtenau, which the king, who always propoſed to make his uſe of it, though not for the purpoſes now related, took care to ſee well provided in every reſpect. The governor, till then, was a man of character, and had behaved reputably, when Walſtein's troops beſieged him ſome weeks before. Now, his fortreſs being inveſted a ſecond time, as Walſtein either knew the importance of the place, or gained ſome intelligence of the king's deſigns, he made a ſacrifice of his honour and good fame all at once, and entered into a capitulation without any one urgent neceſſity. Some ſuppoſe him to be corrupted, but that no where appears; it was an act of mere timidity, and deſpondency; for as the Swedes had faced the Imperialiſts ſo long without beating them, he became firmly perſuaded, that Walſtein would deſtroy Guſtavus; and ſuch indeed was the opinion of the public, from the beginning of their trial of ſkill to the concluſion. Thus the king underſtood the crime; and ordered the magiſtrates of Nurenberg to ſecure his perſon, and prepare his proceſs. However, as the man did not belong to him, and as his puniſhment became no example to his own troops, he deſpiſed all reſentment againſt a baſe ſpirit, and gave himſelf no concern, whether he was condemned, or acquitted. Thus was a plan of extraordinary conſequence deſtroyed by the miſbehaviour of a ſingle perſon, whom no one doubted; and what doubly ſharpened the king's affliction was, he had a further view in poſſeſſing Lichtenau. It was a ſtrong poſt, capable of ſecuring his decampment, concerning which he now began to think in good earneſt; and was equally neceſſary to him, in caſe Walſtein ſhould defeat him. He had now his whole ſyſtem to reform anew, and paſſed two or three days in meditation, walking to and fro, by himſelf, in his tent or the fields, as was his uſual cuſtom upon ſuch occaſions.

At length, conſidering the condition of his army, he determined not to puſh a punctilio of honour into an act of cruelty; and as Walſtein, who had no compaſſion, was reſolved to ſee which army ſhould *ſtarve* laſt, the king, for the ſake of his brave followers, took the *apparent diſgrace*, though indeed it was an example of ſolid glory, to diſlodge firſt, his grand ſcheme being now deſtroyed, with regard to Lichtenau. This ſhews us how inventive the parts of a great commander ought to be, and how abundant likewiſe in reſources; ſince otherwiſe the fruits of a whole campaign may be blaſted at once, by the miſconduct or baſeneſs of an officer to all appearance inconſiderable. Indeed it was high time for the one or other party to decamp, ſince *perſeverance* was nothing better than *deliberate murder*. The king, though warm and haſty, was naturally inclined to be compaſſionate; nor could he bear to ſee brave men periſh piecemeal like felons in a priſon. The ſeaſon of the Dog-days had been uncommonly hot; the waters of the Pegnitz were foul and corrupted; the ſtench of the dead horſes, there being hardly room to bury them, was inſupportably noiſome, and *petechial* or camp fevers of the purple kind, raged to a degree of peſtilence. Walſtein had more room, yet ſuffered more; for his numbers were greater, and his management leſs circumſpect.

His majeſty being now on the wing of departure, and the grand trial of ſkill ſuppoſed to be concluded, the marquis of Hamilton, who by this time had neither men nor command, took his final leave, at Neuſtadt upon the Aiſch, where he was diſmiſſed by the king with diſtinguiſhing marks of eſteem and affection *, and all the Britiſh officers had leave to attend him a half day's journey. The *inflexible* Hepburn took this opportunity of quitting the Swediſh enſigns, propoſing,

* Beſides what appears to us from Vane's papers, Chemnitz, the king's hiſtoriographer, who wrote upon excellent materials, gives us a ſhort but ſenſible account of all that paſſed, with reſpect to the Britiſh ambaſſador and Britiſh general. Venius primum cum campiductore Hornio Herbipolim, mox cum regni cancellario Moguntiæ, regis juſſu, ii choata re, ſed neutrubi conſummata, ad regem Monachium Bavariæ ſe contulerat, & conventum ſane illic de pleriſque: nec obſcura de *indeciſis*, (promiſſa utrinque moderatione) ſpes apparebat, concluſionem fœderis ea propter haud dilatum iri. Reſumpta igitur ad Noribergam tela. Sed a Britannico legato conditiones propoſitæ omnino novæ, & faciem rei mutantes: adjectis nonnullorum articulorum appendiculis; è quibus nil ſerio agi, nec fœderis quæri perfectionem rex ſuſpicabatur. Marchioni ergo Hamiltonio delectum habendorum in Magnam Britanniam, ut diximus, eunti, *lu'entes hujus proceſſus cauſas indagare, regem Magnæ Britanniæ, ſemotis arbitris, de eo edocere, aliorumve non proba conſilia illic turbare*, und in mandatis datum. *Tom.* i. p. 316.

as

as it is thought, to make a tender of his ſervices to France, but had the misfortune, in that kingdom, to be killed in a duel *. The king loved him, and confided in him more than in any colonel that acted under him; and ſome days before their diſagreement, appointed him commander of half the infantry in the camp of Nurenberg: but his *juſt* and *noble* ſpirit had not the power of making greater condeſcenſions than thoſe we have formerly repeated.

The Auſtrians made unwearied applications for aſſiſtance to the diet at Warſaw; but the Polanders had a king to chuſe; and perceiving, likewiſe, that affairs took a more ſerious turn in the empire, had not much inclination to embark in a ſyſtem of difficulties, which appeared to be of no ſhort duration. Beſides, *national conteſts* in Poland, like *rebellions* at Naples, are a ſort of political holiday; the inhabitants rejoice in them, as much as ever the Spaniards took delight in the *Juego des toros & cannas*; nay, the very ladies are all cabinet-counſellors and politicians; and the huſband frequently recites to the ſenate the lecture he has firſt received in his wife's dreſſing-room †. At this very juncture too, as well as at moſt others, each man thought of advancing his own intereſts, and gratifying his own reſentments, and beſtowed only a few empty wiſhes on the emperor and his cauſe: and as to a ſupply of forces, it was alledged, that all they could collect were hardly ſufficient to maintain the public peace at home, as they were upon the eve of a great event, the election of a ſovereign.

Paſſing by every circumſtance of this litigious cabal ‡, except ſuch as relate immediately to my preſent ſubject, it was debated in the diet, under the third head of enquiry, whether the treaty projected with Sweden, ſhould be confirmed and cloſed; and the nobility, almoſt to a man, were for the affirmative. Guſtavus, amongſt all the tumults of war, had a watchful eye to theſe tranſactions, not chuſing however to engage in them over-deeply, and diſpatched a gentleman, veſted with full powers, to make the Poles an offer of ſecuring their kingdom from the Moſcovites and Tartars, and to procure

* This officer had excellent parts, but was no great maſter of modern languages. As he often went from Guſtavus to Richelieu, the latter uſed to ſay, when he was in a cheerful humour, "I long to have ſome accounts from the king of Sweden, as alſo to ſee colonel Hepburn, and hear him talk about his *himeras*." From whence the writer of Richelieu's Life concludes, that he pronounced *chimeras* in that manner.

† *Memoirs communicated.*

‡ *Le Soldat Suedois* de Fr. Spanheim, 711—719.

a good

a good underſtanding betwixt the government of Poland and the neighbouring ſtates.

Fame reports Guſtavus to have inſinuated, that deputies on his part, for the future, had pretenſions to demand free entrance, and vote in this aſſembly, by virtue of the territories he held in Pruſſia and elſewhere, feudatory to the crown of Poland. But the ſenators were full as cautious as the king was enterpriſing: they made him proteſtations and excuſes in abundance; but referred the grand deciſion to the eventual circumſtances of things.

The elector of Brandenburg's requeſt was attended to with more alacrity; but the ſenators eluded the article of allowing him a deliberative vote in elections, alledging, that ſuch a conceſſion was inconſiſtent with their oaths, and the allegiance which they owed their country; yet beſought him to employ his beſt offices with Guſtavus, in order to bring about a more laſting and more effectual accommodation; beſeeching him likewiſe to name a place where the reſpective deputies ſhould meet, and, to ſhew their ſincerity, recommending ſome town in Pruſſia, or the neighbouring provinces, for that purpoſe.

Secretary Arnoldin and count Morſpurg took care of the Imperial affairs at this diet; but perceiving the Swediſh party to be overpowerful, they paſſed on to Moſcovy, by their maſter's orders, to conclude ſome ſort of treaty with the great duke. Meanwhile Guſtavus gave a final audience to the ambaſſadors of Ruſſia and Tartary, who made him an offer of breaking into Poland, Siletia, or Hungary. The king received their propoſals with courteſy and thankfulneſs, but waved the acceptance of their ſervices; partly becauſe he found ſufficient already on his hands, and partly becauſe he deteſted a war that muſt be carried on with barbarian ferocity.

At or near this period, as far as may be conjectured, his majeſty received a deputation from the peaſants of Upper Auſtria, who had ſpirit, for the ſake of the evangelical religion, to form a revolt under the emperor's eye, and complain in unpoliſhed, but animated expreſſions, of the violations committed on their fortunes and conſciences *. Theſe uneaſineſſes had blazed forth in the very beginning of the thirty years wars, and though the fire ſeemed extinguiſhed to outward appearances, yet the embers were perceived to glow at bottom. Upon the preſent occaſion they acted with ſo much ſecrecy and judgment, that the court of Vienna

* *Soldat Suedois*, 723—730.

only

only ſuſpected, and not groundleſsly, that ſome clandeſtine intelligence had been carried on betwixt them and the Swedes. Oppreſſions, confiſcations, decimations, and tortures, ſeemed to harden theſe reſolute proteſtants. This civil contagion made its firſt appearance at or near Mühl *, and overſpread the Higher Auſtria with great rapidity. The emperor no ways liked a diſtemper that approached ſo near his vital parts: he found alſo, that his revenues diminiſhed, and the paſſage of the Danube was intercepted between him and Walſtein.

Theſe revolters, ſome ſay, made an army of 18,000 men, and being rendered wiſe by the experience of paſt errors, ſeized moſt of the frontier towns by way of ſecurity, in order to facilitate their retreat in the hour of need; and by making themſelves maſters of the river on either ſide, they allowed none to paſs or repaſs but friends and allies, and iſſued out their protections like commanders in form. It was greatly feared, leſt the infection ſhould ſpread through the other parts of the hereditary dominions, and as a proof of this, the court thought fit to proceed upon moderate terms. Count Kevenhüller, the great hiſtorian, if I miſtake not, was diſpatched to treat with them, attended by ſeveral barons, proteſtant as well as catholic, and his orders were to proceed with great temper and equanimity. Nevertheleſs, with a view to be prepared for all events, it was reſolved to raiſe a body of recruits, and Tieffenbach, now recalled from Sileſia, coaſted up the ſide of the Danube with ſome regular forces, expecting the iſſue of the negotiation. Colonel John de Wert, a warrior of the moſt ſingular character that is to be found in the ſeventeenth century, attended him with his irregular cavalry.

Kevenhüller diſcharged his commiſſion with the utmoſt exactneſs; but the *inſurgents* placed no confidence in rhetorical promiſes. They had advanced too far to look back on eventual reſources, and had no ſecurity but in the change of their maſters; and though they were plain country perſons, yet they had ſenſe enough to foreſee, that one cannon ball would tear to pieces all Imperial patents and letters of amneſty †. For theſe reaſons, they firſt pillaged the

* I ſuſpect, that my relator, F. Spanheim, miſleads me here: there is no town called Mühl, in Upper Auſtria; but the diſtrict of Mühl, is well known. If any place of that name be alluded to, it muſt be Mühldorf, a ſtrong caſtle near the Danube.

† *Soldat Suedois*, 727.

monaſtery

monaſtery of Lambach, and ſeized the paſſage of the river Traun; by which means they kept a correſpondence open with the proteſtants about Cremſmünſter, famous for its rich monaſtery of Benedictins, and were very near ſeizing two brothers of the grand duke of Tuſcany, who were making a tour to Wallſtein's camp. On the approach of Tieffenbach and John de Wert, they broke off the negotiation in an inſtant, and perceiving they wanted both military directors, and a foreign protection, ſent deputies to Guſtavus, beſeeching him to remember, that he entered Germany in defence of the civil and religious liberties of the oppreſſed and perſecuted. The king received theſe *rural* ambaſſadors with great courteſy, making them handſome preſents, and giving them ample aſſurances of protection and aſſiſtance. He likewiſe, as it is aſſerted by many, ſent ſeveral officers to them, diſguiſed like peaſants, with orders to direct their warlike operations upon better principles.

During the interval of the inaction which preceded the two decampments, we will leave the two ſuperior commanders for a few minutes, and take a ſlight ſketch of the other parts of the empire, where the war was carried on with all imaginable keenneſs and obſtinacy. So great were the terrors conceived with reſpect to Guſtavus, that Strozzi, Piccolomini, Annibal, and Loüis Gonzaga, were all employed to protect the weſtern frontiers of Auſtria. The court of Vienna laboured alſo under ſome uneaſineſs on the eaſtern ſide; for Ragotzki, the ſucceſſor of Gabriel Bethlem, formed pretty much the ſame pretenſions, and expected the ſame gratifications from the emperor. He had actually requeſted permiſſion from the *Porte* to commence hoſtilities, and the Turks had ſent him, by way of approbation, a ſcymitar, a ſtandard, and a quantity of arms: but what gave greater umbrage to the Imperialiſts was, that Guſtavus had diſpatched the Sieur Straſburg with a private commiſſion to this prince of Tranſylvania, with orders to proceed to the Ottoman court, and carry on a ſecond intrigue there. David Salomon, Ragotzki's lieutenant-general, collected ſome troops, and his maſter demanded from the houſe of Auſtria to receive his inveſtiture in form. It was reported alſo, that the prince of Moldavia and the Pacha of Buda had orders to ſupport the Tranſylvanians; yet matters kept quiet in that quarter.

As to Saxony, Holk had entered Miſnia by the 30th of Auguſt, and committed outrages that can hardly be credited. It is true, he left his generaliſſimo near Nurenberg as long before

before as the 20th of July; but his inſtructions were to intercept, as he paſſed along, the army of duke William of Weimar, who then marched to the king's aſſiſtance: but in this attempt he did not ſucceed, being deficient either in abilities or good fortune. During this irruption the elector and Arnheim were making conqueſts elſewhere, otherwiſe Holk might have been repulſed with eaſe; for the Saxon army amounted to ſeven and twenty thouſand fine troops to all appearance, and Holk pretended to no more than half of that number. But Arnheim had a violent inclination to reduce Sileſia, contrary to Guſtavus's opinion, where Dewbatel conducted the Swedes, who were all freſh men, new raiſed, and colonel Burgſdorf* led the Brandenburgers in the abſence of their elector, who had made a journey into Pruſſia, in order to exert ſome influence in the diet then held at Warſaw. In this excurſion he had a great eſcape, for during his abode in the caſtle of Neuenhoven, his bedchamber began to ſink ſo ſuddenly, that he had but juſt time to ſeize the iron bars of the window, and ſupport himſelf there by main force till people came to his aſſiſtance.

As this expedition into Sileſia was of too extenſive as well as too graſping a nature, ſo ſome circumſtances conſpired to render it diſagreeable likewiſe; for Arnheim and Dewbatel† had two never-failing topics of contention, the one concern-

* This officer had been ſent to the camp of Nurenberg, that his maſter might know to what purpoſe Guſtavus deſtined the Brandenburg troops. The king oppoſed this junction with the Saxons in Sileſia to the utmoſt of his eloquence, though the thing was done before his advice could be put in practice, and beſought the electoral troops, as he foreſaw an invaſion from Wallſtein's or Pappenheim's army, to continue in their quarters till he, or Oxenſtiern arrived. *But*, ſaid he, *if in the interim it is the fate of the elector of Saxony to be attacked at home, leave him not with his throat expoſed to the enemy's knife.* *Chemnitz.* tom. i. p. 316.

† As I have expreſſed, in a former note, ſome doubts concerning this officer's real name, for hiſtorians had then given him no leſs then five: ſo Chemnitz in his relation of this expedition, p. 319, helps to embarraſs me ſtill more, for he calls him *Mac Duwallius*, or, in plain Scotch, Mac Dougal. Yet this may be a miſtake, for Monro, who often mentions him, muſt have known him to be a countryman. This man roſe purely by merit, being five years before only a ſerjeant in the blue regiment. But the taking of Hanau advanced him in a month's time from the poſt of lieutenant-colonel to the colonelſhip over one regiment of cavalry, and another of infantry. He proved at laſt a fatal, though uncommon inſtance, that bravery and ingratitude may go together. To conclude this note, I find a colonel Mac Dougal landed with Guſtavus, but meet with him no where afterwards under that name, except on this occaſion. Yet as other hiſtorians aſſign the preſent tranſaction in Sileſia to Dewbatel, I acknowledge my difficulty to be inexplicable.

ing

ing ſuperiority of command, and the other about the diviſion of their conqueſts. The former, according to cuſtom, performed but little; for he always made war give place to his private politics, and changed of a ſudden from the ambitious to the moderate: but the latter gave good content to the king his maſter, and more eſpecially in the following inſtance.

The inhabitants of Great Glogau, though their duchy and town were reputed unalienable, had been obliged to take their oaths of fealty to Walſtein, newly created their maſter; but the Swedes ſoon freed them from theſe obligations, and general Goëtz, not being able to eſcape with his garriſon, found himſelf obliged to ſurrender on diſadvantageous terms.

Arnheim's preſence became now neceſſary in Saxony, which gave Dewbatel greater means of extending his conqueſts. As the Imperial army laid encamped under the walls of Steinau, he contrived to ſeize a fort, which commanded the bridge leading into the town, and ſeized a quantity of boats, laden to the amount of eighteen hundred pounds. He then cannonaded both town and trenches, and attacking the enemies lines ſword in hand, killed two thouſand men, forced four thouſand into the city, and purſued the reſt to a conſiderable diſtance. Prince Ulric of Denmark made this campaign with the Swedes and Saxons in the capacity of a volunteer.

Next day the Imperial commanders halted *, and having rallied their troops near Breſlau, intrenched themſelves, to the number of 20,000 men, in an advantageous poſt, protected by woods and marſhes, and approachable only by one entrance. There Dewbatel penetrated at the head of 6000 choſen infantry and dragoons, and forced them, after an obſtinate reſiſtance of two hours, to throw themſelves into a foreſt, through which they retreated. The Oder now parted the two armies, and by its depth and breadth ſaved the Imperial troops, who by this time had ſuffered exceedingly. Dewbatel made all poſſible efforts to repair the bridge, but as the enemy's ſafety depended upon counterworking him in this intention, he at length found himſelf compelled to deſiſt, and croſſing the river at a favourable fording place, under the direction of ſome fiſhermen, inveſted Liguitz †, whoſe duke,

* Don Baltazar di Marradas, Goëtz, Dhona and Illo.

† The dukes of Lignitz, in 1537, entered into a treaty of fraternity with Joachim II. elector of Brandenburg, which they ratified by oath: but the ſtates of Bohemia complained to Ferdinand I. that this compact aimed directly

duke, by a timely ſurrender, ſaved his capital and country from ruin, and declared himſelf a good Swede. Then turning ſhort, he ſummoned Breſlau, where the townſmen ſoon formed a mutiny in favour of the proteſtant armies, ſo that general Dhona, who had thrown himſelf into that city, eſcaped with great difficulty, to his own caſtle of Wartenberg.

Holk availed himſelf of the abſence of Arnheim, who trifled away much good time before he returned from Sileſia. There muſt always have been great unſteadineſs, and ſome duplicity in the conduct both of this general and his maſter, as has been pointed out in various places. It may be worth while to give my reader a faithful ſketch of the elector of Saxony. It is drawn up in ſuch a manner as to carry the marks of originality with it. "The duke of Saxony," ſays Feuquiéres, ambaſſador of France, in a letter to his own court, "is a warm and bigotted Lutheran, diſdainful, haughty, extravagant in drinking, hated and deſpiſed not only by his ſubjects, but by his own children, whom he treats as priſoners; a paſſionate admirer of pleaſure or inactivity; incapable of great affairs, dependant on the king of Denmark, a concealed enemy to the crown of Sweden, partly for its interference in Germany, and partly on account of its pretenſions to Magdeburg and Halberdſtadt; jealous of the houſe of Weimar, and extremely attached to the prerogatives and dignity of the empire. When *that* is concerned, all foreign powers are ſuſpected by him; and it is his private inclination, as well as opinion, that a true German may diſpenſe himſelf from tranſmitting any ſyſtematical intelligence to ſuch, as live not within the limits of the ſyſtem. His original prepoſſeſſion to the houſe

directly at the rights of the crown of Bohemia, to which the duchies of Lignitz, Brieg, and Wolau, ought to devolve upon the extinction of the families then poſſeſſing them. This emperor therefore declared, in 1546, that the confraternity of 1537 was null and void in ſuch wiſe, as if it had never exiſted; ſo that the dukes of Lignitz were obliged to retract it, and promiſe, that the three duchies ſhould fall to the kingdom of Bohemia in caſe their own family became extinct. The elector of Brandenburg entered his proteſt againſt the Imperial deciſion, and the duke of Lignitz dying without a capable ſucceſſor, in the year 1675, Frederic William, ſurnamed The Great, then elector of Brandenburg, preſented himſelf as heir; but the emperor took poſſeſſion of the territories, and George William could not obſtruct him.

The like happened not long after the death of Charles VI. in 1740. His preſent majeſty of Pruſſia revived his rights upon theſe duchies, and rendered himſelf maſter of them by force of arms.

houſe of Auſtria always ſubſiſts: nevertheleſs, it appears expedient to him to manage that family with dexterity upon principles of advantage; firſt, becauſe it is his opinion, that the proximity of ſituation renders him more neceſſary to the emperor than to any other prince; and ſecondly, as he is jealous beyond conception of the Palatine, Brandenburg and Weimar families. The pre-eminence of the *firſt* was inſupportable to him. The aggrandizement of the *ſecond* gave him umbrage; and the pretenſions of the *third*, from *which* the electorate had been forcibly wreſted, filled his mind with ſuſpicious apprehenſions. The general Arnheim, and one of his miniſters, govern him abſolutely; which he believes not, as he reſerves to himſelf the power of ſnarling and bluſtering wherever he pleaſes. The landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt, who married his daughter, and Francis Albert, duke of Saxe-Lauenberg*, ſtill preſerve great credit with him. At their inſtigation he always maintains a ſecret correſpondence with the emperor and Walſtein†."

Holk, from whoſe irruption into Saxony we have made a ſmall digreſſion, in order to give the finiſhing touches to the elector's character, poured firſt into Vogtland with all the impetuoſity of a raging torrent, imagining, like a true Barbarian, that a country could never be *thoroughly conquered*, till it was *utterly deſtroyed*‡. Having reduced many villages, as well as the fair town of Olſnitz, to aſhes, without aſſigning any reaſon, he took Zwicka‖ by *compoſition*, and blockaded Plauen. He then ſtripped the electoral palace, called Auguſta, of all its rich and magnificent furniture, and having reduced Chemnitz by a regular ſiege, puſhed on to the gates of Dreſden, where one circumſtance helped to rouſe the

* Suppoſed by ſome to have killed Guſtavus treacherouſly and diſhonourably in the battle of Lutzen; or rather to have conſpired againſt his life, by giving ſome ſecret ſignal to the Imperialiſts during the heat of the action. It is true that this circumſtance of maintaining intelligence with the emperor and Walſtein ſeems to be of an untoward and ſuſpicious nature, and appears to bear hard againſt him.

† If I miſtake not, there is a ſecond, juſt delineation of this prince in *Daniel Eremita's* beautiful book of Travels. Vide etiam *Conſiderat. Cauſarum Belli Boemici.* 4°, part ii. p. 98.

‡ *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part iii. p. 92.

‖ An elegant little town, called in Latin Cygnea, romantically ſituated at the foot of mount Schneeberg, or the ſnowy mountain, on the banks of the Mulda. It ſtands in Miſnia, but the church-yard lies in Vogtland; whence ariſes the common ſaying in the neighbourhood, that an inhabitant of Zwicka is a Miſnian in his life time, and a Vogtlander after his death.

elector a little: for in a random ſkirmiſh ſome papers were found on one of Holk's quarter-maſters, which ſhewed the Imperialiſts kept a fair countenance, and made liberal promiſes to the court of Dreſden, but concealed very malignant intentions beneath the diſguiſe.

Nor were the French idle at another extremity of the empire; for the maréchal d'Eſtrées and count la Suze beſieged Triers with an army of 24,000 men, and reduced to epiſcopal obedience the town and chapter, which ſome time before had admitted a Spaniſh garriſon, and colonel Iſenburg as governor, in behalf of the emperor. This commander not caring to immure himſelf in a place where no honour was to be gained, appointed eight hundred men to defend the town, and when the French approached it in good earneſt, made an attempt to ſupply his want of proviſions by means of a large convoy. The troops which conducted it, namely, twelve hundred infantry and three hundred horſe, had private orders to continue in Triers, and reinforce the garriſon.

The maréchal ſecretly informed of this project, gave inſtructions to count la Suze and Arpajou to intercept the enemy. Having forded the Moſelle, their advanced guard, which conſiſted only of twenty men, commanded by a lieutenant, ſoon came to blows with ſome ſquadrons of Imperial horſe, but four companies of infantry, one of which was cardinal Richelieu's, ſupported them immediately. Theſe ſkirmiſhings naturally drew on a general engagement, and at length Iſenburg was obliged to retire. In conſequence of this diſappointment, the town was taken forthwith, and the electorate cleared of Spaniſh garriſons. Many ſtrong places were configned to their lawful maſter, but the French kept ſome by way of *depoſita*, till proper inſtructions arrived from Paris, with reference to their diſpoſal.

At the ſame time Henry, prince of Orange, beſieged Maeſtricht with ſo much vigour, that the Infanta had great apprehenſions of loſing this maſter-key to ſeveral provinces, notwithſtanding ſhe repoſed the higheſt confidence in the bravery of the marquis de Leda, who, though deputy-governor, had then the ſupreme command. As the Spaniſh army had been ſenſibly weakened by the revolt of Berg and Egmond, the Infanta, by way of a laſt reſource, caſt a wiſtful eye towards Pappenheim, as one of the moſt valorous and enterpriſing generals then in Europe; and, to tempt him more, offered him great pecuniary recompences *, and the order of The

* About 16000l. ſterling.

Golden

Golden Fleece. As this *enterprise*, *march*, and *attack*, have been seldom paralleled in military history, I shall venture to speak of them more circumstantially and diffusedly than has hitherto been done.

There is reason to think, that money and honour had no great weight with Pappenheim; but the nature, difficulty, and danger of the attempt delighted him. He fancied he saw a path opening to glory, by pursuing which he might at length advance himself beyond Tilly and Walstein in point of reputation, and make pretensions to rival even the great Gustavus. Therefore, without hesitating a moment, he accepted the proposal; he, who before had neglected the commands of Walstein, turned a deaf ear to the requests of the elector of Bavaria, and had evaded the very orders he received from his master the emperor concerning his march to Nurenberg. Nor does it appear, that any previous application was made by the Infanta to the court of Vienna, since indeed there was hardly time or opportunity to effect it; but the great generals in those days acted principally from their own discretion, and *that* made them perform such wonders as they then performed; whereas, on the contrary, as somebody has said aptly enough, *A prime minister, with a map in a closet, is almost more than a match for any commander's good fortune. There,* said a statesman to Turenne, laying his hand on a map, *you may cross the river. Yes, Sir,* replied the general, *but your finger is not a bridge.*

Pappenheim was then near Hanover. He had a long and difficult march to make, partly through hostile, and partly through neutral and uncertain countries, all long ago devoured by war. He had the drought and heats of summer to struggle against, and was obliged likewise to throw a passage for himself over the Weser, the Rhine, and the Meuse. Having therefore first taken care to place good garrisons in all those towns that had been reduced to his devotion, and leaving Gronsfeld with a part of his army to preserve the circles of Lower Saxony and Westphalia in their obedience, he began his journey when Bauditzen and Lunenberg, who acted against him, least expected it; and forcing the Imperial towns of Dortmund and Essen, raised, from thence, sufficient contributions to defray the expences of himself and his followers for some days. As to the convent near the latter town, whether he compelled the princess abbess and her fair votaries to subscribe to his undertaking, or whether they contributed their contingent out of pure catholic zeal and gallantry to so brave a man, is to me uncertain. He then

croſſed the Rhine with great ſpirit, and though the ſtates of Holland both adviſed and threatened the elector of Cologn not to allow him a paſſage through his territories, a treaty of neutrality then ſubſiſting on his part*, yet that prince, ever ſecretly favouring the cauſe of his own religion, returned them only proteſtations inſtead of realities, and connived at Pappenheim's admiſſion into his capital at the head of 500 dragoons; reſigning, in ſecret to him, the forts of Stein and Himmelſtein, which gave him a paſſage croſs the Rhine. From Cologn the general of the league† drew refreſhments and ſubſiſtence for his whole army, which amounted to 12,000 foot and 3000 horſe; every man of whom was in high ſpirits, and poſſeſſed with the ſame enthuſiaſm that animated the maſter. The refugee biſhops of Mentz, Wurtzburg, and Oſnaburg, all flocked to him as their great deliverer, and loaded him with their benedictions. They had ſuch confidence in his conduct, that they concluded firſt on the preſervation of Maeſtricht, and next on their own reſtoration, as points certain and incontrovertible.

Pappenheim then, after a march, which, for rapidity, can hardly be paralleled, paſſed through the city of Aix-la-Chapelle, and coaſting along the Meuſe, made himſelf maſter of Sittart, where he threw a bridge over the river, and protected its head with a ſtrong fort. He then purpoſed to erect a ſecond fort between Maeſtricht and Liege, in order to give laws to one, that the prince of Orange had raiſed, and allow the Spaniſh army, having cut off ſuch proviſions as came to the Dutch camp, full power and opportunity to join him: which junction, by the way, the two generals of the Spaniards, Don Gonſalvo di Cordova, and the marquis de Santa Croce, never intended to realize. The enemy however rendered all theſe fine projects abortive, having ſecured to themſelves the ſpot of ground in queſtion, and diſpoſed troops in ſuch a manner, that the Imperial pioneers durſt not venture to break the ground.

It was death to the old Caſtilian pride, to ſee an hero called, as it were by magic art, from the depths of Germany, and advancing like an enthuſiaſt into the Low Countries, fully determined to fight the battles, and vindicate the glory of the Spaniſh nation. As he teſtified ſuch an appetite for dan-

* He had alſo paſſed his word of honour to Oxenſtiern, to continue truly neutral between the Swedes and Imperialiſts for two months. *Chemnitz.* Tom. i. p. 300.

† Pappenheim.

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ger, it was reſolved to give him a plentiful ſurfeit: and therefore, with a degree of inſolence not to be paralleled, theſe two ſolemn and punctilious grandees poſtponed their maſter's honour to their own perſonal gratification; declaring coldly, with an air of irony, "That their catholic maſter had expended only four hundred thouſand patagons to pave the foſſes of Maeſtricht with reiters and lanſquenets*."

Pappenheim ſaw the ſnare that was ſpread for him, when it was too late; nor had he ever conceived, that ſuch malice and envy could poſſeſs the hearts of men who made profeſſion of arms. He long knew the vigilance and bravery of the prince of Orange, but now perceived, with ſurprize, but not with diſmay, that the Spaniards were ſeriouſly reſolved to leave their deliverer and his army to periſh. No hiſtory affords a ſimilar example in all its circumſtances! But as he had entailed a debt of demand upon his glory, he ſtill determined, if poſſible, to force the enemies lines, and raiſe the ſiege. At leaſt he was reſolved to *do ſomething*, in order to ſhew there was no caſe, wherein he had not the *ability of performing* ſomething. Though this general was as wary as he was intrepid, yet in caſes of extreme dangers it was always his maxim to *proceed forward*. He firſt attempted to ſeize a bridge that belonged to the Hollanders; but that deſign miſcarrying, he placed his troops on the ſide of the Wyck near Stirum's quarters, determined to break through them ſword in hand, if the ſituation of ground, or the common fortune of chances, produced him any opening that could be thought advantageous. The prince of Orange ſoon comprehended the preciſe points on which he relied, and reinforced that part of his camp with a ſtrong body of dragoons, commanded by the duke of Boüillon. Pappenheim conſidered his firſt deſign again, and having well examined the enemies trenches, determined to attack them the day following, the 7th of Auguſt; making a ſhort oration to his officers and ſoldiers, the nature and drift of which every reader may comprehend, who knows the man. As he ſaw the affair would be obſtinate and bloody, beyond example, he thought it needleſs to attempt any thing by way of ſurprize, in order to gain a momentary advantage, which would determine nothing. Therefore, early in the morning, having battered the Hollanders with all his artillery, he drew up his army in full array, ordering the drums to beat and the trumpets to ſound, with the gallantry of a fair opponent. One

* Two old words for German cavalry and infantry.

hundred choſen ſoldiers, armed with ſwords, and carbines ſlung behind them, carrying in their hands faſcines and ladders, attended by ſeveral companies of pioneers, compoſed the forlorn hope; two regiments of veteran infantry formed the point. The reſt of the foot flanked, ſupported, and ſucceeded theſe two regiments. Two wings of horſe, ſlowly advancing, cloſed the ſides, and a third body encircled all the infantry behind, partly to ſuſtain, and partly to preſs them on, and prevent them from retreating. No general ever made a finer diſpoſition than Pappenheim did on that day; and it was remarked by all men, that no army ever advanced with more ſilence, and greater compoſure.

When the Imperial troops approached the trenches, the fire of the Dutch artillery and concealed muſquetry was ſuch, as moſt ſoldiers might pronounce to be inſupportable. Yet Pappenheim's two regiments, ſupported by the infantry, and protected by the cavalry, performed the ſervice they intended to execute; he himſelf fighting on foot within a pace or two of the foremoſt man, inſomuch that the defendants were obliged to abandon an important outwork to him. When the prince of Orange flew to this place, attended by all his volunteers, and the flower of this army, the diſpute re-commenced with redoubled obſtinacy, and as the Dutch cannon, charged with cartridges, at little more than the diſtance of muſquet-ſhot, were brought to bear on Pappenheim's flanks, it was impoſſible for him to continue where he was, without making a ſacrifice of all his army. Coolly therefore, all of a ſudden, he left the trenches, choked with dead bodies and ſtreaming with blood, and ordered his trumpets to ſound a retreat, which was effected with ſo much temper and conduct, that not a ſingle Hollander paſſed the lines to purſue him.

Returning to his encampment, which was about 500 yards from the enemies' works, he comforted and complimented all his ſoldiers, and having allowed them a ſhort repaſt for mere refreſhment, as it was now about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, he led forth his brave Walloons to a ſecond engagement; and to puſh matters yet farther, inaſmuch as he had ſufficiently experienced the bravery of his infantry, and ſaw plainly, that they neither wanted to be puſhed on, nor had any inclinations to quit the field, he commanded not only the dragoons, but all the cavalry, to ſerve on foot. This was more practicable in thoſe days, as the horſemen's boots were not ſo ſtubborn and unwieldy, as we find them ſince. Notwithſtanding *four* hours deſperate ſervice in the morning,

morning, the Imperial troops performed this ſubſequent duty to admiration: ſome with ſpades filled up the trenches, ſome threw in barrels of earth, gabions, and rolling *mantelets*; others aſcended by ſcaling ladders; ſo that, in a word, the conflict laſted from *one* in the afternoon till *ſeven* in the evening, without a moment's intermiſſion. This we pronounce the more extraordinary, as Pappenheim, with 15,000 men, aſſaulted an army which conſiſted of 24,000 ſoldiers, intrenched in the ſtrongeſt manner then known, and protected with artillery of the heavieſt ſize, and in ſuch quantities as can ſcarcely be enumerated. The prince of Orange oppoſed the general in perſon, and there the fury of the action is not to be deſcribed. Meanwhile the latter, fearing no troops could ſupport ſo deſperate a ſervice, ordered ſome gibbets to be erected, *in terrorem*, near his camp; and, to prevent his followers, in another ſenſe, from retiring, gave them an example rarely to be paralleled; for ſerving ſometimes on foot, and riding ſometimes from poſt to poſt, as the afternoon's attack was made in two places at once, he always, by preference, took care to plant himſelf, and that for ten entire hours, in the moſt dangerous ſituations. All this time, if poſterity can be induced to believe what follows*, the Spaniſh generals, at the head of 26,000 men, kept cloſe to their intrenchments, though within the range of a cannon-ball; never once detaching a ſingle ſoldier to his aſſiſtance, notwithſtanding perhaps a regiment or two only might have turned the fortunes of the day. Nor had they the complaiſance to order a drum to beat, or make a falſe attack, which hazarded nothing. It is true, the marquis de Leda had ſpirit enough to undertake a ſally, and, as in the heat of the action the garriſon marched out undiſcovered, ſome ſmall havock was cauſed in the Engliſh quarter; but the aſſailants were ſoon handled with ſo much roughneſs, that it was thought convenient to retire to the town. At length Pappenheim, after eight or ten deſperate attacks, not to mention the various charges, to which he led his men in the morning, found himſelf compelled to ſound a retreat, pitying the brave and faithful Germans, and pouring forth the ſharpeſt and moſt bitter invectives againſt the malevolent and inſolent Spaniards. In this afternoon's ſervice alone he left 2000 of his beſt ſoldiers dead on the ſpot. Many of his officers were

* Multi exiſtumabant dejici tum Hollandos obſidione ea potuiſſe, ſi idem animus Hiſpano duci fuiſſet. Qui ſuos intra caſtra quiete continens, ne quidem eo induci potuit, ut commotis tympanis, aut ſubitario ſaltem tumultu, agreſſionem ſimularet. *Bracbelii Hiſt. noſtr. temporum*, p. 286.

killed or maimed. Lintelo, his favourite lieutenant-colonel, fell amongſt the foremoſt; Comargo received a muſquet-ball in the ſhoulder, and Palant in the leg. A third ſtruck Pappenheim; and a ball from a *falconet* carried away the pommel of his ſaddle, and ruffled the ſkin of his belly: but this was nothing to a man who bore, at that time, on his face and body, the ſcars and gaſhes of more than ninety wounds; and hence acquired the ſurname of BALAFRE'*. Nine hundred diſabled ſoldiers were ſent to the neighbouring hoſpitals, and more particularly to that of Aix la Chapelle. Prince Henry thought it unſafe to purſue him a ſingle ſtep; ſo that he returned unmoleſted into Weſtphalia, where, in an abſence of ſix weeks, he allowed the Swediſh generals to perform all that laid in their power; being, as was ſaid on him with great juſtice on the occaſion, *Omnibus par, ſingulis ſuperior*. Santa Croce, and Don Gonſalvo, two of the Spaniſh generals, hurt him leſs by their treachery and malice, than by the ſolemn ceremony of returning him their compliments of thanks, after the attempt was over: nor did they ſtop here, but declared publicly, with a mixture of gravity and irony, that the renowned Pappenheim was not a man of *puncto*, having paſſed his word to raiſe the ſiege or periſh in the undertaking, when in truth he had performed neither. Yet

* As this general's temperament was an equal mixture of the *prudent* and *courageous*, moſt hiſtorians imagine him to be a man advanced in years, and ſpeak of him in the ſtyle of an old, wary, and long-experienced commander. Much experienced he really was; for in the twenty-fourth year of his age he performed wonders at the battle of Prague. The many ſcars, likewiſe, and contuſions, which he carried in his perſon, confirmed writers more and more in their opinion;—though, in truth, at the period we are now ſpeaking, he was juſt advancing into his eight and thirtieth year, being of the ſame age with Guſtavus, whom he affected to reſemble in all things; in a ſimilitude of nativity and horoſcope; in the manner of adjuſting his hair; in riding a white palfrey, &c. &c. and, what was ſtill more difficult, in good morals and piety. He was very nobly deſcended; ſerved his firſt campaigns in the Valteline, and performed wonders at the ſiege of Chiavenna. The chamber wherein he expired is ſtill ſhewn at Leipſic with great reſpect; it is a ſmall apartment in the caſtle of Pleiſſenberg. It is reported of him, though moſt hiſtorians ſeem to me to take that for ſerious, which appears to others mere matter of pleaſantry, that he always maintained in converſation with his friends, that, conformably to a prediction found in the archives of his family, a certain Pappenheim *balafré*, mounted on a white ſteed, ſhould kill, hand to hand, in field of battle, a great monarch, who came out of the north. Had this been ſpoken in ſincere good-earneſt, the temper of Guſtavus was ſuch he would certainly have deſpiſed him, as a vain-glorious boaſter, and a credulous enthuſiaſt: whereas, on the contrary, he always ſhewed him acts of politeneſs, and honoured him extremely, not only for his perſonal intrepidity, but for his inventive genius in marches, attacks, and ſtratagems.

others,

others, equally ill intentioned towards him, acknowledged, that he had abundantly disengaged both his honour and and promise, being answerable only for his own conduct and that of his troops, and not for the eventual termination of the enterprise. In a word, the *march*, the *action*, and the *retreat*, may be considered as the finest performances in the military art*.

By this time the elector of Cologn began to be terrified at his own imprudent violation of the late neutrality; and dispatched a minister to the Hague, in order to explain his conduct with regard to Pappenheim, and protect his dominions from the resentments of the Dutch; offering to recall some few regiments, then serving under the Spaniards. But the Hollanders, says an historian†, who knew well what they were about, had a *local* memory of the depredations committed in the late irruption, by means of his connivance, and returned him no answer that appeared sufficient to compose his uneasiness.

During Pappenheim's absence, the Swedish generals, Bauditzen and Lunenberg, made considerable acquisitions in the circles of Westphalia and Lower Saxony; for Gronsfeld had neither forces nor abilities sufficient to oppose them. They first besieged Duderstadt ‡, a place of no small importance to their late conquests, which Pappenheim had strengthened with good bastions, and committed to the care of 1200 infantry, and 400 dragoons; so that the success, at first sight, appeared to be doubtful on the Swedish side; but the besieged, who had lost all spirit when their generalissimo was absent, soon began to mutiny for want of pay, which compelled the governor to make an offer of capitulating; but it was his misfortune to procure no better terms, than such as are usually granted upon surrendering at discretion; for the duke, and Bauditzen, knew the condition of the garrison by their spies. Abundance of artillery and military stores were found in the place; the Imperial troops enrolled themselves into the Swedish service, and the fortifications were razed to the ground.

Bauditzen next made himself master of Eimbeck §; for colonel Holtz, the commander, soon surrendered, having lost

* *Life of Henry Prince of Orange*, in Low Dutch, fol. cum fig. ex Officina C. Dankaërtz.

† *Frederic Spanheim.* ‡ It stands in the electorate of Mentz.

§ This town is the capital of the principality of Grubenhagen, in the Hanoverian dominions. It is famous for good beer, which gave Martin Luther great satisfaction at the diet of Wormes. There are historians who tell

loſt the flower of his garriſon in an unfortunate ſally. Taking this city deſtroyed the levy of ſix new regiments, which Pappenheim had ordered to be raiſed in his abſence; as moſt of the recruits, following the laws of arms, and fortune of the country, took pay from the Swedes. The garriſon of Wolfenbuttle ſtill maintained its ground, and breathed nothing but ravage and plunder through the diſtrict round it. Upon this, the duke of Lunenberg*, from particular as well as general motives, obliged himſelf to blockade it. The town was an inveterate thorn, ſtill growing among the Swediſh laurels, being the only remaining place in that duchy which obſtructed the proſperity of the king's arms. Though all poſſible means were employed to ſtraiten the garriſon, and though the courſe was diverted of the river Ocker, which paſſes through the city and ſupplies its mills, the governor ſtill made ſo reſolute and obſtinate a reſiſtance, that Pappenheim returned from Maeſtricht time enough to relieve him. Gronsfeld, Pappenheim's vicegerent, was very deſirous to throw troops into the town, but Bauditzen took him off from that deſign, by making a diverſion in Weſtphalia: where, advancing firſt into the dioceſe of Paderborn, he took Warburg by capitulation, formerly an Imperial and Hanſe-town, reduced Volkmarſen to aſhes, and inveſted the capital, at the head of 7000 foot, 4000 horſe, and 1000 dragoons; but colonel Weſtphali, who had conveyed himſelf into the city with 1500 men, made ſo many gallant ſallies, ambitious to acquit himſelf like a man of honour, and obtain the good opinion of the general he ſerved, that this attempt of the Swedes was rendered ineffectual; for Pap-

tell us, that Eric duke of Brunſwic, a bigoted catholic, and furious perſecutor of the proteſtants, owed his converſion, twenty years afterwards, to the lucky incident of having preſented a flaggon of this liquor to Luther, when he was heated in a long diſputation. Upon which the reformer is reported to ſay, that as duke Eric had remembered him on that day, God would alſo remember duke Eric in his laſt hours.

* The houſe of Brunſwic-Lunenberg was erected into a duchy in 1235. It afterwards ſpread itſelf into four branches, Zell, Brunſwic, Calemberg, and Grubenhagen.

The ſame diviſion of the country ſtill ſubſiſts; and hence it is, that this ducal houſe has four votes in the diet of the college of princes.

In 1682, the branch of the dukes of Hanover was raiſed to the electoral dignity, and enjoys, in this country, Zell, Calemberg, and Grubenhagen; and the firſt named branch poſſeſſes the principality of Wolfenbuttle.

The library of this place merits notice, being ſuppoſed to contain 116,000 printed volumes, and 2000 MSS. not to mention 100 other MSS. relating purely to public acts, negotiations, treaties, &c. one of the greateſt hiſtorical treaſures now in the world.

Pappenheim not only raiſed the ſiege, but puſhed on to Hildeſheim, which he maſtered, and then forced the Swediſh troops to croſs the Elbe. Nothing more happened in the parts adjacent, except that the peaſants made an inſurrection in the abbacy of Fulda, in oppoſition to the Heſſian officers, who commanded there: but the landgrave ſoon attacked, and conſtrained them to obedience.

During this period, the Imperial generals, Oſſa, Montecuculi, and William margrave of Baden-Baden, were not inactive in Alſatia, having an army of 20,000 men under their command, excluſive of three regiments, then conducted by colonel Metternich, which had been raiſed in the county of Mark, and duchy of Juliers, where Metternich was a man of quality and a native. Theſe troops having croſſed part of Lorrain, were juſt upon the point of arriving in Upper Alſatia, in order to aſſiſt the town of Coblentz; but that attempt not ſucceeding, they united themſelves to the army above mentioned.

The Auſtrian commanders ſent a trumpeter to the town of Straſburg, and demanded quarters and magazines for their troops in the ſignories that belonged unto it. This requeſt the magiſtrates peremptorily denied; but the Imperialiſts conſidered the meſſage and the refuſal as mere matters of form. They then made an irruption, by way of revenge, into the territories of the margrave of Baden-Dourlach, a prince they mortally hated, and extorted all the money that could poſſibly be ſqueezed from the poor inhabitants. Afterwards they took Bretten, or Bretheim, the birth place of Philip Melancthon, a town dependant on the Lower Palatinate, and having forced the garriſon to enliſt amongſt their troops, carried away nine of the principal inhabitants as hoſtages.

Theſe enterpriſes alarmed the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg, eſpecially as the Imperial army began to direct its courſe towards his dominions. Amaſſing therefore a body of 8000 men, and overreaching Montecuculi by a feigned march, he paſſed by that general, and threw ſome troops into the large town of Knitlingin, as much renowned for the birth of Fauſtus the painter, as Bretten had been for that of Melancthon. The inhabitants being moſtly inclined to the Auſtrian party, Montecuculi conveyed a regiment in at one of the gates, cut 400 Wirtembergers to pieces, and ſet fire to the town at the four oppoſite corners. Metternich, then governor of Heidelberg, being kept in ſpirits by having a conſiderable army to ſupport him, made a draught from his own

own garriſon, as well as from thoſe of Frankendale and Oppenheim, and laid ſiege to Wiſloch, a little city in the Lower Palatinate, famous for the battle between Tilly and Mansfeld, in the year 1622. The inhabitants had been reinforced by ſeveral troops of dragoons, and one troop of horſe, and ſoon convinced him that they were not to be terrified at a ſlight ſiege. Piqued with this diſappointment, Metternich found means to fall on colonel Straſburger, near Heidelberg, and deſtroyed him and his ſmall eſcort. He then took care to ſee his body embalmed, and made a compliment of it, very politely, to the governor of Mentz, requeſting the perſons of ſeveral living officers by way of exchange for the dead; and remarking in his letter, that as ſpices were dear, and ſurgeons rare, he expected ſome acknowledgment in money beſides.

Horn, enraged at theſe proceedings, flew immediately to the ſupport of Alſatia, and the adjacent countries; and having made ſelect detachments from the garriſons of the Lower Palatinate, and the electorate of Mentz, joined the Rhingrave Otho Lewis; and coaſting along the Neccar, paſſed his cavalry over the Rhine at the laſt mentioned city, and his infantry at Wormes. Arrived at Manheim without oppoſition, he there encamped, partly to obſerve the countenance of the enemy, and partly to wait the arrival of the adminiſtrator with his little army; but being informed by a courier, that ſome of Montecuculi's troops had filed off to ſupport Metternich in the affair of Wiſloch, which was preſſed almoſt to the laſt extremity, he made ſuch extraordinary marches, an effort in thoſe days not uncommon, that in the firſt place he raiſed the ſiege, and in the ſecond place miſſed little of ſurprizing the beſiegers in their retreat to Heidelberg.

Some of Horn's partiſans, who patrolled the country, ſeized an inferior officer, eſcorted by ſix horſemen, who had been diſpatched from Metternich to Oſſa and Montecuculi, with inſtructions to ſolicit a reinforcement, in order to carry on the ſiege. It was this man's misfortune to fall into the hands of the Swedes on his return; when being ſeverely and cloſely examined, he confeſſed at length, that a body of the enemy's cavalry had received orders to ſuccour Metternich the next day. Horn thus learning their route, diſpoſed an ambuſcade accordingly; for the Imperial generals had only blind and perplexed reports, with reference to the approach of the Swediſh army. Of courſe the colonels Montbaillon and Vitzdum were employed on this buſineſs, with a choſen

detachment, and approached Wiſloch in great ſecurity, neither examining the country, nor ſuſpecting an attack. Horn once had a deſign to let them paſs till they had advanced between his cavalry and his infantry, for then their ruin had been inevitable; but perceiving they ſhaped their courſe, by chance, too much on one ſide, and fearing by thoſe means they might eſcape, he ordered the Rhingrave to fall on them in the rear, at the head of a few troops of horſe. Montbaillon faced about without diſmay, and being ſeconded by Haracour's cuiraſſiers, and the reſt of his cavalry, gave the Rhingrave a very rough reception; but Horn ordered other ſquadrons to advance, and charged the enemy on all ſides. Upon this, the Imperial commander, who ſaw the effects of an ill-grounded ſecurity, too late, provided for his ſafety by the moſt prudential method that then occurred to him, which was, in other words, a precipitate retreat: but the Swediſh dragoons purſuing briſkly, brought him from his horſe with a carbine-ball, and took him priſoner, as alſo the chevalier de Treilly, his lieutenant-colonel. In a word, one way or other, this body of troops was almoſt entirely ruined.

As many ſoldiers after a defeat are the moſt expeditious couriers in the world; ſo of courſe Montecuculi and Oſſa were ſoon informed of this diſaſter; and making an expeditious march to Oppenheim, paſſed the Rhine there, and poſted themſelves in a ſituation leſs expoſed than that they formerly occupied. The Swediſh general purſued them without ſucceſs; if we except the picking up a few ſick and wounded men, from whom he learnt that the enemy had formed a deſign on Spires, which report was confirmed by the number of boats he ſaw collected together. This determined him to aſcend the coaſt of the Rhine, and paſs into Alſatia, by way of repriſal; and the rather, as the town of Straſburg ſtood much in need of his aſſiſtance; for the enemy's forces had ravaged its little territory, more like an hoſt of Tartars than a body of well-diſciplined ſoldiers. During this interim, the Imperial generals aſſembled their troops near Hagenau, and drafted every garriſon that was capable to afford them a ſmall reinforcement; being reſolved to ſupport Schelſtadt, Colmar, Benfelden, and Briſac, and finiſh the conteſt with Horn by a general engagement.

Horn demanded a paſſage over Straſburg bridge*, a favour which was granted him, after a ſhort conſultation; and then, to ſhew his confidence in the inhabitants, and avoid creating ſuſpicions, he and the Rhingrave, for the generals in thoſe

* *Hiſt. or Authent. Relat.* in Low Dutch, fol. tom. ii. p. 91.

days

days gained money, and loved pomp, made their entrance in ſix coaches, drawn by ſix horſes each; but attended only by two troops of cavalry, one of which was Horn's own company of cuiraſſier-guards. The magiſtracy received them with all poſſible honour; and the rather, as his Swediſh majeſty always maintained a miniſter in the town by way of reſident. Next morning, Horn, at the head of the better part of his cavalry, paſſed the bridge, and being attended by one or two regiments of infantry, formed the blockade of Benfelden, whilſt the bulk of the army, reinforced by a body of Wirtembergers, laid ſiege to Stolhofen*, whoſe governor at length hung out a white flag of capitulation, and demanded a conference. Hoſtages being reciprocally exchanged, the Swediſh troops approached the gates, relying on the good faith of the agreement, when, on a ſudden, a general diſcharge of artillery and muſquetry made an inconceivable ſlaughter. Schevaliſki, a Bohemian colonel of great repute, and a favourite of the king, had his horſe ſhot under him; and ſeveral officers of conſequence were maimed and diſabled. Enraged at ſuch perfidy, the Swediſh commander recalled his hoſtages, and ſent the governor word, to do his worſt, and die ſword in hand; for quarter ſhould be neither given nor taken. The cries of the women and children on the walls, and their ſupplicating poſtures, ſoon melted the heart even of this inhabitant of the north; who, for the honour of the maſter he ſerved, ſent the commander word, he would receive him and the garriſon priſoners, but under *no* reſtrictions; which propoſal, all circumſtances duly conſidered, carried with it no appearance of harſhneſs; but on the contrary, ſoon found a ſubmiſſive and thankful compliance on the part of the Imperialiſts.

During theſe tranſactions, Montecuculi and Oſſa kept themſelves inactive under the walls of Philipſburg; in marching to which place they loſt a conſiderable part of their army, merely from the apprehenſions that they might be overtaken by Horn†; who, finding it impoſſible to tread on their heels, determined to ſecure the better parts on the eaſtern ſide of the Rhine, and then exert his utmoſt efforts towards the reduction of Alſatia; well foreſeeing, that if he could

* A ſtrong fortreſs in Suabia, protected by moraſſes. The French army diſmantled and razed it in the year 1689.

† Hoſtis majore adhuc celeritate uſus, dieſque & noctes, nulla intermiſſa quiete, iter continuans, *nec jactura ulla militum*, qui nimio labore fracti inter viam magno numero remanebant, (*deſerti potius*, quam deſertores ſignorum,) &c. &c. *Chem.* tom. i. 330.

render

render himſelf maſter either of Benfelden, Schelſtadt, or Colmar, he ſhould of courſe give laws to the river Ila, which runs through and commands the country. In order therefore to pave his ground with greater ſecurity, he reduced Upper Ehenheim to obedience, and the fortreſs of Ortenburg, before which place a ball paſſed through the body of one of his officers, and wounded Horn in the ſide. He then made himſelf maſter of Offenbourg; and thus, by one uninterrupted ſeries of valorous, prudent, and ſucceſsful actions, diſplayed all the abilities of a diſciple, who brought no diſgrace to the ſchool of Guſtavus; ſince at one and the ſame time he opened to his countrymen the rich valley of Kirzingen, and the county of Hanau; and found means to reſtore the Upper Margraviate of Baden-Dourlach to its ancient and lawful owner, after an excluſion of more than ten years duration.

There is a certain point, in all judicious and well-conducted campaigns, firſt in *intention*, as the ſchoolmen affect to ſpeak, and laſt in *execution*, namely, the giving the totality a proſperous caſt at the concluſion of the year; ſo Horn never once let his eye ſwerve from this primary and ultimate object of military operations, and determined, from the beginning to the end, to cloſe the ſcene of a year's campaign with the reduction of the town of Benfelden: which acquiſition, for good reaſons already aſſigned, transferred to his maſter the means of ſubduing Alſatia, and opened to him a new field of conqueſt on the weſtern banks of the Rhine; which was intended by Horn as a *collateral* check to France, and a *direct diminution* of the Auſtrian power at the ſame time. As to the former, hiſtory affords proofs abundant; and with reſpect to the latter, certain it is, that ſome days afterwards, Leopold*, archduke of Inſpruch, the emperor's brother, died of chagrin and a broken heart; for he could not bear to ſee his territories ruined, and moſt of his future expectations deſtroyed.

At length Horn inveſted Benfelden, a place of ſmall extent, and of courſe more eaſily defended. It was rendered ſtrong by art and nature; for the marſhes round it were next to impaſſable, and the fortifications had been newly erected, according to the beſt principles that were then known. It was ſurrounded by three deep foſſes, two of which were filled with water. The garriſon conſiſted of one thouſand men, and part of the artillery, of which there was great abundance on the walls, carried balls of forty-eight pounds weight. Oſſa,

* He was forty-ſix years old, and left Ferdinand Charles, his eldeſt ſon, for ſucceſſor.

and

and the margrave of Baden-Baden, then general of the Imperial forces on the Upper Rhine, made ſeveral attempts to raiſe the ſiege, which, as it was an enterpriſe attended with extraordinary difficulty, continued without intermiſſion from September till November. At length the courſe of the river Ila, which ſupplied the town ditches, being diverted, a fair and honourable capitulation was propoſed by the governor, and accepted with complacence on the part of the Swedes. Towns of leſs importance ſubmitted of courſe. Schelſtadt ſuſtained ſome ſharp attacks, and at length ſurrendered. So that the circles of Suabia and the Upper Rhine were cleared of their enemies; and *two parts* of Alſatia entirely reduced to obedience, in the ſpace of four months. Thus ſtood matters when the king fought the battle of Lutzen: ſo that, in a word, Horn's digreſſive campaign may be conſidered a *maſterpiece in the art of war.*

Having thus given a general idea of the ſtate of the king's ſeveral armies in various parts, we may remark, that two other bodies of troops, by no means inconſiderable, paſſed the campaign in a ſtyle of waging war then little known, and which Guſtavus did not greatly affect to practiſe, namely, in the character of *armies of obſervation*; for Ruthven, by merely ſhowing his forces, had maintained, in obedience, the whole diſtrict that laid round Ulm; and Wrangel, under whom Sir George Fleetwood ſerved with his Engliſh regiment, did little more in Pomerania than watch the countenance of the Polanders. In a word, the Swediſh troops prevailed every where, except in thoſe places where Pappenheim commanded. There, upon the whole, they rather loſt than gained, yet paſſed the whole ſummer without ſuffering one ſingle defeat.

As Walſtein continued reſerved and cautious, and had determined within himſelf not to run the riſk of a general engagement; his majeſty, for various reaſons, which have formerly been ſpecified, put in practice a reſolution he had long conceived, and that was, to *diſlodge firſt.* Thus making a ſacrifice of military vanity to ſolid good ſenſe, he had but one affliction remaining upon his mind, and that was, his deſertion of the faithful and affectionate town of Nurenberg; for Walſtein had given the public to underſtand, that his intention was to ſack this commercial and opulent city on the king's departure, partly to terrify the allies of Sweden, and partly to make the emperor amends for the great expences of the preſent campaign. Kniphauſen ſoon perceived this *ſtruggle of honour* in his maſter's breaſt, and told him

him frankly, that on the peril of ſuffering ignominiouſly on a ſcaffold, he would undertake to defend Nurenberg with 4000 men, againſt all the attempts of the Imperial forces. Guſtavus knew the man, and reliſhed the propoſal; and having convened the patricians in one body, explained the whole matter to them with great delicacy and preciſion: *Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *this officer has defended a village, protected only by a ſingle wall, againſt all the efforts of Tilly.* No ſooner were theſe words pronounced, than the Nurenbergers acquieſced with great complacency, and agreeing to maintain the Swediſh garriſon at their own expence, and unite with them their own troops commanded by Schlammerſdorf, who had formerly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Palatine ſervice, conſented that the king ſhould likewiſe leſſen a part of his firſt intrenchments, and demoliſh the reſt. All this could not content a perſon of ſuch punctual good faith and tender honour as Guſtavus was: he therefore firſt aſſured them, by a ſeries of the cleareſt arguments, that Walſtein would not undertake the ſiege of a town like Nurenberg on the approach of winter; declaring likewiſe, that if the Imperial general ſhould have the ſpirit and reſolution to beſiege them, he would march in perſon to their relief at all hazards; *and moreover*, added he, *I will leave Oxenſtiern with you, as a royal pledge of my ſincere intentions.* Here the chancellor hung up his votive armour, and never afterwards appeared in the field clad in iron. The king then celebrated the anniverſary of the battle of Leipſic, and diſlodged the next morning, September the eighth.

As he had a great paſſion for *military gallantry*, when *conſiſtent* with prudence, he abhorred the thoughts of decamping by ſtealth and artifice, but on the contrary drew up his whole army in fair array; and having lain under Walſtein's eye, for four continued hours, at length purſued his courſe compoſedly and ſlowly. The Imperial commander, far from diſturbing his paſſage, called in all his advanced guards and out ſentries, inſomuch that a ſingle ball was not diſcharged on either ſide. Next evening the Swediſh army reached Newſtadt on the Aiſch *, a ſmall town in the margraviate of Anſpach, about twenty miles to the north-weſt of Nurenberg. Here the king reſted his troops one entire day, and then turned fourteen miles ſouthwards to the city of Winſheim. Meanwhile he borrowed a large ſum from the merchants of Francfort, taking the liberty to pawn ſome

* There is another Newſtadt in the ſame circle of Franconia, ſtanding upon the river Stray, near Koënigſhofen.

demeſnes belonging to the Teutonic order, at and near the town of Mergentheim; and gave a freſh audience to the Moſcovite and Tartarian ambaſſadors*, who made propoſals, as it is conjectured, to ſecure to him the kingdom of Poland; whoſe inteſtine diviſions, occaſioned by the late death of Sigiſmond, ſeemed to give fair openings for no inconſiderable interpoſition. But our hero wanted no *ſuccedaneum* of employment, and advanced only juſt ſo far as gratitude allowed him.

Walſtein had great apprehenſions that Guſtavus would over reach him by a feigned march, and for theſe reaſons ventured not to *unearth*, as a German hiſtorian expreſſes it, till his ſpies brought him certain aſſurances that his majeſty had decamped in good earneſt. Though conjectures may be formed, it ſeems difficult to aſcertain what numbers of men this general loſt without fighting, eſpecially by dyſenteries and ſcarlet fevers; for the Auſtrian army then, and almoſt a century afterwards, had only a few medicaments, and here and there a ſurgeon of very moderate abilities; it being in thoſe days, and in part of ours, a ſort of maxim with the Imperialiſts, that it coſts more to *cure* a ſoldier, than *levy* a recruit. Nor was the ravage leſs deſtructive amongſt the cavalry, where, as a ſenſible author obſerves, conſiſted both their ſtrength and pride: for it is computed they loſt 14,000 horſes during the time they remained in camp.

Walſtein had no *real* intentions to beſiege Nurenberg, ſince he knew the king, when once at liberty to range the empire, might ſoon remount his cavalry, and compel him to diſlodge. For the ſame reaſons he judged it impoſſible to continue longer in his old lines, for his enemy, being maſter of the country round, had full power to reduce him by hunger. There was an inſurrection likewiſe in one of the Auſtrias; ſo that, having well weighed all circumſtances in his own breaſt, he decamped, as ſome ſay, with ſuch extraordinary caution, that he began his march at the cloſe of the evening; keeping the river Rednitz between him and the king, who lay to the weſtward, and leaving behind him, for want of draught-horſes, as moſt people imagined, innumerable quantities of ſtores and baggage, and a great number of ſick and wounded ſoldiers; whilſt the Croatians, in the courſe of their march, laid the farm-houſes and villages all in aſhes.

At Winſheim the king firſt ſuſpected that Walſtein and

* *Hiſt. or Auth. Relat.* Low Dutch, tom. ii. 162.

the

the elector of Bavaria propoſed, for both their armies ſtill continued to be united, to point their courſe to the banks of the Maine: and as he was particularly jealous of any attempt on his late conqueſts in Franconia, a part of the empire he had deſtined, in his own mind, to ſome particular uſes, into which I have not inſight enough to deſignate, a thought ſtruck him how to divide the fury of this combined ſtorm; and turning ſhort all of a ſudden, gave duke Bernard half his army *, wherewith to diſpute the paſſage of the Maine againſt Walſtein; and then purſued his old and well-known track into Bavaria. He concluded, ſafely enough, that the elector muſt haſten to the ſupport of his own capital and country; and ſagaciouſly foreſaw, that if the Imperial general ſhould paſs by the Weimarian troops without attacking them, and point his courſe towards Saxony, a circumſtance which merited his utmoſt attention, yet ſtill he reſerved to himſelf the power of placing his army between the Bavarian and Auſtrian forces. Neither was it probable to imagine, that the elector would preſume to cope ſingly with one, whom he and Walſtein, with their united abilities, had declined to fight. In caſe he had an inclination to engage the Imperial general hand to hand, it then was not difficult to recal duke Bernard out of Franconia into Miſnia, and command ſome detachments to join him from the ſeveral corps that acted under Bauditzen and Lunenberg in the circle of Lower Saxony, and under Banier and the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel in parts adjacent.

Theſe, and other conſiderations of a ſimilar nature, determined Guſtavus to march half his army into Bavaria, taking with him about ſeven regiments of cavalry, and as many of infantry; and placing himſelf, as he choſe to be preſent every where, and obſerve all things with his own eyes, at the head of three hundred of Steinboch's dragoons, in preference to

* At that time the king and duke de Weimar had about 24,000 men between them. Walſtein's corps might amount to 18,000, and it may be aſcertained, that the duke of Bavaria's conſiſted of 13,000; ſo that the combined armies loſt in nine weeks encampment, by ſickneſs, deſertion, hunger, and a little fighting, ſomething more than 15,000 ſoldiers, being 60,000 ſtrong when they firſt intrenched themſelves; and this, with allowance for a body of 8000 ſent with Holk into Miſnia, and 4000 diſpatched to his aſſiſtance under Galas, not including two regiments commanded into Auſtria to repreſs the inſurrection of the peaſants; ſuppoſing too, which is not very probable, that no reinforcements had been conveyed to the head-quarters of the Imperial and Bavarian armies:—That conceſſion granted, Walſtein's loſſes were ſtill greater.

his own guards; as being a body of troops leſs encumbered with weight than the common cavalry, for they wore no armour, and had lighter horſes. They could alſo diſmount on proper occaſions, and ſerve on foot.

It was partly by the over-perſuaſion of Oxenſtiern *, that Guſtavus undertook this expedition into Bavaria and Upper Auſtria; for the ſtateſman alledged, upon the preſent occaſion, that his Imperial majeſty valued one hereditary province more than all the other dominions in Germany. The king, afterwards, had reaſons to conſider this meaſure as neither a very prudent nor a very injudicious one, but rather of a mixed and uncertain nature; for Walſtein continued inflexible in the reſolution of not purſuing him, and afforded the elector of Bavaria, at parting, no further aſſiſtance, than permitting Aldringer to attend him with his own regiment, and that of Coloredo.

No ſooner had Guſtavus begun to march at the head of this diminutive army, but the chancellor recalled him by an expreſs from Nurenberg; informing him, that Galas had inveſted Lauf with a party of 2000 infantry and four pieces of cannon. It was a town of more conſequence than ſtrength; and of courſe the king flew to its aſſiſtance with 2000 horſe, and 1500 *commanded* muſqueteers; but on his approach to Nurenberg, the chancellor and Kniphauſen met him, and gave him information, that Galas had carried his point, and advanced towards Vogtland and Miſnia. Upon receiving this intelligence, the king juſt refreſhed his troops one hour in Nurenberg, and leaving freſh occaſional directions with Oxenſtiern and the commander, haſtened with all poſſible expedition to Anſpach, and thence to Dunkelſpiel, where, on the ſixth day after his abſence, he overtook his army in its march to Donawert. By next evening he advanced twenty miles, and reached Nordlingen, where Tilly had the year before eſtabliſhed his winter quarters. Here he was joined by 5000 Switzers, ſuch were the effects of the chevalier de Rache's embaſſy to the proteſtant cantons, which body of troops colonel Wormbrandt had ſafely conducted from the foot of the Alps to Schaffhauſen, and then along the banks of the Danube, in deſpite of Oſſa, who commanded thrice the number of Imperial forces in the circle of Suabia. The king was ſo excellent a geographer, that though he gave his commanders occaſional liberties, in caſe of unforeſeen events, yet in all marches of length

* *Puffendorf* de Rebus Succicis, fol. p. 79.

and

and conſequence, he ſent them a route ſketched out on paper, aſſigning the journey of each day, and the place of ſtation every night or evening. Perhaps one inducement to Guſtavus for marching into Bavaria, which hitherto has been paſſed by without notice, was to preſerve, in caſe he could not by ſuch a ſtep ſeparate the elector from Walſtein, this valuable body of infantry from being intercepted by the Imperial armies; for Montecuculi, who then commanded the remnant of the electoral troops in Bavaria, with which two reinforcements were joined, partly Tuſcan and partly Imperial, might, with great eaſe, have united himſelf with Oſſa, and hindered Ruthven and the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg from facilitating the advance of the Switzers. Guſtavus had an eye to all events, and gave the ſame proportionate attention to ſmall occurrences, as well as greater ones.

Montecuculi therefore, not daring to advance one ſingle ſtep beyond his new diſtrict *, thought proper to give his majeſty ſome trouble, famous as he was for paſſing rivers, in croſſing the Lech a ſecond time; and of courſe dexterouſly enough inveſted Rayn †; which gave the king no great uneaſineſs, for the town was excellently, though not ſufficiently fortified, ſince colonel Mitzval, who commanded, had neglected to caſt up ſome works, which his maſter had ordered when he left Bavaria. Mitzval had victuals, artillery, and ammunition in abundance, and likewiſe his own complete regiment of infantry, and five troops of horſe under his directions; ſo that the king ſuppoſed he might have repulſed the Imperialiſts till his arrival, even without expoſing himſelf to ſerious fighting. The apprehenſive panics, however, to which commanders are ſometimes liable, ſurpaſs all conjectures upon the ſubject. This unfortunate man had riſen to command by the force of a military character hitherto untainted, in caſe we make one ſingle exception; for he indulged immoderately in the pleaſures of the table. He had performed ſome actions of a ſhining and more diſtinguiſhed nature. He was an officer of long ſtanding, having ſerved in Poland, and commanded a regiment when the king landed in Germany; and now, all at once, to evince the fatal truth, that courage itſelf may be *periodical*, ſurrendered this important place, without alledging one circumſtance in his

* Hitherto he had commanded in Suabia, Alſatia, and the parts adjacent, with this exception, that he ſerved one half in 1630 and 1631, partly in Pomerania, and partly in Sileſia, &c.

† *Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation*, in Low Dutch, fol. tom. ii. p. 163.

defence, except that an enſign had threatened him with the mutiny of the garriſon; and that his officers in a council of war had agreed with him in opinion. Guſtavus replied coolly and juſtly: *A man of ſervice ſhould have puniſhed the enſign, and* that *Mitzval never attempted.* What ſtill rendered the caſe more exaſperating, was, the king had written this commander a letter, with his own hand, beſeeching him to have ſome regard to his reputation for a few days, inaſmuch as he was in full march to relieve him from the hands of the enemy. Great therefore was Guſtavus's aſtoniſhment, when, at the head of an army that breathed nothing but glory, he received the news of Mitzval's ignominious and mean-ſpirited capitulation: which afflicted him ſo much the more, as Rayn was the only convenient paſſage acroſs the Lech; and an Imperial garriſon lodged therein, might intercept all communication between his good allies, the great commercial towns of Augſburg and Nurenberg *. It was the characteriſtic of Guſtavus, whenever he was fruſtrated in *one* attempt, always to find out ſome *ſecond* expedient. He therefore bethought himſelf in an inſtant, that there was hard by a little bridge over the Lech, at the foot of a fortified caſtle called Obernſdorf, which belonged to the rich family of the Fuggers. Thither he flew with all imaginable expedition, and there found 150 men in garriſon, and 250 Croatians in full employment to deſtroy the bridge, which they took care to effect before the king arived; yet not ſoon enough to ſecure their retreat to Rayn: for Guſtavus purſued them in perſon at the head of Steinboch's dragoons, and having deſtroyed them all, returned and took the caſtle by ſtorm, obtaining ſeven enſigns in the conflict. He then ſet himſelf to repair the bridge, and paſſed the river without oppoſition. Whether it was that Montecuculi, bearing in memory Tilly's late misfortune, feared to diſpute the paſſage of the Lech a ſecond time, or whether he received orders to ſecure the cities of Ingoldſtadt and Ratiſbon, and form a junction with the elector, who was then marching into Bavaria, is more than I can take upon me to aſſert with any warrantable degree of confidence.

The king, ſheltered under the obſcurity of a miſty morning, approached Rayn before the governor knew he had croſſed the Lech, and projected his attack againſt *that* very place, which Mitzval had neglected to fortify. Panic terrors were now become hereditary to the governors of this unfortunate

* *Bertius* de Bellis Germanicis, 4°. p. 412.

city,

city, ſo that the Imperial commander, having taken the infection from his Swediſh predeceſſor, conſented to capitulate upon terms equally unſoldierlike and ignominious; for though eight days were allotted by Guſtavus for completing the ſiege, yet the governor ſurrendered in leſs ſpace than four and twenty hours. Nor could his majeſty yet digeſt the diſgrace which Mitzval's late conduct had thrown on the reputation of his arms, and of courſe conſented only, that the cavalry of the garriſon ſhould depart without horſes and accoutrements, and the infantry be deprived of their pikes and muſquets; yet, as he had an innate averſion to mortify men of ſervice overmuch, he allowed both parties to march out with their ſwords. Thence diverging to Landſberg on the Lech, he made the garriſon, conſiſting of 600 muſqueteers, all priſoners of war, not permitting them to retire, as he ſtill continued to be mortified with the diſreputation Mitzval had caſt on his troops, with any marks of military honour except peeled oſier wands, which he allowed them to bear in their hands *.

From Rayn the king advanced to Neuburg, in purſuit of Montecuculi, who retired towards Ratiſbon along the banks of the Danube. At Neuburg he ordered Mitzval to be beheaded in the preſence of all the army, and commanded the lieutenant-colonel, and eight captains belonging to his regiment, to ſtand upon the ſcaffold during the execution. This period of time † was unfortunate not only to Mitzval but to his brother, who was likewiſe a colonel: for the very day before the preſent Mitzval ſuffered, his brother had the misfortune to be beaten in the principality of Wolfenbuttle, where he loſt great part of his regiment, as well as his reputation and his liberty. During the whole of this ſharp ſervice in Germany, where battles were frequent, and rencounters happened almoſt every day, and where attacks and defences of towns may be ſuppoſed innumerable, only *two colonels* on the Swediſh ſide, namely Mitzval and Horneck, were condemned to an inglorious exit on a public ſcaffold. The latter was pardoned at the queen's interceſſion. Her majeſty likewiſe, from the natural tenderneſs of her ſex, pleaded ſtrongly in behalf of Mitzval, and preſſed inceſſantly for ſome commutation of puniſhment; but Guſtavus repreſented to her, that compaſſion in the preſent inſtance would entirely ruin the diſcipline of the ſervice. It was his intention likewiſe to have ſtruck off the lieutenant-colonel's and

* *Puffendorf* de Reb. Suec. p. 79.
† *Chemnitz.* tom. i. p. 335.

captains' heads; but the perſuaſive Eleonora procured their pardon.

It was now determined, in earneſt, to attempt Ingoldſtadt a ſecond time *, and for this purpoſe Guſtavus made all preparations becoming the moſt able and ready commander; for he tranſported down the Danube abundance of artillery from Augſburg and Donawert; ſome ſay to the amount of fifty pieces of the largeſt ſize, and by the ſame channel ſupplied his army with great quantities of proviſions and forage. To effect this enterpriſe ſtill more ſucceſsfully, it was his intention to viſit Augſburg in perſon; but an expreſs from Oxenſtiern, giving information that Walſtein had fallen into Vogtland and Miſnia, in order to deſtroy, at one blow, the elector of Saxony, a prince of very fluctuating diſpoſitions, and who did not greatly affect the Swediſh cauſe †, obliged the king to change his plan of operations againſt Bavaria: the rather, as John George, the elector, had beſought him, by two urgent letters, to march directly to his aſſiſtance ‡; and indeed there were reaſons to take care of ſuch an uncertain ally. Leaving therefore 12,000 men, of whom the new-raiſed Switzers made a part, under the command of Chriſtian prince Palatine of Birkenfeld to oppoſe the elector of Bavaria in that duchy, till ſuch time as Banier ſhould be recovered from the wound he lately received; and having taken excellent care of the towns of Augſburg, Rayn, and Donawert, he marched with the reſidue of his army to Nurenberg, intending to penetrate the vaſt Thuringian foreſt, and keep an eye of attention towards his Saxon friend.

In one word, the conduct of this elector began to grow more and more myſterious every hour; for not many weeks before, the king had offered him the aſſiſtance of ſome Swe-

* *Hiſt. Auth. Relat.* tom. i. 335. *Merian Theatr. Eur.* part. ii. 746.

† This prince verified to a tittle the prediction of Paul Grebner the aſtrologer, which was publiſhed many years before the period in queſtion. "Tempore illo (nempe poſt Bohemiæ tumultus & ſtrepitus bellicoſos magna cum defectione, &c.) *Cæſar Electoris Saxoniæ*, naſo Hiſpanica, fraudulenta, doloſa, blanda, inſidioſa imponit *conſpicilla*, & quorum naturam tandem ipſe pernoſcit, proprioque edocetur experimento, quod hæc Auſtriaca conſpicilla, poppyſmata, & phalerata verba, ſceleratæ & proditoriæ ſint practicæ; quibus ſi ultra fidem habere duceret, ſeipſum, conjugem, natos & univerſos Chriſtianiſſime—confœderatos in pernicioſum præcipitaret exitium."

In a following paragraph he likewiſe adds theſe remarkable words; "Suecus feliciſſimo ſucceſſu *claſſe*, & *ſuo populo* terra marique *in* hoſtem utetur." ["This book," ſays the author of the *New Star in the North*, Lond. 4°. 1632. "was preſented by Grebner to queen Elizabeth. The original copy whereof, written by Grebner himſelf, was placed by Dr. Nevil in the library of Trinity-college, Cambridge, whereof he was maſter."]

‡ *Chemnitz.* de Bello Sueco German, tom. i. fol. 335.

diſh

diſh regiments, which he excuſed himſelf accepting, under pretence of economy *. It appeared alſo, that Arnheim had made the expedition into Sileſia purely to embarraſs his electoral maſter: nor was Guſtavus conſulted in that undertaking. Thus Miſnia and Vogtland were left defenceleſs. Arnheim declared too, that he would not act under Banier, or in conjunction with him, but, on the contrary, would reſign his commiſſion. Beſides this, Arnheim, during the ſummer and autumnal campaign, had acquitted himſelf inſincerely towards the intereſts of Sweden. He behaved reſervedly and inſolently to Dubalt, who commanded the royal forces; making a thouſand delays, in poſſeſſing Breſlau, till he waſted an entire month, and gave the Imperialiſts leiſure to collect their army. He aſſigned the Swedes no quarters but the duchy of Lignitz, already exhauſted by war, and the *prefecture* of Drachenberg; inſomuch that Walſtein was heard to declare, that the Auſtrian cauſe was ſafe in Sileſia ſo long as Arnheim commanded there. He indeed received his maſter's orders, if they were real, to return into Miſnia, but put them into his pocket without regarding them †, and received a gratuity from the emperor, which ſurpaſſes all belief; for hiſtorians make it amount to £. 120,000. ſterling ‡, as likewiſe the promiſe of being elevated to the dignity of a prince ‖, which made him overlook the kind intentions of Guſtavus, who propoſed only to create him a count. What exaſperated matters ſtill more, a letter from Arnheim to Spar, Walſtein's favourite negotiator, was ſhewn the king, concluding with theſe remarkable words: "My deareſt colonel, I beſeech you in God's name, to convey me no more letters like your laſt; for if you continue a practice of this nature, you will bring the perſon of an honeſt man, and his very life and reputation, into queſtion: moderate, therefore, your ſtyle, in ſuch a manner, that I may have the power to communicate what you write to my electoral maſter §."

Spar, who was a ſubject of Sweden, being over-heated one night with wine, offered the peruſal of this letter to the Bohemian colonel Hoffkirch; in conſequence whereof the count de Solmes either procured the original, or delivered

* See the whole tranſaction at large in *Chemnitius*, tom. i. p 362—369, &c.

† Some ſay he diſobeyed him by dint of his influence, in a council of war. True it is, he went to Dreſden to excuſe himſelf, but took care to be attended by 2000 ſoldiers of his own ſelecting.

‡ *Chemnitius* de Bellis Sueco Germ. tom. i. 366.

‖ *Puffendorf* de Rebus Suecicis, fol. p. 80, &c.

§ *Lotichius*, tom. ii. fol. in annum 1632.

a copy

a copy to John George, who convened a cabinet-council and ſummoned Arnheim to appear; but the accuſed had the gift of natural eloquence, ſufficient to confound a whole legion of jus-publiciſts; and thus the affair ended without conſequences. Meanwhile Dubalt, who partook more of the ſoldier than of the politician, was long blinded by this moſt artful man; but Guſtavus ſoon perceived his general to be deluded, and to avoid creating future jealouſies, diſpatched young Cochtitſchi, a Sileſian born, and a nobleman of great property, with full powers to rectify theſe great diſorders; ſending him in the quality of *legatus ad exercitum* to eaſe Dubalt from all except the military concerns.

Cochtitſchi, previouſly enlightened by his royal preceptor, ſaw, with a ſingle glance, through Arnheim's intentions, and gave him an inſight into his ideas concerning him, which indeed was needleſs, at the firſt conference. He then informed Guſtavus, that this commander would bear no equal in the confederate army, and that therefore it was neceſſary to cauſe him to be removed, or ſend as many Swedes as were able to preſcribe laws to him. Time, the grand expounder of all doubts, ſoon verified this excellent advice, which Guſtavus knew, but had not then the power to realize: for Arnheim afterwards took care to abſent himſelf from the battle of Lutzen, and when news arrived of Guſtavus's death, extorted Breſlau from the Swedes by main force, and told them all pretenſions expired at the death of their maſter. Then marching away from Dubalt, he left him to the mercy of the Imperial forces, who made him a priſoner *: but Walſtein pitied a brave man, ſo ſhamefully betrayed, and diſmiſſed him from his captivity without a ranſom, as likewiſe the old count Thurn, whoſe blood the court of Vienna longed to ſee ſpilt on a public ſcaffold.

Rendered cautious therefore by the inſincerity of Arnheim, and the irreſolute diſpoſition of John George his electoral maſter, Guſtavus judged it indiſpenſably neceſſary to confirm that fluctuating prince, by a perſonal appearance at the head of an army; and ſo much the rather, as he liked not Pappenheim's return, of which he now received undoubted aſſurances, from Maeſtricht. Fearing, moreover, that matters might take an unproſperous turn in the circle of Weſtphalia, and both the Saxonys; and preſaging likewiſe, that his conqueſts in Upper Germany could not be deemed truly tenable, if things proceeded unpropitiouſly in the Lower; he changed, all at once his reſolution of fixing Oxenſtiern in one of the

* *Puffendorff* de Reb. Suec.

Saxon

Saxon circles, and chose to establish him at Nurenberg, as his representative in the southern regions of the empire. It is the custom of *great* geniuses to *decide in a moment*, and *not unfortunately*. Of course Gustavus left Christian count Palatine to command in and round Bavaria, till Banier should be recovered from his late wound; and flew towards Misnia, as we shall relate hereafter.

We will now reflect, for a few moments, on the count de Pappenheim, who by this time, for we have before mentioned his extraordinary march to Maestricht, felt a strong desire to repass the Rhine, and regain his old quarters in Westphalia and Lower Saxony*. Many things conspired to prompt him to carry this idea into execution. He had no great confidence in his neighbours the Dutch; and though his troops were actually encamped in the territories of another state, yet he could not absolutely depend on their geographical fidelity; no, not though Reubens had published a plan of the siege of Maestricht, and an exact ichnography of the country round it. He had likewise no great opinion of the fortune, conduct, or honour of the Spanish generals, and doubted lest Bauditzen might be tempted to copy the very march he lately made, and, uniting himself with the Dutch troops, augment his dangers in a double proportion. Of course he rejected all the fresh offers which Isabella proposed him, and that for two reasons; partly because she had never verified her late promises, and partly because the Swedish generals had made great progress in the departments of Lower Saxony and Westphalia during his absence.

Decamping therefore in the night, and setting fire to his huts rather than tents, he shaped his course towards the Rhine, and gained the river Röer. Next day he approached Juliers, and, to his misfortune be it mentioned, found himself obliged to indulge his soldiers in all sorts of ravage and plunder; not from any principle of cruelty, or avaricious and mercenary disposition in his nature, for he was alike disinterested and brave, but merely because he had *no* money, either to subsist his soldiers, or discharge their arrears. He received many expresses on the road from Walstein and the duke of Bavaria, both then encamped near Nurenberg, which he repaid only with courtesies and excuses; alledging, that his troops were famished and harassed, whilst the Swedes, whom he had formerly coped with, remained fresh and vigorous: that the French army, in particular, obstructed his passage over the Moselle, and the emperor's affairs, in the

* *Soldat Suedois*, p. 71, &c.

north-west

north-weſt of Germany, were all ſinking into ruin by reaſon of his abſence: nevertheleſs, if hereafter any great extremity ſhould preſent itſelf, he would engage to force his way through the circles of Saxony. The man's temper was known, and his delays and excuſes ſeen through, but there was no remedy; it being his determined reſolution to receive as few laws as poſſible from the generaliſſimo or the elector.

Diſpatching therefore count Merodé, before him, with a conſiderable detachment, he croſſed the Rhine, and entered Weſtphalia at Kayſerſwerd *; diſlodged Bauditzen from the ſiege of Paderborn; compelled him to croſs the Weſer, and advance towards Hoëchſt; in order to join the duke of Lunenberg, who at that moment inveſted the city of Wolfenbuttle. He then refreſhed his men ſome days in the neighbourhood of Eſſen, and afterwards devoured the dioceſe of Paderborn †, under pretence of protecting it from the Swedes; for in theſe days, the *protector* and *plunderer*, in the Imperial armies, often differed in name only. Pappenheim, in himſelf, was a man of order, generoſity, and humanity; but his ſoldiers at this time were inſatiable, and, as he had no money, and feared a mutiny, he durſt not chaſtiſe them.

As the nobleſt minds are always moſt inclinable to forgive neglects and injuries, Pappenheim ſoon forgot the *golden fleece*, and the *pecuniary remuneration*, both promiſed him by the infanta Iſabella, and ſtill continued ſincere and unſhaken in her cauſe, inaſmuch as it was connected with the ſervice and proſperity of his Imperial ſovereign. For theſe reaſons therefore, and partly from an ambition to convince the public that he could conduct the pen as well as the ſword, he privately compoſed a memorial, which he took care to convey to the prince of Orange; ſetting forth, that as Rheinberg ‡, and Orſoy, had been comittted to his protection as places belonging to the empire, he beſought him, "to diſtinguiſh between towns that wore the livery of Caſtile, and towns that owed homage to the Auſtrian eagle ‖;" proteſting, at the ſame time, that the Hollanders ſhould have no cauſe of complaint, with reſpect to the two places in queſtion, ſince

* Kayſerſwerd *Cæſaris Verda*, in the dioceſe of Cologn, a well known paſſage acroſs the Rhine. It was, in Pappenheim's days, protected by a fortreſs of conſequence, but the allies diſmantled and raſed the fortifications, during the *war of the ſucceſſion*.

† This biſhopric contains about eighty miles ſquare. The canons are obliged to have ſtudied at ſome univerſity in France or Italy.

‡ Then an important fortreſs on the Rhine, about ſixty miles from Cologn. It was demoliſhed by the allies in the war of the ſucceſſion.

‖ *Soldat Suedois*, 766, &c.

they

they ſhould continue diſintereſtedly neutral, in all preſent and future differences, between the United Provinces and the Infanta. But the Dutch, without the help of political glaſſes, ſoon ſaw through Pappenheim's artifice. Even the punctilious Spaniſh honour was not ſuppoſed conſcientious enough to deliver back its uſurpations on the empire out of pure gallantry, and without compulſion; and the *depoſitary*, or third perſon who held the ſtakes, was concluded to be a truſtee of ambiguous faith, and as little to be relied upon as the former occupier: ſo that it was natural to infer, that neither the governors nor the garriſons would be changed, and no ſecurity would remain, but the promiſe of a perſon who had not power to make good his promiſe. However, the prince returned an anſwer extremely polite and full of reſpect, to Pappenheim, profeſſing the great regard he had to any propoſals that came from him, and engaging to deliberate effectually on the ſubject, and not ſuperficially; obſerving indeed, by way of concluſion, that he expected information from effects, as well as words; and hoped, by way of preliminary, to ſee the two places purged of Spaniſh garriſons, the fortifications diſmantled, and no protection left but the town-walls.

The elector of Cologn had ſent a miniſter to the Hague, to explain and amplify his excuſes, with regard to the permiſſion or connivance of Pappenheim's march through his territories. The ſtates-general made no improper reply, by forming two demands; namely, that he would furniſh them with the ſame ſupplies and contributions that he had beſtowed before on the Imperial commander, and reimburſe the damages, that had been occaſioned by Pappenheim's irruption; but the prelate found this calculation amount too high, and petitioned and remonſtrated to no purpoſe.

Nor was the duke of Neuburg more ſucceſsful in demanding the reſtitution of Juliers from the Infanta on the approach of the Hollanders; though this requeſt was, in its own nature, highly juſtifiable; and the rather, as it was a maxim of the Spaniſh court, at that time, to make a preſent of thoſe places which it could not keep.

Now Pappenheim, having refreſhed and reinforced his army, advanced farther into Lower Saxony, fully determined to attack Bauditzen. The latter being inferior in point of numbers threw his troops into Hoëchſt; but before he could amaſs proviſions, and complete his outworks and fortifications, he found himſelf ſurrounded all of a ſudden; for the rapidity of the Imperial general's march had outſtripped the calculations of the Swediſh commander: and the former being greatly

greatly ſuperior in cavalry, ordered Gronsfelt to paſs the Weſer, whilſt himſelf and Merodé continued on the weſtern ſide. Bauditzen perceiving the courſe of the river to be diverted, the town-walls being thereby rendered uſeleſs, and not caring to be immured and ſtarved, formed a ſudden reſolution to retreat, though the town was actually inveſted, and the batteries fixed againſt it. He firſt, by concealed methods, diſpatched his cannon and baggage towards Munden, and forthwith all his army. Pappenheim, by the ſilence of the town artillery, ſoon perceived the enemy's deſign; and as he foreſaw what road it was their intereſt to purſue, expedited the flower of his cavalry at their heels: but the ſtealth of one hour's advance, other things being ſuppoſed equal, often decides the fortune of a retreat; for Bauditzen had given ſuch excellent orders, that nothing happened but a few ſlight ſkirmiſhes, till the body of his little army reached a poſt of ſafety. He obtained three colours and loſt two; ſo that upon the whole, the retreat had merit. This leaving the country open, compelled the duke of Lunenberg to raiſe the ſiege of Wolfenbuttle; and the rather, as Gronsfelt had the dexterity to throw a body of troops and ſome proviſions into the town. Nor was the duke's retreat ſo fortunate as that of his comrade; for he loſt two pieces of cannon, four colours, and ſeven hundred men: nevertheleſs, this loſs was fortunately ſupplied by a reinforcement of two regiments, under the command of the duke of Saxe Lauenberg. Lohauſen, who, I believe, commanded the Brunſwic troops, returned to the diſtrict of Wolfenbuttle with a few regiments, and repoſſeſſed his antient quarters, for reaſons to me intirely unknown. What ſucceſs could be expected from blockading a town, that had been revictualled ſome days before, and reinforced by a garriſon half equal to the number of the beſiegers; their deliverer at the ſame time within call, and almoſt within ſight? Lohauſen ſoon diſlodged, and gave Gronsfelt an opportunity to demand an exorbitant contribution from the town of Hanover; but the inhabitants wiſely employed that money to invite colonel Herden's regiment, and two companies of the duke of Brunſwick's men, to undertake their defence, which they effected ſucceſsfully.

The good people of Hildeſheim, who had ſcared themſelves out of their ſenſes with omens and preſages, not to mention rivers ſtreaming with blood, and armies embattled in the air, now ſaw Pappenheim approaching in all the terrors of real danger. The Swedes ſhewed them no compaſſion, having made late offers of placing them

beyond the reach of danger: but repentance for the rejection of this propoſal, and a ſlight breach in the town walls, immediately frightened the beſieged into a capitulation. Pappenheim thruſt 2000 men into the town, to preſerve, as he alledged, good order; obliging the inhabitants to maintain them; and exacted £.10,000. by way of contribution. Finding alſo interpoſitions of this ſort much more agreeable to his ſoldiers than the affair of Maeſtricht, he puſhed on to Mulhauſen, the largeſt town in Thuringia, except Erfurt; and as the place was of vaſt extent, and poorly fortified, he had only to appear and take poſſeſſion, demanding and receiving the ſame ſum which had been exacted at Hildeſheim: nor was it in the power of the Swediſh generals to ſtop this impetuous career of the Imperial commander. No reſource remained for them, but to ſpread one part of their ſeveral armies along the banks of the Elbe, and ſhelter the reſidue under the cannon of Magdeburg*; permitting their opponent to advance towards Miſnia, where Walſtein, on the king's approach, expected him with earneſtneſs.

Four weeks had now elapſed ſince Guſtavus and Walſtein had each purſued a ſeparate expedition; for whilſt the former made his irruption into Bavaria, the latter pointed his courſe into Franconia, and then towards the electorate of Saxony; which was ſomething more extraordinary, as their marches were almoſt as diametrically oppoſite as the ſouthern regions are to the northern.

It has already been mentioned in what manner Walſtein and the elector of Bavaria diſlodged from Nurenberg. Being arrived at Forcheim in the biſhopric of Bamberg, whence Walſtein detached two regiments into Upper Auſtria, in order to extinguiſh the laſt remains of rebellion, they repoſed their troops for a fortnight in good quarters, and there firſt received intelligence, that Guſtavus had diſpatched duke Bernard to obſerve their motions with half the army, and conducted the other moiety into the dukedom of Bavaria. This news ſtartled the elector not a little, inſomuch that he beſought the Imperial general to join his forces, and puſh this enterpriſing monarch to the very foot of the Alps; nor was the court of Vienna much diſſatisfied with a requeſt of this nature, as the peaſants of Upper Auſtria had preſumed to revolt under the very eye of the emperor.

Yet no remonſtrances nor repreſentations could make the leaſt impreſſion on Walſtein's inflexibility. True it is, he paid the elector the external honour of attending him twenty-

* *Chemnitz*, tom. i. 343.

ſix

ſix miles in his return homewards, and at Bamberg they parted with all the exquiſite politeneſs of veteran diſſemblers. Walſtein appeared the leaſt ſupple of the two, and preſerved more coldneſs and reſerve than the old Bavarian; who, at, and after this ſeparation, threw out indirect hints, that ſome ſecret underſtanding was carried on, by the means of Dewbatel, between Walſtein and Guſtavus *, which ſeems to me to be nothing more than an angry miſapprehenſion. Be that as it may, he with more juſtice complained that he ſerved in conjunction with a commander, who gave him no lights into any thing; and that he had expended, likewiſe, more than £.150,000. ſterling, to very little advantage, ſince the day he firſt united his forces with the Imperial army †.

Walſtein's firſt idea ſeems to have been the reduction of Franconia; and to this end he turned his attention, as the king conjectured, on the important town of Sweinfurt, ſituated upon the northern banks of the Mayne, about twenty-five miles to the weſt of Bamberg. Charles Harte, the Swediſh governor, took care to reinforce himſelf from the garriſon of Koënigſhofen; and at that very inſtant, the vigilant Dewbatel, by duke Bernard's orders, threw himſelf into the town, at the head of his own regiment, which conſiſted of thirteen troops of dragoons. Meanwhile duke Bernard approached with his whole army to ſuccour the beſieged; and of courſe Walſtein either entirely changed his original plan, or varied it occaſionally into a ſecond form, being determined at once to deſtroy the two electoral houſes of Saxony and Brandenburg.

Therefore, to gratify his malice againſt the family laſt mentioned, he diſcharged his reſentments on the margrave of Bareüth, who was likewiſe margrave of Culmbach, and uncle to the then young marquis of Anſpach. The capital of Bareüth was ſoon laid under a ſevere contribution; but that of Culmbach, being better fortified, made a laudable reſiſtance; ſo that the Imperial general advanced to Coburg, whoſe duke was related to the Erneſtine branch of the houſe of Saxony, and uncle to the dukes of Saxe Weimar, which latter had furniſhed *ſeven* brothers, who all bore arms againſt the houſe of Auſtria. The town of Coburg ſoon became a ſacrifice to Walſtein's indignation, for the duke had appeared in armour in behalf of the Swedes, as likewiſe the rich palace and treaſury; and great quantities of merchandize, from

* *Riccius* de Bellis Germanicis, 4°. 411.

† *Idem* ibid.

Augſburg

Augſburg and Nurenberg, which were then on the road to Leipſic fair. The caſtle*, which ſtands on an advantageous eminence, was not to be reduced on ſuch eaſy terms; for Dewbatel had thrown himſelf into it, at the head of his well-known regiment of dragoons. Walſtein wiſhed impatiently to make this gallant officer his priſoner a ſecond time, and Dewbatel laboured as much to avoid the repetition of ſo ſenſible a mortification. It may ſuffice to ſay, that a breach was made by the third of October; but Dewbatel had gallantry enough, at the time the walls were actually ſtormed in the defenceleſs part, and the ſervice became as obſtinate as moſt that had appeared during the courſe of the thirty years wars, to take the aſſailants in flank, at the head of his dragoons, which threw the 500 Imperialiſts, who formed the point, into total confuſion. Walſtein's colonel, who led the attack, was killed in the foſſe; as likewiſe a young nobleman of Walſtein's name and kindred. Duke Bernard had advanced from Schweinfurt to Hilperhauſen, fifteen miles to the north of Coburg, having defeated forty troops of Iſolani's† Croatians, and ſeized ten colours and a part of their baggage‡, with full intentions to raiſe the ſiege; partly from his unwearied zeal for his maſter's ſervice, and partly, as ſome conjecture, with a collateral view to his own well-being and proſperity; inaſmuch as the dukedom devolved to him on the deceaſe of his uncles, of which the then reigning duke was one, who were both aged, and had no children. However, the glorious efforts of Dewbatel and Bernard freed their maſter from abundance of uneaſineſs; for one part of Walſtein's plan was totally defeated, his intention being to have rendered himſelf conqueror of this caſtle, whereby he would have ſecured the roads in one of the moſt wild and rocky parts of Germany; and then have penetrated through the

* Here Martin Luther lodged ſome months, in 1530, and the chamber is ſtill ſhewn. No one can enter this fortreſs without expreſs permiſſion from the prince. In it is a vault ſo extremely ſecret, that all things of value are ſafely concealed there in times of war: and in the caſtle are preſerved abundance of documents, &c. in MSS. relating to *the Hiſtory of the Reformation, which merit to be examined by the beſt church hiſtorians. Mem. communicated.*

† Iſolani, created a count by the emperor: his Chriſtian name was *Lodovico*; and as the French hiſtorians talk much of one Lodovico, general of the Croatians at this period, it is worth noting, that Iſolani and Lodovico are the ſame man. But the Croatians and Carniolians, in reſemblance of the Italians, whoſe language and forms of expreſſion they are fond to imitate, uſually deſignate a perſon by the *Chriſtian name*. This ſurpriſing hero was remarkable for being beardleſs. He died at Vienna, 1640-1.

‡ *Riccius* de Bellis Germ. p. 411.

bleak and inhoſpitable Thuringian foreſt, and formed his junction with Pappenheim. Dewbatel deſtroyed one branch of this ſcheme, and the poſition of the duke's army diſappointed the other. Of ſuch amazing conſequence in a campaign is the vigilance of an officer or two, who have parts to comprehend their duty, and ſpirit enough to carry their projects into execution! Walſtein's ſcheme was enterpriſing and extenſive, like all his other conceptions: for had he gained the caſtle of Coburg, and croſſed the Duringerwalt without moleſtation; he had then, beſides the junction of his troops with Pappenheim, a point he ardently wiſhed for, deſtroyed the rich territories of a family which he mortally hated, namely, the once electoral houſe of Saxe-Weimar. Then purpoſing to have wintered in Miſnia, his intentions were to have ſecured the banks of the Elbe, which would greatly have impeded the king's retreat; to have devoured all the wealth and proviſions in the two electorates of Saxony and Brandenburg, which had enjoyed a long repoſe from the late devaſtations of war; and thus, at the firſt opening of ſpring, having totally humbled theſe two powers; to have ſpread half his army over the adjacent parts of Luſatia and Sileſia; and reconquer, with the other half, his own duchy of Mechlenburg, to which his natural ambition conſtantly inclined him. Thus it was his firm opinion he ſhould encircle Guſtavus in a wide-ſpread net, and force him, as he conceived it difficult for that prince ever to reach the coaſt of the Baltic, either to engage in a raſh and deſperate battle, or capitulate upon diſgraceful and inglorious terms.

Chagrined to the heart at this diſappointment, for 500 men were loſt in three days before Coburg, the preſervation of which city ſaved Thuringia and the county of Henneberg to the king's advantage, Walſtein at length, after ſome mortification, pieced out and extended the remaining parts of his plan, as well as circumſtances could then allow him. Doubtleſs he expected great things from his firſt ſcheme in its full extent; ſince he conceived it worth while to command Pappenheim for that purpoſe to relinquiſh all his conqueſts in ſo vaſt a tract as the circles of Weſtphalia and Saxony: and what more afflicted him at the preſent juncture was, that Pappenheim, on account of the diſappointment at Coburg, might now find great difficulties in penetrating into Upper Saxony, in order to join the Imperial army in the marquiſate of Miſnia. As that general was formed, by nature, for undertaking perilous and extraordinary marches, Walſtein preſerved ſome glimmerings of hope, that he would effect a junction by ſome inventive ſtratagem or other; though at that

that time it was hard to preſcribe the meaſures, whereby ſuch an enterpriſe was to be brought about.

From Coburg therefore, full of diſappointment, he turned ſhort to the right, and advancing to Cronach, in the dioceſe of Bamberg, entered Vogtland; where, adding to the cruelties of Holk and Galas, who had already ravaged all that country, he waged war, if an irruption on an unarmed multitude may be named a war, more like a man poſſeſſed by the furies, than in the character of a civilized being. At length he encamped at Weida, on the banks of the Elſter, about forty-eight miles to the ſouth of Leipſic.

We will now caſt a look upon Guſtavus. Had that prince ſurvived the November enſuing, he intended to have made a ſecond winter campaign; for the advantages accruing from the laſt exceeded his hopes*; and it was hoped moreover, that ſo ſevere a ſeaſon might not preſent itſelf again in a great number of years. Hard and continued froſts open a new theatre of war; marches are conducted over tracts of ground, deemed otherwiſe to be impaſſable; and approaches are made to fortified towns, acroſs moraſſes and waters, which at the common ſeaſons of fighting, are known to be inacceſſible: ſo that the officers, who dealt in ſurpriſe and enterpriſe, had on theſe occaſions a new department to engage in.

That the troops in Bavaria might be inſpired to act with uncommon reſolution for the ſervice, his majeſty gave the prince of Birkenfelt draughts on Augſburg and Nurenberg, and commanded him, with earneſtneſs, to pay the ſoldiers punctually and honourably; expreſſing much concern to leave Monro's brigade behind him, which by this time was greatly ſhattered, and quite unable to march to Saxony; for it had fought near the king's perſon almoſt from the firſt weeks after he landed †; and recommending the colonel, particularly, and Moſtyn, the lieutenant-colonel, to the protection of the general, he bade adieu to each regiment, and haſtened onwards to Donawert. He there took leave of Banier, Birkenfelt and Ruthven, with great tenderneſs, ate a

* *Paganino Gaudentio*, Singolarità, &c. 214. *Supplement de Foreſti.* It was a conſtant ſaying with the king, that he could perform greater exploits in winter than ſummer. *Arma Suec.* 78.

† This regiment of infantry, uſually keeping company with the main army, appears, from a diary kept by the colonel, to have marched two thouſand one hundred and ſixty miles in a year and three quarters; and if expeditions, parties, ſtorming of towns by night, &c. be likewiſe included, with which the practice of the age then abounded, it is probable the number of ſteps taken by the corps here mentioned, might amount to a calculation which runs higher by near a third.

ſhort dinner with the queen, who met him there, and propoſed, like a true heroine, to conclude the campaign in Saxony, and ſhare the glory of defeating Walſtein. That night they ſlept at Nordlingen, from whence the king poſted to Nurenberg with ſome choſen cavalry, and beſought the queen to do him the honour of conducting the brigades of foot, firſt to Dunkelſpiel, and then to Rotenburg on the Tauber.

When Guſtavus approached Nurenberg, Oxenſtiern met him on the road, and informed him that Kniphauſen with a part of the garriſon had inveſted Lauff. The king conſequently went forwards to favour the enterpriſe of his general, but meeting Kniphauſen, who returned ſucceſsful, learned from him, that colonel Munich had appeared under the walls of Lauff, to ſuccour the beſieged, at the head of 1000 horſe, and 300 dragoons; whereas the king had only 700 horſe, and 300 dragoons, which then attended him *: but, without drafting a ſingle man from the Nurenberg detachment, he ſaid to Kniphauſen, with an air of cheerfulneſs, *March you back to your charge*; *I cannot return till I have performed ſomething*. Near two villages, called Schleucten and Felden †, he cut to pieces 300 of Munich's Croatian cavalry, and returned with ſeveral priſoners and two colours to Nurenberg; having thus freed that loyal and affectionate city from a ſort of blockade.

Leaving the town therefore, as no enemy was near it, to the protection of its own forces, he commanded Kniphauſen to follow him with three Swediſh regiments, that compoſed the garriſon, which, in conjunction with the other three regiments, not yet arrived at Nurenberg from Bavaria, made a body of 6000 men complete. The cavalry amounted to 2500, including thoſe that attended the king; at the head of which latter party he left Nurenberg, October the 17th, in order to join duke Bernard, and expel the Walſteiners out of Saxony, giving directions to the better half of his diminutive collection to purſue him by briſk marches, in the beſt manner it could contrive to advance.

This young hero, duke Bernard, had been diſpatched, a month before, with an army of 12,000 men, to watch the motions of the Imperial general, and likewiſe ſecure the banks of the Mayne; protect the whole circle of Franconia; and direct his attention particularly to the preſervation of the town of Sweinfurt. The moſt aged and experienced com-

* *Chemnit.* de Bello Sueco-Germ. tom. i. 335.

† *Chemnitz* ſays Alenfelt and Schupfen.

mander

mander never diſcharged a duty better; for allowing his troops no reſt, he preſented himſelf in every place, as occaſion demanded; preſerved from inſults the important cities of Sweinfurt and Wurtzburg, into the former of which places he threw Dewbatel with his regiment of dragoons, and executed a ſecond enterpriſe of the ſame nature, when Walſtein removed, and inveſted Coburg caſtle; compelling him, by vigilance and perſeverance, to carry the ſeat of war into Upper Saxony.

By this time, the great advances made by Guſtavus renewed in men's minds more and more the prediction of Tycho Brahé, juſt tranſiently touched upon in the former part of our work; where it was ſpecified, on the appearance of a new ſtar in Caſſiopéa, anno 1572, "that a northern prince was expected to ariſe, who ſhould greatly advance the intereſts of the more pure religion; and that the preciſe culmination of this aſtral influence ſhould be perceived by the generality of mankind in the year 1632, or thereabouts *." At the ſame time, the king being now advanced to the zenith of his glory, the ſpeculative and curious perſons of the age began to pay freſh regard to Frederic Braunborn's predictions, who had foretold the death of Antichriſt in the year 1636, in an explanation of the Old and New Teſtament, which book he publiſhed at leaſt eighteen years before. The unfortunate death of our hero ſoon put an end to theſe airy conjectures.

Guſtavus marched in fourteen days from Bavaria to the northern parts of Thuringia, including likewiſe three days which he ſpent at Nurenberg. What detained him there more eſpecially was his perceiving the princes and ſtates, his allies, to grow remiſs in ſubſcribing to the war, and in conveying their contingent of troops to him. He conſequently formed an idea, and gave Oxenſtiern full powers to convene at Ulm the principal perſonages of Upper Germany, in the four circles of Suabia, Franconia, and the two Rhines. The plan of this *confederation* was bold, extenſive, magnificent, and worthy its great inventor, who died before it could be brought beyond its infancy; yet upon *this ichnography*, Oxenſtiern, the enſuing year, eſtabliſhed the *Convention* of *Heilbrun*, which has been conſidered by all hiſtorians as the moſt diſtinguiſhed action of his political life. Guſtavus, that he might mature his conceptions better, commanded the chancellor to attend him in his march to Erfurt in Thuringia, diſcourſing with him on the ſubject during the whole journey,

* *De Stella nova*, Anno 1572. Excuſ. Uranoburgi. Dan. A. MD. C. X. p. 805. *Heylmanni* Leo Arctoüs, p. 12.

and inculcating and repeating his directions, as they occurred occasionally to him. It was his majesty's first scheme, had he continued in Bavaria, to have made this minister *Director-general* of Upper and Lower Saxony: but matters being now totally changed in that respect, he commanded him to return to Nurenberg with all possible expedition, and put the other new ideas into actual operation. It must not here be forgotten, that the king, before he left the last-named town, perceiving the English and Scottish regiments to be extremely thinned, combined them all into one brigade, informing the leaders and soldiers, that henceforwards they should always act near his person; assuring the former, that as this select body of troops happened by the present reformation to be trebly officered, he should prefer the supernumerary commanders into other regiments, in proportion as vacancies happened. There is reason to think, that this brigade was one of the finest bodies of troops that ever appeared in the military world. Now it was, according to the best conjectures which can be made, that Gustavus, in order to encourage and reward his allies in Germany, made a second full examination of his grand *scheme of commerce to the East and West Indies*, first published by him in the year 1626, or 1627; for my accounts vary in point of chronology. The former part may be perused at leisure in the *Appendix*; as also the subsequent additional articles, extended to all his faithful assistants and friends then in the empire.

At Arnstadt the king joined duke Bernard, where they rested six days, till the royal army arrived from Nurenberg. Here Oxenstiern took his perpetual farewel of his respected sovereign, and making an excursion by way of Francfort and the Lower Palatinate, being entrusted with the last letter his master ever wrote to the unfortunate elector Palatine; he then completed his journey by returning to his directorial office, at and round Nurenberg. Indeed no plenipotentiary character was ever greater than what the generosity of Gustavus bestowed on his chancellor; for he had a commission *unlimited* to four circles, being constituted *supreme arbiter of peace and war*. He was authorized to preside, *without controul*, over all generals and military expeditions; to ratify all truces, conventions, and treaties, pro *re nata*; being pronounced *first in all things*, to make use of the very words in his commission, both as VIR TOGATUS, ET SAGATUS; receiving in charge particularly to keep a strict eye to the true interests of the protestant religion. To all which the king annexed this *extraordinary* confirmation: *Quicquid hac ratione in sui (scil. regis) emolumentum vi susceptorum mandatorum*

torum gereret, diſponeret, ordinaret, ratum à ſe, perinde ac ſi ipſe geſſiſſet, diſpoſuiſſet, ordinaſſet, habitum iri *.

Had not Guſtavus uſed amazing expedition from Bavaria into the depths of the Thuringian foreſt as far as Arnſtadt, the vigilant and enterpriſing Pappenheim had certainly perplexed him in two important points, namely, the poſſeſſion of the cities of Erfurt and Naumburg †; which might have obſtructed his majeſty's entrance into Saxony, and facilitated the junction of the Imperial armies, which the king laboured to render difficult, as far as was in his power, and, if poſſible, to counterwork. Duke Bernard, in obedience to the inſtructions of his maſter, put a check to the former attempt; but as to the event of the latter, it was almoſt humanly impoſſible to out ſtrip, in a long march Pappenheim, who, not daring to inveſt Erfurt whilſt the king lay in Thuringia, caſt only a languiſhing eye towards that important city, having croſſed the Unſtrut, and approached as near it as Butſtadt, a diſtance only of twelve miles. Then changing his plan all at once, he ſhaped his courſe through the little diſtrict of Freyburg; and, paſſing the Sala with the rapidity of a flaſh of lightning, never allowed duke Bernard, who was cloſe on his heels, with a large body of cavalry, to overtake him.

It being now the anniverſary of St. Simon and St. Jude, the king marched his two armies from Arnſtadt to Erfurt, a day's journey of twenty miles; and conſidering ſuch a flight effort as a kind of holiday, reviewed his troops, all drawn up in fine order, before they entered the town. Whilſt he was ſo employing himſelf, he received a deputation from the magiſtracy, requeſting him to honour their city with his royal preſence; to which he returned an indiſtinct, but very affectionate anſwer; inſomuch that one of the deputies afterwards acknowledged that it forced tears from his eyes. At night his majeſty made his entrance privately; and firſt, ſo peculiar was his humanity to any general that was wounded or indiſpoſed, paid a viſit to duke William of Weimar; from whom haſtening to the queen's lodgings, her majeſty, attended by her train of ladies, politely received him on foot in the ſquare of the market before her apartments; upon which Guſtavus, diſmounting at a diſtance, led her up ſtairs into her own chamber, and after a ſhort, but tender interview, retired to military buſineſs; foreſeeing plainly, that the fate of Germany was now approaching towards its grand criſis. They ſupped together early in the evening, and in half an hour the king

* *Chemnit.* de Bello Sueco-Germanico, tom. i. 345.
† *Nani* Hiſtoria, L. ix. *Puffendorf* de Reb. Suec. p. 80.

withdrew a ſecond time, for he had letters to write of great importance to ſeveral princes, and particular expreſſes to diſpatch to all the troops that could poſſibly reach him in ten days or a fortnight. In a word, he had the great event, which afterwards made its appearance upon the glorious but unfortunate plains of Lützen, full in his imagination.

During the few hours Guſtavus ſtaid at Erfurt, he received agreeable diſpatches from all parts, if we except the fruitleſs and injudicious march of the duke of Lunenberg, who attempted to join him, but never had abilities to effect that junction. His majeſty heard, particularly, that the prince of Birkenfelt had retaken Landſberg, and driven the duke of Bavaria into Munich, with conſiderable loſs: that Banier had raiſed the ſiege of Rayn, and quaſhed a deſperate enterpriſe of the enemy againſt Augſburg, the king's magazine of arms and military ſtores: that part of the Swediſh and Wirtemberg troops had gathered laurels on the very banks of the lake of Conſtance: that Dubalt had cleared Silefia, and Horn had reduced Alſatia almoſt miraculouſly; and that the Tranſylvanian general had cauſed a diverſion, by invading Hungary.

At break of day the king roſe, and taking a ſlight breakfaſt with his beloved Eleonora, gave audience to the magiſtrates of the city, and then concluded an earneſt and pathetic ſpeech, with a few ſhort ſentences, to this effect: *You know, gentlemen, that uncertainty and ſublunary affairs are ſynonymous terms, and that war, particularly, the viſitation of heaven for human depravity, is* precarious above all things: *it is poſſible that ſomething unfortunate may* ſoon *arrive to this my perſon, and if ſuch be the will of the Supreme Being, tranſfer to my* dear Conſort *that affection and obligation which you owe to me. On theſe conditions, I pray Providence to proſper you**. Then turning round to Eleonora, he could pronounce no more than juſt to ſay, GOD BLESS YOU! and thus, abruptly, leaving the whole aſſembly diſſolved in tears he mounted his horſe, and vaniſhed immediately in order to overtake his army, which by this time was in full march towards Saxony.

In two days and a half his majeſty, by eaſy journeys of twelve miles a day, reached Naumburg; and hearing on the road that Holk, now created deputy velt-maréchal to Walſtein, in order to make room for the velt-maréchal Pappenheim, had ſent troops into the town to demand the arrears of the laſt year's contribution due to Tilly, diſpached co-

* *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part iii. p. 72.

lonel

lonel Brandſtein, at the head of a body of muſqueteers, with ſtrict orders to diſlodge the Imperialiſts. This officer requeſted admiſſion at the Othmar-gate by break of day, and on the ſentinel's beſeeching that time might be allowed him to inform the magiſtracy of his demands, burſt the port-cullis to pieces with a petard, and entered the city ſword in hand.

Next day, at noon, the royal army croſſed the bridge over the Sala. Part entered Naumburg, and the reſidue, though the winter began now to appear with a threatening aſpect *, found themſelves obliged to take quarters in the high roads that lead to Zeitz and Leipſic. It was here his majeſty had commanded George duke of Lunenberg to join him with the little army which he commanded in Lower Saxony. His inſtructions were, either to force a paſſage through the enemies' quarters, by the road of Halle, or ſhape his courſe to the right, through the town of Eyſfelt, and then purſue much the ſame route which Pappenheim had taken. That general choſe rather to follow his own imaginations, than the king's directions; and having left his infantry at Magdeburg, which was a great omiſſion, and ſingularly affected the day's ſervice at Lützen, took the liberty to conduct his cavalry only acroſs the Elbe to Wittemberg, where he received orders to join the king at all hazards; but had not courage or dexterity enough to penetrate the enemies' forces. Hence aroſe *one* remarkable inconveniency; for the count de Pappenheim joined Walſtein, but the duke of Lunenberg never more beheld Guſtavus †!

Whilſt we have thus purſued the king's progreſs from Bavaria to Saxony, by which extraordinary march he outſtripped even Walſtein's ideas of activity, and ſaved Erfurt and Naumburg ‡, a point of infinite importance to him, miſſing little, at the ſame time, of exceeding Pappenheim in vigilance, we will, for a moment, take a glance over the conduct of Walſtein, whom we left encamped at Weida in Vogtland ſomething more than a fortnight before the preſent period.

This commander, having diſpatched Galas into Bohemia to aſſiſt Don Baltazar againſt Dubalt and Arnheim, commanded Holk to return from his depredations and ravages, and point his courſe towards the town of Leipſic, which both armies beſieged in form, and rendered themſelves maſters of in three days. For this ſtep the Imperial generaliſſimo is greatly admired by the Continuator of Foreſti, who applauds all *bold* ſtrokes, juſt upon the *eve* of ſome deciſive battle.

* It was now Nov. 1.

† *Puffend.* de Rebus Suec. p. 80. ‡ *Nani* Hiſt. l. 9.

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The THREE INSTANCES he ſelects particularly on the occaſion, are, the paſſage of the Lech by Guſtavus; the ſiege of Magdeburg by Tilly; and the poſſeſſion of Leipſic by Walſtein's orders. Be that as it will, one thing is remarkable, that the commandant, who ſurrendered the caſtle this time, was the ſelf same man who gave it up to Tilly the preceding campaign. If his name be worth preſerving, he was called Vopelius. This may ſerve to ſhew, that the elector of Saxony was neither over delicate, nor over ſolicitous, in the choice of his officers. In a word, he cared little, which of the two contending powers obtained the ſuperiority.

Nor was Walſtein inactive during the ſiege of Leipſic town and fortreſs: for in that interim he took poſſeſſion of Weiſſenfels, Merſburg, Naumburg, and Halle, the caſtle of the latter alone excepted, where ſome veteran Swedes remained, who ſtaid there on account of the wounds they received laſt year, in the battle of Leipſic.

The ſame general was not void of attention in another particular; for he had once formed a deſign of poſſeſſing Torgau-bridge by force, by which he propoſed to himſelf the choice of various and diſtinct advantages; ſuch as the more eaſy reduction of Saxony, if that undertaking beſt pleaſed him. By being maſter of the bridge he propoſed alſo to create new difficulties, in caſe the elector and Guſtavus intended to unite their forces, than which nothing appeared more probable. He had the power likewiſe, by this ſtroke of ſurprize, to enter Lower Luſatia, and the *Marches* of Brandenburg, and of courſe decline a battle, if he thought proper. But the elector of Saxony, who, juſt at *that* time, ſquared every motion by the directions of the king, from whom he received daily expreſſes, had rendered this paſſage ſuperior to inſults of the impetuous and momentary kind; nor did Walſtein ever realize this ideal experiment; for having marched his whole force to Eilenberg, half way between Leipſic and Torgau, he there received an expreſs from Pappenheim, with information that he was upon the wing to join him. On the receipt of this acceptable news, for it is thought Walſtein would have ſhunned Guſtavus in the abſence of his velt-maréchal, he turned back to Leipſic by the road he came, and formed the junction at Merſburg.

Here Pappenheim, who had the power of over-perſuading all men in military matters, for his bold ſtrong ſenſe had the appearance of irreſiſtibility, ſoon induced Walſtein, though in general the moſt reſerved, ſullen, and untractable commander of that age, to change his operations all at once, and embrace a project, which indeed had once occurred to him ſlightly,

ſlightly, as before mentioned, and that was, to croſs the Sala without delay, and occupy the principal towns and paſſes of Thuringia, particularly Weimar and Erfurt; foraſmuch as in the whole country duke Bernand had only one ſmall army, and his brother William, who was then ſick, could produce no greater ſtrength than 5000 ſoldiers, wherewith to garriſon the two cities laſt mentioned. As to the arrival of Guſtavus with an army from Bavaria, *that incident was foreſeen by no man* *.

Whilſt theſe matters continued in profound agitation, *news arrived that the king of Sweden was on the banks of the Sala.* The alarm indeed was premature; for the report took its riſe from the approach of duke Bernard's cavalry, whom the king had diſpatched to intercept the rear-guard of Pappenheim's army. But in two days his majeſty's arrival at Naumburg and his approach into Saxony were manifeſt beyond contradiction. Walſtein immediately ſummoned all his troops to join him under pain of death, directed his courſe from Leipſic to Lützen and Randſtadt †, and there ſpread himſelf along the ſides of the great high road which leads into the heart of Saxony. He then ſent courier after courier, but without ſucceſs, to recal Galas, who by that time was advanced with 12,000 men into Bohemia. Walſtein then procured from Leipſic a contrbution of more than £.8000 demanded from the inhabitants about a week before: which firſt precaution appeared to him in no degree unneceſſary, though at that time he did not ſincerely believe that Guſtavus, at the head of 18,000 men, would have the confidence to attack a body of troops amounting to 40,000, who had their choice of ground to intrench themſelves, and no contemptible train of heavy artillery. This prepoſſeſſion led him afterwards into a *ſlight* miſtake, and that was, The detachment of Pappenheim to take poſſeſſion of the town of Halle. Concluding, at leaſt during the preſent criſis, that the whole winter would be ſpent inactively in quarters of cantonment, he thought the acquiſition of that town and the diſtrict round it a ſafe and deſirable enlargement of elbow-room; giving him, in truth, a

* *Soldat Suedois*, p. 823.

† In this village, properly called Upper-Randſtadt, is ſhewn a ſmall paſſable houſe, where the duke of Marlborough made his applications to Charles XII. who reſided therein a whole ſummer: and here the peace of Randſtadt was formed and concluded, in the year 1707. This little manſion the author viſited in 1748, in company with his ever-reſpected pupils, Mr. ELIOT, and Mr. STANHOPE; and that excellent hiſtorian M. MASCOU.

ſort

ſort of elliptical range along the banks of the Sala, from the city laſt mentioned to the towns of Zeitz and Altenberg *.

Next morning the Imperial generaliſſimo advanced to Weiſſenfels, when the colonels Suevis † and Bredarxo ‡ who had been ſent to Naumburg, to bring, into the military cheſt, the arrears of a contribution due to Tilly, returned with no ſmall degree of precipitation, and declared the Swediſh army to be in full march againſt the Imperialiſts. This was little leſs than a thunder-ſtroke to Walſtein, whoſe preſence of mind began now to fail him. He had once an inclination to leave the road open to Leipſic and Dreſden, and reſerve to himſelf the power of attacking the king's rear, and giving him battle, when he ſaw occaſion. He then, which is not uncommon when the calmneſs of the underſtanding begins to be ruffled, went directly into an oppoſite project, and conceived an idea of attacking the king's lines ſword in hand; for by this time he heard that a camp was to be ſtrongly fortified near the walls of Naumburg, a miſrepreſentation eaſy to be accounted for, ſince it was Guſtavus's cuſtom to intrench his army every night, when near the enemy. In the next place it was Walſtein's determination to take the ſtraight road from Weiſſenfels to Naumburg, a diſtance of twelve miles, or ſomething leſs: but the paſſage was too narrow and too miry to be undertaken with ſafety. He then ſent the quarter-maſter-general Julio Deodati to examine the way, which leads thro' Zeitz; for it was Walſtein's cuſtom, which proceeded more from haughtineſs than the gout, which he alleged, as occaſion ſerved, for a general excuſe, to examine *no* ground with his own eyes. On the ſame principle, and not from *that* which influenced Guſtavus, he diſdained convening a council of war; yet on this emergency had the condeſcenſion to requeſt Pappenheim to collect the private opinion of all the generals and colonels, who declared unanimouſly againſt attempting to force the Swediſh lines.

A new thought now occurred to him, the true cauſe and motive whereof has eſcaped the notice of all hiſtorians without exception, nay even of the *Spaniſh relator*, who was himſelf a diſtinguiſhed officer in the Imperial ſervice; and that was, *the diſpatching Pappenheim to take poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle of Halle, which commanded the great road*; and this appeared to be his favourite ſcheme. All writers of good ſenſe

* *Spaniſh relation by an Imperial officer*, printed at Liſbon, 1633.

† ‡ The Spaniſh relator ſeems to be miſtaken in theſe officers' names. The firſt, I think, ſhould be Salis, and the ſecond, I am ſure, ought to be Breda.

appear to be puzzled * why Walſtein ſhould detach Pappenheim, in whom himſelf and the army placed the greateſt confidence, at the very moment when that commander's preſence was *moſtly* wanted; for the Swediſh forces lay then but a few miles removed from the Imperialiſts. The real reaſon for this *movement* appears to me to be preciſely thus. Walſtein, in his cooler hours of reflection, and at ſuch periods when reaſon gets the better of falſe fears, ſeemed, in part, convinced, that Guſtavus would not embark in an enterpriſe, where the diſproportion againſt him then laid, as that of forty oppoſed to eighteen. Beſides, as no general was more dexterous in procuring intelligence than Walſtein, it is probable his correſpondents informed him, that the king, which was really the caſe, had no intentions to engage, till the Saxon and Lunenberg army could both join their forces with his; and therefore the Imperial general concluded, he had breathing ſpace enough to diſpatch Pappenheim, whom he could recal in twenty hours, to ſecure the city and fortreſs of Halle; which, in truth, commanded the only *great* and *practicable* road at that time of the year convenient for his private purpoſes. What theſe purpoſes might be, ſhall be explained directly. Walſtein did not greatly like the deciſion of an engagement hand to hand with a commander like Guſtavus; and though he thought that prince would ſcarcely venture to give him battle, during Pappenheim's abſence of three days, which by the way he hoped to conceal till the ſtroke was completed, yet he foreſaw but too plainly, that the Swediſh monarch would force him into a general action the very inſtant he had formed his *junction* with the elector of Saxony and the duke of Lunenberg. For theſe reaſons, which centered entirely in his own breaſt, he choſe to avoid a deciſive engagement, if that were poſſible; and having ſecured the great road he privately wiſhed for, propoſed to himſelf, in caſe of emergency, to give Guſtavus free paſſage to Leipſic and Dreſden, and commanding his whole army to file off to Halle in an inſtant, transfer, by this unexpected movement, the ſeat of war towards the coaſts of the Baltic, a point he ardently wiſhed for, inaſmuch as it had taken full poſſeſſion of his mind from the very moment he diſlodged at Nurenberg. From this ſingle *falſe ſtep* of detaching Pappenheim, which took its riſe from diffidence and timidity, he loſt his reputation at once, as a great commander, and gave birth to that very battle which he laboured hitherto to divert or decline.

* At generaliſſimus, *neſcio qua mente*, Pappenheimium ut Hallas expugnaret, miſit. *Waſſenbergii Florus German.* p. 317.

Guſtavus,

Guſtavus, on Thurſday, November the firſt, arrived at Naumburg, and thence diſpatched meſſengers after meſſengers, with a plan of the junction he intended to form with the elector of Saxony and duke of Lunenberg, who both then laid at Torgau, making between them a ſmall compact army, conſiſting of 4000 cavalry and 4000 infantry; though ſome hiſtorians ſuppoſe their number to be nearly double. The king's idea of uniting theſe forces to his own conſiſted in this: that the elector of Saxony ſhould advance fourteen miles on the weſtern ſide * of the Mulda, to the town of Eülenberg; and that himſelf, during this interim, ſhould march to Pegau, on the river Elſter, fourteen miles to the ſouth of Leipſic, and thence to Grimma, ſituated on the Mulda, eighteen miles to the eaſt of Pegau, and fourteen to the ſouth of Eülenberg, and that the conjunction ſhould be formed at the place before mentioned, namely, Grimma. Whoever knows Saxony, and comprehends the diſpoſition and cantonment of Walſtein's army, will, at firſt ſight, allow the preſent ſcheme to be *finely concerted.*

This ſelfſame day the king ſurveyed his encampments at Naumburg, and made a ſlight excurſion round the country, to examine the aſpect and poſition of the enemy; but the afternoon proved not ſo fortunate to ſome Engliſh adventurers, on the ſame errand, who falling into an ambuſh of Croatians, two out of three were taken priſoners †, and conducted that night to Weiſſenfels, where Walſtein had then intrenched himſelf. He diſpatched Pappenheim forthwith to examine them ſtrictly, concerning the king's ſtrength, and his military deſigns. Walſtein then commanded them to be confined in the rear of his army, where they were ſpectators of the battle of Lützen.

At Naumburg the king dropped ſome expreſſions to Fabricius his chaplain, which moſt hiſtorians have conſidered as prophetic; for in converſation he diſcovered great uneaſineſs, to behold himſelf, in ſome ſenſe, *deified* as it were by the generality of mankind: *I fear, doctor,* ſaid he, *ſome impending misfortune, either to my own perſon, or the proſperity of the Swediſh forces: I am received every where with* undue *joy, and* undeſerved *honours*; *the people rely too much on the*

* I ſhould apprehend it ought to be on the eaſtern ſide of the Mulda; but not having examined the ground, which has been carefully performed in moſt other important ſcenes of action, I chooſe to conform to the authorities before me.

† Namely, lieutenant-colonel Tyrwhit, and captain Fielding, who communicated their accounts of Walſtein's behaviour during the battle, to their friends in England; and from whence part, which follows, has been copied.

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probabilities of ſecond *cauſes: their ſuppoſed ſecurity is a* deception *to them: they miſtake the* true object of human addreſſes *: *I take no delight in this ſort of incenſe*; —— *let the event be as it pleaſes God*†!

In addition to what has been ſaid, many ſuppoſe the king, about this period, to have entertained certain miſgivings concerning his death. Without having recourſe to ſuch ſuperſtitious preſages, ſure it is, the braveſt of men may have their intervals of tenderneſs and ſenſibility; and this, without ſuppoſing it to be conſtitutional, may be occaſioned by the indiſpoſition of a ſingle fibre; though, for my own part, I think compaſſion and ſedate reflection were always intermingled in the character of Guſtavus. They ground their opinion upon part of a letter, diſpatched to the Chancellor Oxenſtiern, which I ſhall venture to publiſh, as it does ſome honour to human nature; for never perſon acted with greater aptitude and preſence of mind, than his majeſty did ſome days afterwards, on the plains of Lützen. Let the reader peruſe the extract, and refrain from ſympathiſing, if he can.

* * * * * * *Though the cauſe I am embarked in is juſt and good, yet the event of war,* propter delicta humana, *muſt be deemed uncertain. Uncertain likewiſe is the duration of mortal life; therefore I beſeech and require you, in the name of our bleſſed Redeemer, to preſerve your fortitude of ſpirit, though things may not proceed in exact conformity to my wiſhes.*——*Remember likewiſe how I ſhould comfort myſelf in regard to you, if by divine permiſſion I might live till* THAT *period,* WHEN *you ſhould have occaſion for my aſſiſtance under any ſhape. Conſider me as a man, the guardian of a kingdom, who has ſtruggled with difficulties for* TWENTY YEARS, *and paſſed through them* WITH REPUTATION, *by the protection and mercy of God; namely, as a man, who loved and honoured his country and faithful ſubjects; as a man, who neglected* life, riches, *and* happy days, *for the preſervation and glory of thoſe he belonged to; expecting no remuneration, except to be pronounced* the perſon, *who fulfilled the duties of that ſtation which Providence aſſigned him.*——*Thoſe, who ſurvive me, for I with others muſt expect the ſtroke of mortality, are, on* MY *account, and for many* OTHER *reaſons, real objects of your commiſeration:* They are of the tender and defenceleſs Sex:—A helpleſs Mother, who wants a guide, and an innocent Daughter ‡, who requires a protector!—Natural affec-

* *Hiſtorical and Authentic Relation*, in Low Dutch, tom. ii. p. 175.
† *Swediſh Intelligencer*, part iii. 74. *Memorab. Suec. Gentis*, p. 144.
‡ The princeſs Chriſtina was then eight years of age.

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tion forces theſe lines from the hand of a Son and a Parent! ——*But I muſt reſume myſelf; and recommend them, together with my ſoul and body, to the protection of the Supreme Being, expecting better things on earth than my preſent melancholy now preſages; and eternal life, peace, and happineſs hereafter in heaven, which may God beſtow on you, at his own appointed time and hour!**

GUSTAVUS.

The next day after the conference with Fabricius, his majeſty examined, in perſon, all the approaches and paſſes about Naumburg, having as yet formed no reſolution to give Walſtein battle †; but propoſing rather to examine the great roads that were between his camp and that of the Imperialiſts; paſſages which he found upon inſpection to be very deep and difficult. But the ſubject of this expedition being purely occaſional and incidental, his grand and principal intention was, and therefore he commanded abroad ſeveral ſtrong parties of cavalry, to engage his troops in ſome ſharp ſkirmiſhes, in order to obtain from priſoners more certain intelligence of Walſtein's ſituation, and examine carefully, during this confuſion, the true nature of the road that led to Pegau, with a view to effect his junction more dexterouſly with the elector of Saxony and duke of Lunenberg.

The following morning, being Sunday, a Saxon peaſant came running to the king with a letter in his hand, which Coloredo had engaged him to carry to an Imperial officer then quartered al Querfurt. This letter appears to have been written the Saturday evening. Its purport was, that he, the officer, ſhould march to Halle, and join Pappenheim the next morning ‡, at which time his Excellency,

* *Loccenii* Hiſt. Suec. 4°. p. 605, 606.

† *Puffendorff* de Rebus Suecicis, p. 80.

‡ Le Barre, uſually judicious, and on moſt occaſions the beſt inſtructed hiſtorian I know, ſuppoſes Pappenheim to have received orders from Walſtein, after the reduction of Halle, to advance to Cologn: which extraordinary digreſſion ſeems in no wiſe to ſquare with the then preſſing and urgent neceſſities of the Imperial generaliſſimo. This difficulty is better ſolved by the plain narration of a party in war, than by the refined ſpeculations of an hiſtorian in the cloſet. In a word, the caſe ſtood thus. At the preſent period, a ſtrong report prevailed [*Spaniſh Relation, printed at Liſbon*, 1633] that count Henry Vander-Berg, at the head of an army of Hollanders, was in full march to inveſt Cologn, whoſe elector was a faithful friend to the Imperial intereſts. Upon this the Auſtrian party *ſuppoſed*, that Pappenheim, having rendered himſelf maſter of Halle, would advance thence to the banks of the Weſer, and having joined the reſidue of his own army under Gronſelt, make ſome attempts to raiſe the ſiege; and that Walſtein perhaps might be induced to follow him, in hopes to draw Guſtavus ſtill farther from the heart of the empire. Such were men's ideas for a few days; but the alarm was falſe, and ſoon vaniſhed into air. *Spaniſh Relation ut ſupra.*

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the generaliſſimo, had determined to remove his camp from Weiſſenfels to Lützen. Both theſe circumſtances gave Guſtavus uncommon joy; for he was never known to *diſlike* the abſence of Pappenheim: and the removal of Walſtein from Weiſſenfels in no ſenſe diſpleaſed him, as that town laid directly in the way of the intended expedition, whereby he propoſed to unite his forces to thoſe of Saxony; and Lützen is about nine miles from the high road which leads to Pegau.

Upon receiving the two articles of intelligence above mentioned, the king, who had always a ſecret appetite for fighting, convened duke Bernard and Kniphauſen to his own apartment, having no great opinion of tumultuous councils of war for many reaſons. He there expounded to theſe two commanders the particular circumſtances of Walſtein's ſituation, and deſired their opinions candidly and generouſly without reſerve. The former, as is congenial to the temper of youthful warriors, took flame immediately, and declared for action. The latter, brave as the youngeſt combatant in the army, but matured by reflection, and chaſtiſed by experience, pronounced uniformly and ſteadily, at the firſt glance, that an engagement at the preſent juncture was no way reconcileable to the true ſcience of war: For, ſaid he, no commander is obliged to encounter an enemy greatly ſuperior to him in ſtrength, except compelled by ſome preſſing and unavoidable neceſſity. War is an affair of demonſtration; and not an unpremeditated effuſion of animal ſpirits. His majeſty is neither circumſcribed in place, nor deficient in proviſions, forage, nor military ſtores.—The king ſubmitted with complacency to good ſenſe wherever he found it; though it is poſſible the firſt emotions of his heart inclined him to undertake an action that carried with it ſuch a ſhining appearance both of glory and difficulty; yet making no remonſtrance, aſſured both his generals poſitively, with an air of calmneſs, that he would decline the engagement, and march to join the elector of Saxony the enſuing morning *.

Leaving therefore the bulk of his baggage, and a ſufficient garriſon in the town of Naumburg, he ordered his drums and trumpets to ſummon the army into motion at one hour after midnight; for he always diſdained *ſteqling* a march, except occaſions were *preſſing* and *hazardous*; and, it is probable,

* Spanheim and Chemnitz ſuppoſe the king to have advanced directly from Naumburg to Lützen, without any intention to join the Saxons. [*Soldat Suedois*, 824, 825. *Bellum Sueco Germ.* tom. i. 347.] The ſuppoſition throws ſome reflection on his majeſty's military prudence, though nothing of that kind was originally intended by the hiſtorians.

though he declined oppoſing Kniphauſen's arguments, that he did not privately diſlike an attack from Walſtein, in caſe that general ſhould think fit to impede his journey; for the ground he well knew was one wide plain, which gave the enemy no particular advantage. Four hours before it was daylight, the whole army* was under march; and being now arrived half way to Pegau, and repoſing itſelf for the ſake of a momentary refreſhment, having by this time, it being now ten in the morning, advanced nine miles, ſome gentry of the country and peaſants came haſtening towards the king with full and poſitive aſſurances, which report was likewiſe confirmed by ſtraggling priſoners taken here and there, that the Imperial army, then on a line to the north-weſt, looſely and thinly diſperſed in various villages, had received no alarm, nor the leaſt intelligence of his majeſty's motions. This idea, adding thereto the abſence of Pappenheim, took poſſeſſion of the king's mind all at once: he thought it

* TABLE of REFERENCE to the Battle of LUTZEN.

SWEDISH FORM OF BATTLE.

I. LINE.

1. Finlanders, Stalhaus.
2. Muſqueteers.
3. Weſtergothians.
4. Muſqueteers.
5. Ingermanians.
6. Muſqueteers.
7. Uplanders.
8. Muſqueteers.
9. Oſtrogoths.
10. Muſqueteers.
11. Smolanders.
12. *Firſt brigade, Harte.*
13. *Pretorian brigade, guards, yellow; count Weiſſenberg.*
14. *Blue brigade, guards; Wincle.*
15. *Green brigade; Wildeſſein.*
16. Duke Bernard's regiment.
17. Muſqueteers.
18. Duke Bernard's ſecond regiment.
19. Muſqueteers.
20. Carberg.
21. Muſqueteers.
22. Livonians; Wrangel.
23. Muſqueteers.
24. Tiſenhauſen.
25. Muſqueteers.
26. Courville.

II. LINE.

27. Steichnitz; French.
28. Muſqueteers.
29. Steinboch's dragoons.
30. Muſqueteers.
31. Brandſtein.
32. Muſqueteers.
33. Lowenſtein.
34. Muſqueteers.
35. Prince of Anhalt.
36. Muſqueteers.
37. Hofkirch; Saxon.
38. *Brigade, Mitzval.*
39. *Brigade; Thurn.*
40. *Brigade; Kniphauſen.*
41. *Brigade, Boſen; Saxon.*
42. Uſſar.
43. Muſqueteers.
44. Dalwick: Heſſian.
45. Muſqueteers.
46. Beckerman.
47. Muſqueteers.
48. Bulach.
49. Muſqueteers.
50. Goldſtein.
51. Muſqueteers.
52. William of Weimar.

RESERVE I.

53. Henderſon: Scottiſh infantry.

RESERVE II.

54. Ohem: Palatine cavalry.

not

not difficult to cut the ſeveral Imperial quarters to pieces one by one, before it was poſſible for Walſtein to collect any conſiderable maſs of forces together. Calling therefore all his generals round him in an inſtant, he, who had never yet declared his ſentiments upon this occaſion concerning fighting, propoſed the enterpriſe without heſitation, and the propoſal was received with the moſt lively demonſtrations of applauſe and joy.——He then aſked the country gentlemen, how many miles it might be to Lützen? They replied, *There, Sire, there it lies, directly under your eye.* But here aroſe a fatal miſtake. For the country being, with a ſlight exception, one uniform level, and the buildings of the church and caſtle high in themſelves, and ſtanding likewiſe on a ſort of eminence, the town of Lützen appeared to be one half nearer the Swedes than it really was; or, in other words, to be removed five miles from the army, inſtead of eight miles and ſomething more. Here it muſt be obſerved further, that as the ground was an immenſe tract of corn-lands, freſh ploughed to receive the grain, the paſſage proved to be miry and difficult beyond deſcription. The error of diſtance was not obſerved, and the difficulty of marching ſeemed to be unforeſeen; circumſtances which in the high and ſudden ardor of generals and ſoldiers might be eaſily overlooked. At a ſingle inſtant the whole army made its evolutions, and bent its courſe towards Lützen. Never were troops known to advance with ſuch amazing alacrity; but the ground clung to the mid-leg like clay, and when they came within two miles of the deſired object, there was a moraſſy ſwamp to paſs, formed by a creeping half-ſtagnated rivulet, over which lay a paltry bridge, where only two perſons could croſs a-breaſt. In and near a nameleſs village *, on the oppoſite ſide, was lodged a regiment of cuiraſſiers and another of Croatians, who, far from diſputing the paſs, took the alarm, and formed themſelves on a little eminence beyond the water. It was now ſunſet by the time the whole Swediſh army had cleared the paſs, and diſengaged itſelf from this unexpected incumbrance; and, to the ſenſible mortification and diſappointment of the whole army, the Swedes had only daylight ſufficient to diſlodge the two regiments from the poſt they had poſſeſſed. This was effected by a very ſharp and ſpirited attack, the ſucceſs of which the king facilitated greatly, by fixing ſome field-pieces on another little eminence, which bore hard on the enemies flank. In the heat of this rencounter one ſtandard was taken, which all men conſidered, conform-

* I have ſince learned that this village was called Rippach.

ably to the genius of that age, a well promiſing and proſperous omen; for thereon was painted the Auſtrian eagle diſplayed, and the goddeſs Fortune; with the following inſcription underneath, *Fortuna & aquila Romana* *. Some Swedes conſidered this a very promiſing omen †: but the generality reſted the event upon other hopes

———*Romano milite dignus,*
ENSIS *adeſt* augur ———

Still it was remarked, that his majeſty diſcovered no great ſigns of ſatisfaction, when this trophy was preſented to him; not that he wanted dexterity to encourage any idea which inſpired his troops with vivacity and confidence, but in truth he was *chagrined* to the heart at the *deception* of diſtance we have lately mentioned, and perceived now, that, for the firſt time in his military life, he was *obliged to give battle*; not abſolutely *againſt* his judgment, but in a *certain manner*, that did not *quite* pleaſe him. Nevertheleſs, as it was this prince's peculiar character to have greater poſſeſſion of himſelf, in proportion as diſtreſs and difficulty encreaſed upon him, he ſoon aſſumed that compoſed air of confidence uſually worn by men who rely upon ſome reſource of firmneſs and genius, at the very period that their friends ſuppoſe their danger next to inevitable.

About this time, it is certain, ſome one of Guſtavus's generals, not improbably Kniphauſen, adviſed him ſtill to meditate a retreat, and repaſs the rivulet, which the miſt next morning gave him full opportunity to do. It was urged likewiſe, that the royal army wanted reſt and proviſions; and that it bordered on temerity to aſſail a double number of forces, protected by batteries, and ſecured by intrenchments. The *die* was caſt, and the king replied with a tone of deciſion, *That he could not bear to ſee Walſtein under his beard without making ſome animadverſions upon him; and that no diſinclination, on his part, had ever hindered him from bringing the conteſt to a fair trial. I long*, ſaid he, *to unearth him once from his ſubterraneous hiding-places, and behold with my own eyes how he can acquit himſelf in a champaign country* ‡. Now the king having croſſed the paſs, found himſelf under an in-

* The particularity of this enſign was not ſo great, as the Swediſh army ſeemed diſpoſed to interpret it; for moſt of the Croatians bore the Auſtrian eagle on the front-ſide of their ſtandards, and on the oppoſite ſide were the emblem and motto. I have ſeen the ſame eagle engraved on the officers partizans of that age.

† *Soldat Suedois*, 825. ‡ *Idem*, p. 827, 828.

diſpenſable

diſpenſable obligation to engage the enemy; for had he attempted to return the next morning, at leaſt according to his own ideas, he might have run the riſk of incurring a total defeat, or ſacrificing, at leaſt, the very flower of his army. He determined therefore, without heſitation, to begin the action two entire hours before daylight; for Walſtein's quarters were remotely diſperſed, and Pappenheim, who had taken with him twelve regiments of the league, could not be ſuppoſed to return in leſs ſpace than eighteen hours.——Walſtein appeared thunderſtruck at this unexpected viſit from Guſtavus. He diſpatched an officer immediately to Pappenheim, with orders to relinquiſh his undertaking, however proſperous it might be; and inſtructions were conveyed to the chieftains in their ſeveral quarters, to repair forthwith to the general rendezvous on the plains of Lützen. Thus the greater part of the Imperial army began its march before midnight; and ſome, more remotely quartered, did not reach their generaliſſimo till the enſuing morning *.

Walſtein, having diſpatched his orders to recal Pappenheim, and collect his forces, and recovering, by degrees, his wonted preſence of mind, began at length to reflect ſeriouſly on the nature of the ground, occupied by himſelf, or poſſeſſed by Guſtavus. To underſtand both circumſtances better, it muſt be remarked by the reader, that a large highway, from Lützen to Leipſic, biſects the plain in a line that extends from weſt to eaſt, but ſlants gently to the eaſtward; on the ſouthern ſide of which laid the Swedes, and the Imperialiſts on the northern. A great part of this road was then ornamented on each ſide with middle-aged willow-trees, and, as the ſoil was moiſt, deep, and rich, a conſiderable trench had been cut on either hand, to prevent travellers from making ſide-excurſions along the corn-fields †. The tract of land which Guſtavus covered was plain and uniform; but on Walſtein's right, near the town of Lützen, was a gently-riſing eminence, where ſome windmills were erected ‡. Here, about nine at night, he fixed two large batteries of heavy

* *Chemnitz.* tom. i. 373.

† Two ditches, one on each ſide, ran parallel with the road. *Chemnitz.* tom. i. 73.). That next the king was rendered deepeſt by Walſtein, and continues ſo to this hour.

‡ It is remarkable, that there was no material variation in the fields of Lützen from the year 1632 to the year 1748, when the author examined them, and compared the preſent ichnography of the ground with the drafts publiſhed immediately after the battle, by Lotichius, Merian, Gabler, Sandrart, Danchaertz, &c. &c. That very day a cuiraſſier's ſpur was ploughed up, of enormous ſize; it is in my poſſeſſion; and the head of a pike, or partizan, very curiouſly engraved, and now in the poſſeſſion of Edward Eliot, Eſq. of Port Eliot in Cornwall.

artillery, and ſecured them, in front and flank, with an intrenchment. The lower line played directly on the left wing of the Swedes; and the uppermoſt threw its balls obliquely through the center of the right wing. He then protected his own main body with the field ordnance; and as it was well foreſeen where the king affected to appear, he placed there, namely, againſt the right wing of the Swedes, a fourth battery, compoſed of the heavieſt and moſt deſtructive artillery. Guſtavus, who valued the advantages of artillery as much as he, and underſtood its management far better, had only with him ſome few cannons of a moderate ſize, and a reaſonable number of common field-pieces, two, I think, at the head of each regiment, ſuch as are uſually tranſported with armies in marches of expedition. At ten in the evening Walſtein ordered his pioneers and ſoldiers to deepen and widen the ditches on the road-ſide, till they had brought them to the due height of a parapet: and at this work they laboured inceſſantly till the battle began next morning *.

The royal army carried nothing with it, except ſuch few things as were indiſpenſably neceſſary. The king himſelf was not proprietor of a field equipage; but paſſed the whole night in his coach, accompanied by Kniphauſen, and duke Bernard: and as the ſoldiers had taken ſome ſlight entertainment before noon, and propoſed to refreſh themſelves better the ſame evening at Torgau, where diſpoſitions had been made for their reception, it is not probable they got much to eat that night, on the plains of Lützen. Monro aſſures us †, they ſtood to their arms in perfect array; for which the reaſons will appear ſelf-evident, in the enſuing paragraph.

His majeſty paſſed the night, partly in diſcourſe with his generals, and partly in profound contemplation. On one point he fixed his mind, as it were intuitively; and that was, to give the enemy battle two hours before break of day, well foreſeeing, that their forces could then never be truly formed; that a great part of the troops could not reach the ſtation appointed; and that the paſſage of the ditches could not be made ſo difficult, as it might be rendered in a few ſucceeding hours. Every circumſtance, if we except there was no diſmay in the caſe, proved unfavourable to Guſtavus. The night appeared to be ſeveral degrees darker than uſual; and a miſt prevailed in the ſkies, which, at intervals in the enſuing day, rendered the air ſo obſcure, that it was hardly poſſible to diſcern an object clearly at the diſtance of two pikes length.

* *Hiſt.* or *Auth. Relat.* tom. ii. 172. Low Dutch, fol.
† *Part* ii. 163.

At

At the moment the dawn of morning firſt began to appear, he found it impoſſible to perform any exploit in the martial way *; and therefore, ſending for Fabricius his chaplain, commanded him to celebrate divine ſervice, and ordered prayers to be read at the head of each regiment, ſo far as the reſpective clergymen could be found in ſuch a ſudden and unforeſeen expedition. The king was then aſked to take ſome refreſhment, but declined it. He was requeſted likewiſe to clothe himſelf in ſteel, according to the cuſtom of that age; but his anſwer was, *The Lord is my armour.* Some indeed ſay, he had lately received a contuſion † in one of his ſhoulders, from a muſquet-ball, which rendered the leaſt preſſure of his cuiraſs an inſupportable pain to him. He only changed his yeſterday's clothes, and wore a new plain cloth coat, and an elk-ſkin buff waiſtcoat, which fell afterwards into Holk's hands, and is ſtill preſerved at Vienna. About eight in the morning the ſun began to diſpel the fogs, and gave the promiſe of a bright and calm day; when, lo! a new and unforeſeen difficulty preſented itſelf! For in the ſtraight line, on which the Swediſh left wing propoſed to advance, was a deep ditch, too difficult for the troops to croſs; ſo that the king was obliged to make his whole army edge to the right, and then occupy the ſpace, between the *Fluſgraben*, for ſo the Germans call a wet ditch cut to drain lands ‡, and Walſtein's army; leaving his ammunition-waggons, his coach, and the few conveniencies that belonged to the army, in the village of Churſitz, as will appear more diſtinctly by the plan. This movement coſt ſome trouble, and employed no ſmall ſpace of time. At length, towards the hour of nine in the morning, his majeſty, riding with an air of briſkneſs up and down the lines, and ordering two hymns ‖ to be ſung publickly, addreſſed himſelf to his Swediſh ſoldiers. *My companions, and friends, ſhew the public this day what you really are. Acquit yourſelves like men of ſervice; obſerve your orders, and behave valiantly, for your own ſakes as well as mine. If you do this, you will find the benediction of heaven on the points of your ſwords—honour, and the recompence of valour. But, on the contrary, if you think of flight, and ſelf-*

* *Memoires communicated. Merian*, Theatr. Europ. 746.

† I have given this circumſtance a place in my text, not from authority of De Prade, whoſe good faith I have never once depended on, but becauſe Spanheim, (*Soldat Sued.* 828.) and the *Swediſh Intelligencer*, both ſupport the aſſertion. (Part iii. 128.) All I know is, it in no way appears where the king received this contuſion; and, if I miſtake not, he wore no armour at the battle of Leipſic.

‡ Others ſay, *Vlot Grachten*, i. e ditches to float wood.

‖ Taken from the 46th and 67 pſalms.

preſervation, then your infamy is certain, as well as my diſgrace and your deſtruction——And I here proteſt to you, on the veracity of a king, that not an atom of your bones ſhall ever return into Sweden *. Thence haſtening to the German regiments, which formed, chiefly, the ſecond line, he ſpoke to them briefly thus, lowering a little the tone of authority: *Friends, officers, and ſoldiers, let me conjure you to act a valiant part this enſuing day.——You ſhall fight, not only* under *me, but* with *me.——My* own blood *ſhall point you the track whereby to follow me.——Keep religiouſly within your ranks, and ſecond your leader with reſolution.——If you do this, victory is ours, and all its advantages, which you and your poſterity will not fail to enjoy.——But if you once give ground, from that moment your lives and liberties become a ſacrifice to the enemy* †.

On the concluſion of theſe two ſhort harangues, one univerſal ſhout of acclamation paſſed from regiment to regiment, throughout the army.

The king's field-diſpoſition ‡ proceeded upon the ſame principles, but ſomewhat enlarged and improved, as had been laſt year exhibited at Leipſic. Here we muſt obſerve with pleaſure, that Puffendorff, and the authors of the Swediſh Intelligencer, and Low Dutch Relation, agree almoſt to a tittle in every word concerning this arrangement. The whole army was formed upon two lines; but the troops appear to me to be *not ſo good* as thoſe produced laſt year at Leipſic; ſo conſuming is the *wear* and *tear* of war, even on the proſperous and victorious ſide. Many regiments were diſcordant maſſes, compoſed from broken ones: that of Lowenſtein, in particular, had been ſo lately raiſed, as not to be proprietor of a ſingle ſtandard; and the principal generals, ſuch as Horn, Banier, Bauditzen, and Dubalt, were all abſent. His majeſty, according to cuſtom, took upon himſelf the conduct of the right wing, where were diſpoſed ſix regiments of native Swedes, ſupported by five intermingled bodies of muſqueteers. The left-wing was committed to duke Bernard's care, and conſiſted of the like number of cavalry, and intermixed infantry. The centre was compoſed of the four invincible brigades, or columns, namely, the

* *Soldat Suedois*, p. 829. *Merc. Franc. Swediſh Intell.* part iii.

† I have preferred theſe ſpeeches to thoſe recorded by Chemnitius, which, in imitation of the practice of the ancient hiſtorians, ſeem to ſavour more of the library than of the field. Beſides, the *Soldat Suedois*, the *Mercure François*, and the *Intelligencer*, all came out at the ſame period, in Switzerland, France, and England; and each author relates, nearly word for word, the very paſſages that I have preſerved.

‡ *Chemnitz.* de Bello Sueco-Germanico, p. 372.

pretorian,

pretorian, or yellow guards, the firſt brigade, the white *, and the blue; ſupported by Henderſon's reſerve of Scottiſh infantry, and commanded by Nicholas Brahé, count of Weiſſenburg.

The ſecond line conſiſted of the ſame numbers with the firſt, in reſpect both to regiments and brigades, ranged preciſely on like principles, excepting that the reſerve conſiſted of cavalry inſtead of infantry. Bulach commanded the right wing, Kniphauſen led the main body, and Erneſt, prince of Anhalt, conducted the left wing. It was the king's cuſtom, at this period, to make his lines only four deep in cavalry, and ſix in infantry; whereas Walſtein, following the antient practice of the Low-Countries, advanced always ten deep, at the very leaſt. The watch word, on both ſides, was the ſame that had been uſed at Leipſic. The Swedes had twenty field-pieces, of a moderate ſize, diſpoſed here and there to the beſt advantage; and ſeveral portable cannons of the king's invention were ordered to advance in the front of each body of intermingled muſqueteers †.

It is difficult to give the reader a diſtinct account of the Imperial diſpoſitions in this day's ſervice; for ſo greatly was Guſtavus admired, in the character of a field-officer, that the generality of plans, which have fallen within my reach, bear an eye principally to the Swediſh form of battle. Of Walſtein's therefore we ſhall ſay the leſs, as we are unable to ſpecify, by name, what colonels commanded the reſpective regiments; and likewiſe, to pronounce, deciſively, which of the two Imperial ground-plots, here exhibited, was realized

* Some ſay the *green*.

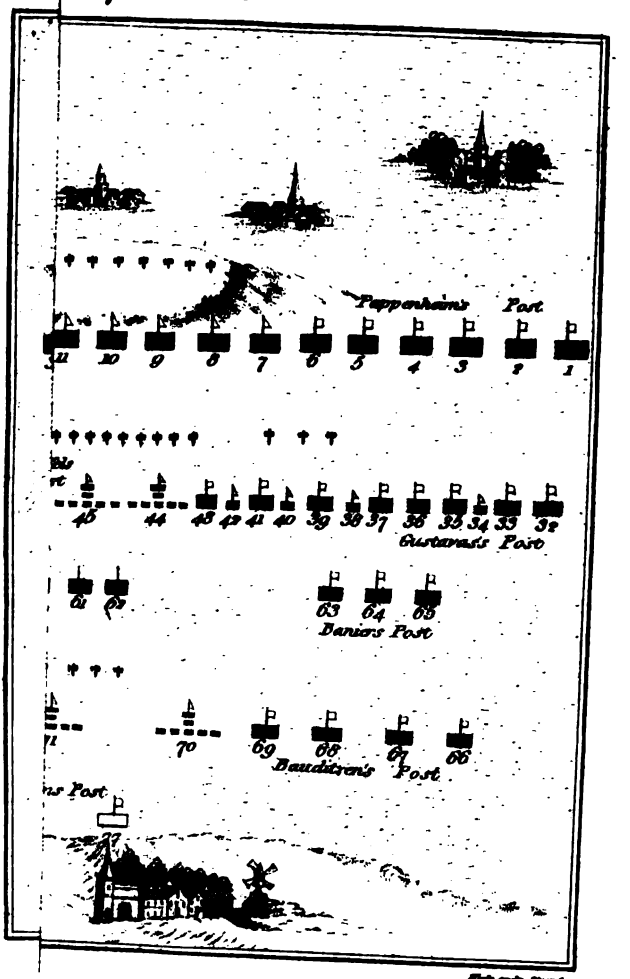
† The chevalier de Folard muſt make a miſtake in the arrangement, and plan, which he forms of the king's forces; and I think ſo the rather, becauſe he errs in the ichnographical windings of the *Fluſgraben* and the poſition of the gallows: ſo that it appears probable to me, that he never beheld the plains of Lützen, nor rightly knew the number of the Swediſh forces. He allows to the eight columns, on the loweſt computation, many more men, than the king, at that time, could produce; or more than he employed in the brigade, or column, then practiſed by him. He errs, likewiſe, in diſpoſing ſixteen bodies of infantry behind the columns, when, in truth, the reſerves of Henderſon and Ohem made only one regiment of foot, and one of cavalry, marked in the plan 53, and 54. Thus Folard, by two augmentations, has magnified the royal army *one third* at leaſt beyond the truth: nevertheleſs, the diſpoſition of the two reſerves is neither incorrect, nor unnatural. It is probable, if his Swediſh majeſty had been maſter of 5000 ſupernumerary ſoldiers, he might have placed them as the chevalier has. But as we have the names, by us, of every diſtinct corps which ſerved that day under Guſtavus, and cannot produce troops ſufficient to enlarge the columns, and make good the imaginary battalions, we find ourſelves obliged to paſs theſe remarks on an author highly excellent in moſt other reſpects.

by the commander in chief: whether, for example, *that* we have admitted into the body of the copper-plate, which is Dankaertz's; or *that* ſubjoined, and incloſed within a line, which reſts upon the authority of the Swediſh Intelligencer; for both writers were faithful collectors, and publiſhed their drafts ſoon after the death of Guſtavus. In my own private opinion, it appeared beſt to give the preference to the *firſt*, as it is drawn up, to a certain degree, upon two lines; the only material variation being, that in the centre of the ſecond plan Piccolomini's regiment of cavalry is placed amidſt the infantry. We can however obſerve, with greater certainty, that Walſtein, in imitation of Guſtavus, condeſcended to mix ſome infantry amongſt his cavalry, behind the windmills: That the conduct of the left wing was committed to Holk, ſupreme commander there till the arrival of Pappenheim, who always made a point of oppoſing Guſtavus. The right wing was intruſted to Coloredo, and Walſtein undertook the command of the main body; making his appearance during the whole engagement in a ſedan chair, which his friends attributed to the gout, and his enemies imputed to timidity, and diſſimulation of ſickneſs.

When the king ſaw the vaſt extent of the Imperial line of battle, he could not refrain from obſerving to his followers, that if Walſtein was ſupported in a manner equal to appearances, he could not produce leſs than 30,000 effective men; and, by the way, freſh regiments were then marching every moment to the Auſtrian army, and Pappenheim's corps was expected by noon: ſo that the Walſteiners in effect brought 40,000 men into the field, before the day's ſervice was concluded; and as the town of Lützen touched the extremity of the Imperial right wing, care was taken to ſet fire to the outlying houſes, and line the garden-walls with ſtrong bodies of muſqueteers, which did unſpeakable miſchief the next day, till duke Bernard at night cut 300 of them to pieces.

It is agreed likewiſe by moſt authors, that Walſtein drew up his army in two lines, or ſomething nearly reſembling thereto; and that the centre conſiſted of four ſquare maſſes of infantry, poſted on the angles of a larger ſquare.——That each of theſe bodies contained two Imperial regiments, amounting perhaps, for war had made its havock amongſt them, to 3000 men, or thereabouts;——the inner ſquare conſiſting of pikemen, and the outward of muſqueteers;—— the whole group intirely ſolid:——and foraſmuch as the angles of ſuch a figure are eaſily ſtruck off from the main body of that figure, each corner was ſtrengthened with a little lozenge made up of fifty muſqueteers, which, like a ſort of

Sept.r 1631.


Pappenheim's Post
11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
45 44 43 42 41 40 39 38 37 36 35 34 33 32
Gustavus's Post
61 62
63 64 65
Baniers Post
70 69 68 67 66
Baudissins Post

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Satellites, attended the motions of these larger Jupiters. Thus, says Folard * very sensibly, a first whimsical error was corrected by the substitution of a second still more paradoxical.

His majesty, the best officer of infantry the world had ever seen †, placed his confidence this day, as he did at Leipsic, on the doctrine of columns, one of the finest pieces of military machinery, say some writers, that human wit can devise for the service of the field; since bodies of infantry thus drawn up, arranged, and supported, may be pronounced with

* *Traité de la Colonne.* p. lxiv.

† It may not be uninstructive, under this article, to subjoin a few remarks relating to the field arrangements of the king, the morality and discipline of his troops, &c. made by a person of condition as early as in the month of November 1630, long before his more perfect amendments and regulations took place. The account, says an exact historian, ran thus;

*** Dicebat se *novem & pulcherrimam* in ipsius exercitu *formam aciei* observasse, quam hoc loco describere nimis prolixum foret. Summa huc redit, eam *munitioni* similem, quæ ab omni parte, qua hosti accessus patet, eum destinatis ictibus petere queat: neque tantum machinas commode posse displodi, sed etiam *quemque* sclopetarium viritim jaculari, & hostem ferire: quod in *magno agmine quadrato* fieri nequeat, ubi duobus aut tribus ordinibus sclopeta displodentibus reliqui ictus sint inanes, adeo ut agmen illud ab irruente equitatu facile dissolvi possit: *quod in acie Suecica fieri nequeat*; nam priusquam hostilis equitatus se loco movere aut impetum facere possit, *sclopetarios* sub præsidio non tantum hastatorum, sed etiam equitum, tanquam *duorum propugnaculorum*, quæ ad latera habeant, tutos esse: adhæc multos gradus inter sclopetarios esse ad recipiendum, ut priusquam hostilis equitatus ad ultimum agmen pervenire & illud disturbare possit, eum dissipari necesse sit. Cum igitur *coherentia* totius aciei, equitatus & peditatus, tormentorum majorum ac minorum, nec non sclopetariorum maximi sit momenti: se non videre, quomodo hujusmodi acies, *nisi Deo ita volente, aut si prius quam instructa sit, hostis eam ex improviso invadat, fundi fugarique possit: in eo autem victoriam verti, ut ordines perveniant, nec acies rumpatur.*

Regem in conflictu (quod experientia testatur) imperterritum, nec minus præsenti animo esse, quam si sit in convivio: periculum omne, ubi opus sit, contemnere: à metu, qui oculos excæcet, & animum dejiciat, prorsus liberum esse: milites autem ipsius ita *exercitatos*, ut licet ordines ipsorum turbentur, eos mox restituere, & in locum suum redire possint: quod eo facilius sit, quia tertia fere pars exercitus *ex præfectis & ducibus constet*: quod sit robur exercitus.

Denique summopere sibi placuisse dicebat, *quod singulis diebus, præter exactam disciplinam, preces certis horis per tota castra bis devote habeantur*, & Deus rogetur, ut ipsis victoriam largiatur, milite diligenter monito, *felices successus à Deo proficisci.* *******

Cum igitur tam fortes atque animosos se [Sueci milites] præbeant, Germanos & Scotos ipsorum exemplo excitari, ut mori malint quam aliquo delicto commisso honoris sui jacturam facere, aut ab aliis in officio faciendo superari. Regem autem ex hac æmulatione multum emolumenti capere: quam ita fovere & moderari norit, *ne gens una alteram odio prosequatur, sed unaquæque fidem & virtutem suam Regi probet.*

justice

juſtice to be *next* to invincible. What this column *preciſely was in detail*, even before or at the battle of Leipſic, could at this period never be known, if a minute drawing of lord Reay, one of his majeſty's favourite colonels, had not been preſerved, by mere good fortune. That the king, in the preſent engagement improved, or, through ſcarcity of forces, altered the plan delineated by lord Reay, is a circumſtance highly probable; but whether the Frenchman's drawing be ſtrictly true, either as to the configuration or arrangement of the brigade, ſhall be left to the deciſion of better judges*.

In addition to what has been formerly ſaid, it may be worth remarking, that the glory of this day's ſervice muſt be attributed ſolely to the COLUMN of Guſtavus, which, in truth, according to the opinion of ſeveral excellent judges, exceeds all field diſpoſitions, not only in fair campaign, but alſo in rough and contracted ground; ſo that ſome writers, without aſſuming the gift of prophecy, have ventured to predict, that poſterity one time or other will adopt this idea and ſupport it with earneſtneſs. Let us only therefore compare the column in queſtion with thoſe *two* military diſpoſitions which moſt reſemble it. It exceeds the old *Burgundian ſquare* of Walſtein, not only in ſimplicity, velocity, and diverſity of motion, but becauſe its angles are, ſtrictly ſpeaking, unaſſailable, giving the adverſary neither hold nor entrance in whatever form he propoſes to attack them. Again, this very quadrangular maſs of Walſtein, the moſt proper configuration extant, whereby to oppoſe the column of Guſtavus, except another column, conformable to that prince's

* Folard ſeems to have received his idea of the brigade from traditional accounts; for *that*, which is ſubſtituted by him, carries little or no reſemblance to lord Reay's actual delineation, nor to the alteration of it into *one half, or thereabouts*, [ſee Plan N° II. p. 21 of this vol.] as his majeſty, on certain occaſions, might be induced to practiſe; but *it* bears more than a ſmall ſimilitude to the king's diviſion of *one* brigade into *four*; each of which *fourths* was denominated a *battaglia*, [Plan N° III. and IV. ibid.] but ſure we are, that *theſe battaglias* could not be ſtrong enough for the central parts in the engagement at Lützen, and therefore Folard's ichnographical repreſentation muſt be defective.

It is probable the king uſed the *half brigade* in this day's ſervice, for we have certain proofs he *did ſo* in the battle of Leipſic, ſince Dankäertz aſſures us, that each corps conſiſted of 1200 men; and the half brigade, or more properly the *improved brigade* of the *ſecond* ſize N° II., contained, according to our computation, 1224 men. So that this brigade, N° II. was not properly *half* in *ſuch proportion* as the battaglia was a *fourth*; for the numbers ſtood thus:

Original brigade - - - - - -	2016
Half, or reformed - - - - -	1224
Battaglia - - - - - -	504

arrangement,

arrangement, ſurpaſſes that refinement upon him, which the moderns have ſurnamed the *hollow ſquare*, whoſe corners are ſtill weaker than thoſe of the other, and its impreſſion or reſiſtance leſs violent. But the brigade or column of Guſtavus is ſolid upon all occaſions, and verſatile in every reſpect; its fire, without talking figuratively, may be termed perpetual, and it is capable of being diverſified upon every new occurrence *ad infinitum*. It can contract itſelf in danger, or dilate in the moment of ſucceſs with equal eaſe; and as in the diſparting of ſolid bodies, if one may draw a compariſon from more humble ſubjects, more wedges than one, of ſizes different, are ſuppoſed to be neceſſary; thus an individual column *pro re natâ*, in a ſingle inſtant, can divide itſelf into a couple of columns differing in no reſpects from the parent which gave them birth, except in the circumſtances of weight and magnitude.

It has been aſked by many, how this great tactical invention took its flight from the world *at once* after the death of Guſtavus? To which queſtion it may ſuffice to reply, that it expired by *ſwift degrees*, but not *inſtantaneouſly*. For the Swediſh general Kniphauſen fought and conquered upon the principle of columns at the battle of Oldendorp in 1633; and five campaigns afterwards, the victory of Wittenweyr, where duke Bernard commanded, and Turenne and Guébriant ſerved under him, was obtained by imitating the ſelf-ſame practice *.

About nine in the morning the king drew his ſword, and placed himſelf at the head of the right wing, attended by the duke of Saxe Lauenberg, Crailſham the grand maſter of his houſhold, a body of Engliſh and Scottiſh gentlemen, whom he had *reformed* at Schlenſing, and deſtined to be a ſort of aids-de-camp, and ſome few domeſtics and grooms. But as Walſtein's left wing extended further than the king's right wing, his majeſty, for fear of being attacked in flank, ordered three diviſions to advance from the line of cavalry, which was poſted behind him †, and when Kniphauſen miſſed theſe troops from their ſtation, and begged by meſſage to know what was become of them, the king returned him back word by the duke of Saxe Lauenberg, that after one charge, he ſhould find them at his ſervice in their old poſition.

* *Merian*, Theatr. Europæum. tom. ii.

† Namely N° 19. 21, 22. commanded by Bulach.

By this time the cannonade began to grow extremely violent; for Walſtein's artillery, though not great in quantity, was exceedingly heavy, and being well mounted on proper batteries, made uncommon ſlaughter amongſt the Swediſh ſoldiers. This ſharpened the king to bring on a general engagement as ſpeedily as poſſible, having nothing with him but field-pieces, and ſmall portable cannons. His whole army had to croſs the ditches, which were well lined with muſqueteers, and had been rendered, by Walſtein, five feet deep, which incommoded the cavalry eſpecially, and beyond meaſure; yet this important obſtacle was at length ſurmounted, and the commanded muſqueteers, in conjunction with a Swediſh brigade, cleared the whole high road, and then the battle began in all its forms. Nevertheleſs, the four Swediſh brigades of the firſt line, the fineſt body of infantry then in the world, found croſſing the ditches ſo extremely hazardous and perplexing, that their ardour abated a little, and they ſeemed to pauſe. His majeſty, who was poſted at ſome inconſiderable diſtance from the centre, not perceiving them to advance in ſuch proportion as the troops which he conducted, flew to them in an inſtant, and diſmounting, ſnatched a partizan from one of the officers, in order to lead them over the foſſe*. *If*, ſaid he, with a tone of ſeverity as he marched along, *after having paſſed ſo many rivers, ſcaled numberleſs fortreſſes, and fought various battles, your antient intrepidity has at once deſerted you, ſtand firm at leaſt ſome minutes longer, and have the curioſity to ſee your maſter* die—*in the manner he* ought, *and in the manner he* chuſes. Upon this the ſoldiers all cried out, *Stop, Sire, for heaven's ſake ſpare that invaluable life of your's; diſtruſt us not; the buſineſs ſhall be completed* †.

Guſtavus returning to the head of the right wing, ſoon ſet an example to his keeneſt ſoldiers; for making his horſe ſpring acroſs the ditch, his companions thought themſelves obliged to follow him cheerfully. Having caſt a glance

* *Continuat. Laur. Auſtriac.* fol. 32.

† *Theatr. Europ.* fol. 747, &c. He that deſcribes a battle without well conſidering the ground, and having a diſtinct plan before his eyes, both which advantages we have the good fortune to boaſt, will commit errors upon errors, *ad infinitum*. Du Prade ſays, the king made this ſpeech to the regiments of *La Tour* [Thurn] and *Chreſtoph*; but unfortunately for the French hiſtoriographer, Guſtavus never had ſuch a regiment as the latter in his ſervice. Riccio makes the reprimand addreſſed to the corps of Thurn and Anhalt (N° 28. 32.) Now theſe troops were placed in the rear of the centre and left wing, nor were they moved from their ſtation till ſome hours after the death of Guſtavus.

over

over the Imperial wing that oppoſed him, and perceiving there three ſingle maſſes of Imperial cuiraſſiers, clad in iron, and Iſolani's Croatian cavalry, which terminated the firſt line, he called to him colonel Stalhaus, an officer of great repute, though he had been originally only a footman: *Stalhaus*, ſaid he, *charge me thoſe black fellows ſoundly, for they are the men that will undo us* *: *as to the Croatians, I mind them not.* Others, with leſs authority, diverſify the expreſſions: *they are the men*, IT IS PROPHESIED, *will undo us.* Stalhaus executed the royal orders with great alacrity; but the irregular cavalry, according to cuſtom, changed their ſtation, and attacked the baggage-waggons, putting all at firſt into ſuch confuſion, that the king's own coach ran away in the univerſal diſorder. Thus Bulach, whoſe three diviſions Guſtavus had commanded from Kniphauſen's ſecond line, was obliged to attend theſe deſultory combatants, and afforded no other aſſiſtance to the firſt and grand impreſſion, which his maſter undertook to make. Soon after, namely, about eleven a clock in the morning, the king received the ſtroke of death; and immediately a miſt aroſe which, though the day promiſed to be brighter than uſually appears in the month of November, obſcured the ſky on a ſudden to ſuch a degree, that the ſoldiers could hardly diſcover their companions at twenty feet diſtance. We will paſs over the unpleaſing event of his majeſty's death for a few moments, and purſue the various changes and circumſtances of the battle, which was gained upon the king's principles of *arrangement*, and *field-diſpoſition*, although the great Guſtavus was then no more!

As the duke of Saxe Lauenberg immediately left the field, and conveyed himſelf to Weiſſenfels, ſuppoſing, as his friends gave out, that the day was loſt irrecoverably; the firſt intelligence duke Bernard received of his maſter's death, was the diſcovery of his horſe, which being wounded in the ſhoulder, galloped up and down the line of battle. The duke immediately *whiſpered* this fatal news to Kniphauſen, and they both agreed in an inſtant, from *that* preſence of mind peculiar to great men, to ſpread a report, that the king of Sweden was taken *priſoner*, which ſoon produced the deſired effect; for the ſoldiers thenceforwards fought like

* Theſe were Marazini's cuiraſſiers, &c. which former boaſted the honour of having killed the king; yet it is probable that he fell by the hands of Piccolomini's cavalry, and therefore Walſtein made him that extraordinary preſent, which we have mentioned elſewhere.

enraged

enraged lions * in order to recover their leader's body; or, as Scheffer informs us † with ſtronger probability, every man had an ambition to expire the ſame day with his royal leader.

The miſt, which aroſe about the time the king fell, proved no way inconvenient to the right wing, where his majeſty commanded; for the Imperialiſts at that period had rather the advantage: but Stalhaus, to whom the command then devolved, made uſe of the incident, to reinſtate and new diſpoſe his forces, and making a freſh deſperate charge, recovered the royal body of his ſovereign maſter.

At this very period the Swediſh generals led on their troops to a ſecond conflict. Here it was, that the four central brigades, in front, performed wonders, as has been acknowledged even by the Imperialiſts themſelves; for they drove their enemies to the foot of the gallows, and almoſt totally ruined that large invincible maſs of troops that belonged to Piccolomini. Here it was too that the two regiments of elder Bruner and young Walſtein made a reſiſtance ſo very obſtinate and unparalleled, that the Imperial generaliſſimo, when he retreated into Bohemia, adopted the reſidue of them for his own guards round the palace of Prague, and clothed, paid, and fed them at his own expence.

The Swedes moreover took ſeveral ſtandards ‡, and ſeized a battery conſiſting of ſeven large pieces of cannon, that was planted before this body of troops; which in truth was effected the more eaſily, as Walſtein's powder-waggons in that quarter had by ſome accident taken fire a few minutes before. This ſharp conteſt laſted near an hour, and, to render matters ſtill more diſagreeable to the Imperial commander, a body of 1000 German cavalry conceived a panic terror, without any aſſignable reaſon, and conſulted their ſafety in ſuch a manner, as never more to return during that day's ſervice. All they ſaid was, for an Engliſh officer, then a priſoner, was hurried away with them in the tumult; *We know the king of Sweden very well; he always ſhines towards the end of a battle.*

Now, after a ſhort intermiſſion, the count de Pappenheim arrived, and ſo highly was that officer eſteemed by all parties, that notwithſtanding the confuſion and tumult of the late engagement, a report paſſed from mouth to mouth

* *Loccen.* Hiſt. Suec. lib. viii. 604. *Pietro Paolo*; Guerre di Germ. 4°. 228.

† *Memorab. Suec. Gent.* 181.

‡ *Merc. Franç.* tom. xviii. 735.

through

through either army, that Pappenheim was come at the head of his cavalry, and invincible infantry. This rumour was not ſtrictly true, for when Walſtein's meſſage found him at Halle, his foot-ſoldiers had diſperſed round that town and Merſburg in queſt of plunder; ſo that he had time only to march his cuiraſſiers and dragoons*, which amounted, it is probable, to about 6 or 7000 combatants. He had a poſt preſerved for him, which he always affected, and that was the wing oppoſite Guſtavus. Of this he took the command in an inſtant; but whilſt he was making ſome diſpoſitions at the head of the line, he received a ſtroke from a falcon-ſhot. Nevertheleſs, as ſoon as the ball had reached him, the wound being given in his thigh, upon recovering his ſenſes, he ſpoke cheerfully to his men, though he well knew he had received a blow from the hand of death. A coach conveyed him out of the battle, and his chaplain, whom he had ſent for, attended him. As he paſſed through the ranks, he called a particular officer to him: *Sir*, ſaid he, *tell Walſtein*, giving him no title of highneſs, excellency, general, &c. *that* WHAT *I have received is enough for my purpoſe*; *but tell him too, that I have preſerved the* catholic religion, *and made the emperor a* FREE MAN †: for he knew at that time Guſtavus was dead. He then faced death with the ſame tranquillity in his bed, as he had done on innumerable occaſions in the field of battle: for this brave and prudent commander, as if he had determined to rival Guſtavus in every thing, was one of the moſt moral and religious perſons in the Imperial army ‡. He was born the ſame year with Guſtavus, and exceeded him in age only ſix months and a few days. It is remarkable, that he had triumphed over his enemies in *forty-four battles and rencounters*, but lived not to receive the order of the Golden Fleece, which had been promiſed him the preceding autumn §. The chamber in which he expired is ſtill ſhewn at Leipſic with great reſpect ‖. It is a little mean apartment in the caſtle of Pleiſſenberg.

Yet the name of Pappenheim, his having received the wound being generally unknown, was ſufficient to revive

* *Helvici* Hiſt. lib. xxi. p. 231.

† *Riccius* de Bello Germ. 437.

‡ *Idem*, 438.

§ *Relat. Eſpagnole de la Bataille de Lützen.* Printed at Liſbon 1633. 4°.

‖ Di queſta morte, frà le morti riputata feliciſſima da ſoldati, finì la vita nel fiore dell' eta, et delle ſue glorie Goffredo di Pappenheim, ornato delle più excelſe dote, ch' illuſtraſſero giamai capitano di fama; in vita dopò Guſtavo Re di Suecia, prime guerrier de ſuoi tempi; e nella morte, ſtimata ſolo, dal ſentimento commune de gl' huomini, condegna à bilanciare la perdita d'un tanto Re. [*Pietro Peno*; *Guerre di Germ.* Liber iv. 126.]

the ardor of the Imperial combatants; nor were the ſuccours he brought, as his troops were the beſt ſeaſoned of all that ſerved under the enſigns of the league, conſidered by any man as a contemptible reinforcement.

Now began a third engagement of two hours duration; for new life was infuſed into the Imperial army upon the return of Pappenheim's forces. On that general's leaving the field, Holk reſumed the command of the left wing, in like manner as Stalhaus replaced Guſtavus. They engaged each other with various fortune, but the combat was attended with no one deciſive event.

Meanwhile Piccolomini, Tertzky, and others, led on to the charge the Imperial centre, conſiſting of four great ſquare maſſes of infantry, each conſiſting of 3000 men, or thereabouts, and flanked by two regiments of cuiraſſiers, all which troops ſeconded their leaders with extreme reſolution. Here Piccolomini was twice or thrice ſhot, yet never left the ſcene of action. The wreck fell extremely heavy on the four Swediſh brigades that confronted them *, the flower and glory of the royal army; ſo that excepting the right-hand brigade, commanded by Charles Harte, which the Smoland cavalry protected, and the left-hand brigade, which received ſhelter from duke Bernard's horſe, the two middlemoſt had five perſons out of ſix killed or diſabled †. It was remarked that this veteran body of infantry, when the men were killed, lay ſtretched out almoſt as regularly, as if the ſurvivors had placed the corpſes in battle array.

This laſt deſperate ſtruggle ſeemed to portend no good to the Swediſh cauſe; for the battery before taken was now regained, and eight ſtandards loſt, one of which belonged to the king's own company of royal guards. Kniphauſen, who commanded the rear of the centre, an officer of unparalleled coolneſs and foreſight, ſoon reinſtated affairs, by diſpatching to the relief of his aſſociates the two regiments of Thurn and Mitzval ‡, and four conſiderable bodies of horſe; namely, the prince of Anhalt's, Lowenſtein's, Brandſtein's, and Stemboch's §, which latter, conſiſting of dragoons, was a favourite corps in the eſtimation of their late maſter. This judicious reinforcement ſoon reſtored the fortunes of the day; ſo that the Swedes retook the battery, and another on its left hand, which contained four pieces of large artillery.

* N° 8, 9, 10, 11.

† The blue brigade (Winkle's) had ſerved under Charles IX. the king's father. *Relat. Eſpagnole.*

‡ N° 38, 39. This Mitzval was a brother to the colonel whom Guſtavus beheaded in Bavaria.

§ N° 35, 33, 31, 29.

Duke

Duke Bernard in the left wing had a piece of ſervice to engage in that was equally deſperate; for the enormous battery of all, near the windmills, laid full in his front; and the road and ditch being nearer the enemy, rendered all approaches more difficult to him than the reſt of the army. He had once conceived an idea of ſetting fire to Lützen, which Walſtein had partly effected the ſame morning, and attacking the Croatians at the extremity of the Imperial wing, in their flank; but for certain good reaſons, as the enemy could have lined the town-walls with freſh ſupplies of muſqueteers, he forebore to put the idea into execution. Nevertheleſs, in the ſpace of two hours he led his troops on to the charge twelve ſeveral times, whilſt Coloredo, who commanded againſt him, being protected by a numerous train of artillery, which it was prudent in him upon no advantage to remove himſelf from, allowed the young and valiant hero, already wounded in the right arm, to waſte his ſtrength againſt ſuch extraordinary difficulties in what proportions he pleaſed; and in one of theſe attacks thundered againſt the duke with ſuch violence, that the prince thought it not an unſoldier-like action to ſhelter himſelf for a few moments under the miller's houſe marked L. Meanwhile Kniphauſen kept the rear-line compoſed and in excellent order, diſpatching his little aſſiſtance to all places where they could be looked upon as needful. By this time the miſt cleared off, and as all parties ſeemed deſirous to know the fate of their companions, a kind of pauſe or breathing-ſpace enſued, ſeemingly as it were, by the tacit deſire of the combatants.

Upon this duke Bernard galloped up and down the lines of battle, in order to contemplate the countenance and ſituation of his fellow-ſoldiers. He ſoon perceived the greater part of the army exceedingly ſhattered, but rejoiced at the ſame time to perceive that Kniphauſen had preſerved the rear of the centre and the reſerve in excellent order. They agreed in a moment to renew the combat. At the ſame time Walſtein, taking advantage of the ſky then clearing, diſpatched Piccolomini and Tertzky to obſerve the Swedes, who brought him back word, that they were new-forming themſelves, and returning to a fourth engagement. It was in this onſet, that the royal army brought ten of their own field-pieces to act againſt the windmill battery; and the eleven cannons which they had taken from the Imperialiſts; for the ſtreſs of the action by univerſal conſent was now near the town of Lützen, whoſe adjacent walls being lined with muſqueteers, ſorely galled the advancing Swedes. Here Walſtein received a ſlight ſtroke from a muſquet-ball that had ſpent its force; and duke Bernard and Coloredo engaged

till evening with a fury and obſtinacy that can hardly be deſcribed; pauſing from and reſuming the combat like fatigued duellers. The fortune of the day began now to incline manifeſtly to the Swediſh ſide, which acknowledged its ſucceſs to be partly due to the *intermingled* muſqueteers *; but the fog, not unfavourably for the Imperialiſts, obſcured the ſkies a ſecond time, ſo that duke Bernard could not help crying out, *Gracious God! had it not been for this darkneſs, I had completed the affair!*

Now a rumour ran through either army with the rapidity of lightning, that Pappenheim's infantry was at length arrived; which, though the report proved afterwards falſe, might have diſmayed any troops, except the Swediſh ones. The attack was ſtill continued with great violence near the windmills. At length duke Bernard having rallied his cavalry, and being ſeconded by Kniphauſen with four freſh regiments of infantry, the Imperial army was reduced to the laſt extremity; and night put an end to the deſperate day's ſervice on the plains of Lützen.

Yet the Swedes, if we conſider the confuſion the miſts had created, were far from certain that the battle was concluded. Duke Bernard and Kniphauſen held a conſultation, whether they ſhould retire to Weiſſenfels or not; at length they determined heroically, upon ſuppoſition they found the attempt barely practicable, to preſerve the ſpot of ground they had gloriouſly maintained; for they were not abſolutely ſure they had gotten the victory. In this interval Walſtein ſounded a retreat, the meaning of which the Swedes happened not to comprehend: but an Imperial horſeman, who had orders to command Hoffkirk's regiment to follow the generaliſſimo to Leipſic, fell by chance upon colonel Ohem's regiment of cavalry, which made in the daytime the final reſerve of the army, and having kept free from action, was appointed the advanced guard at night. The cavalier being aſked whom he wanted, replied, naturally, Hoffkirk's regiment: Here it is, replied the ſentinel, and conducted him immediately to his own commander, colonel Ohem.——Then it was the Swediſh generals comprehended, for the firſt time, the great advantages they had obtained. The ſoldiers, without any refreſhment, ſlept all night on the hard ground; and a ſevere froſt, which came on before morning, happened to kill many of the wounded that might otherwiſe have ſurvived.

The battle laſted about nine hours. The Imperialiſts loſt 7000 men, and the Swedes between 2 and 3000. Many more might have been deſtroyed by the latter, but night

* *Chemnitz*, tom. i. 375.

prevented

prevented *all purſuit*. It is the purſuit, which gives us the *long liſt of dead and wounded* in a great victory; and therefore it may be worth while to remark here incidentally, that the Saxons, who fled from the plains of Leipſic, loſt *doubly* more men than the Swedes, who remained and fought valorouſly many hours afterwards till the cloſe of the evening.

Amongſt the killed on one ſide was the KING of SWEDEN, whom the Imperialiſts pronounced the braveſt enemy, and the beſt general in Chriſtendom *: as alſo the counts Nils and Weiſſenburg, colonel Gerſdorf, ſerjeant-major-general Uſlar, Erneſt prince of Anhalt, count Thurn, and colonel Wildeſtein.

Amongſt

* It may be worth while here to give mankind the idea, which the more bigoted papiſts, towards whom he ever comported himſelf with all imaginable courteſy and moderation, entertained of Guſtavus. True it is, he diſliked the Jeſuits, and uſually expreſſed himſelf with warmth on their intriguing, miſchievous interferences, and relaxed morality. They, on the other hand, as the miniſtry in England ſurnamed him the *dragoon-king*, always beſtowed on him the denomination of *genuine antichriſt*.

"Acie cecidit Guſtavus, inter noſtræ memoriæ duces facile primus, niſi "magis pugnax quam regem deceret.—Militaris diſciplinæ peritia, bellicaque "virtute nemo potuit cum eo componi. Erga etiam gregarios milites facilis "regium ſupercilium demiſit: quo fiebat, ut eſſet acceptiſſimus militum animis, quamvis eos a furtis & ſtupris pœnis durioribus coerceret.

"Exercitus ſuos ſeveriſſima diſciplina continuit: cultus ei corporis nihil a "vulgari abhorrens; veſtes nullo auro diſtinctæ, aut aureis amentis inſignes: "nihil in amictu pretioſum nitebat.——*In ſuæ ſuperſtitionis* IMPIETATE "PIISSIMUS; *ſummaque ei atque exacta ſuorum ſacrorum cura, cum eos ritus, "quibus a rudibus annis imbutus fuerat*, EXQUISITA *religione ſervaret*.

"Me ſane eorum miſereat, qui parentum erroribus eruduntur, & falſis hæ"reticorum placitis inſtituti, vanis religionibus, in quibus nati educatique "ſunt, tenaciſſime hæreant. Rex tamen nunquam catholicam religionem "contempſit, immo maximum honorem pluribus religioſorum hominum fa"miliis habuit: præcipue patrum Capuchinorum arctas rigidaſque vitæ ra"tiones obſtupuit; de quibus dicere conſueverat, eos patres eſſe validiſſimum "catholicæ veritatis argumentum."

"Fuit aſſentationis infenſiſſimus hoſtis; nam et ſuos duces non ita pridem, "antequam acie caderet, acribus verbis accepit, quod *ſuæ virtuti felicitatique "victoriarum laudes, non Deo tribuerent*: et ſane ſi rerum geſtarum magnitu"dinem, expeditionumque fortunatos eventus atque exitus intuemur, nullus "Rex multis abhinc ſæculis eo felicior cenſeri poteſt: cum veluti fulmen to"tam Germaniæ latitudinem a Baltico mari uſque ad Carnicas rupes cuncta "belli terrore evertens exiguo tempore emenſus, centum & triginta urbes "aut bello domuerit, aut in fidem, & deditionem acceperit." *Riccius de Bellis German.* 4°. 433, 434.

——"Prodotto dalla natura per vivamente rappreſentar al mondo l' unica "e perfetta idea d' un gran prencipe; poſſedeva, quaſi moſtro delle militari "perfettioni, cumulatamente tutte le più eccelſe parti, che ſi ricchiedono ad "illuſtrare un gran capitano; la giuſtitia e la clemenza erano unite in lui con "tempra sì forte, che mai nell' attioni ſue ſi viddero ſcompagnate; ne vi fù "mai prencipe, ch' adun' iſteſſo tempo meglio di lui ſapeſſe farſi da ſudditi "amare e temere; parve mentr' egli viſſe, ſuenar ſe medeſima la fortuna,

Amongſt the ſlain on the other ſide may be reckoned the illuſtrious Pappenheim, the prince and abbot of Fulda*, count

" per riemper lui ſolo di trionfi, e di gloria, e naſcondendo à bell' arte i preggi
" propriii, voler, che ſolo al valore di lui s' attribuiſſero gl' eſiti dell' imprese
" felici; in tutte le fattioni del commandare, e del combattere, eſemplare
" non meno à ſoldati che à capitani; epilogo in ſomma dell' arti tute del
" dominare, e nella pace e nella guerra; viſſe ne' ſuoi riti religioſo oſſervator
" delle più eſquiſite virtù morali; nè i buoni v' hebbero altro à deſiderare
" in lui, che un vero lume di fede. Il livore e l' invidia vi trovarono di più,
" da notare in lui una ſubita colera e un ardir ſoverchio: ma quella, corretta
" d'un immediata dolcezza, e affabilità naturale, conciliava in altrui più, che
" odio, ò timore, amore, e riverenza. Queſto diffetto ordinario dell' anime
" grandi, che non capendo nell' anguſtia d'un cuor humano, ſgorga, e pro-
" rompe nel deſiderabile della gloria, ſenz' avertire all' horribile, che lo
" minaccia; era à ciaſcheduno, che lo mirava riguardevole per la grand-
" dezza del corpo e vie più venerabile per la venuſtà della faccia, in cui mani-
" feſto ſcorgevaſi quel raggio di Maeſtà, che d'ordinario imprime Dio nella
" fronte di quelli, che coſtituiſce dominatori di qualche gran parte dell' uni-
" verſo." *Pietro Pomo, Guerre di Germania*, 4°. libr. iv. 128, 129.

—" Tal fine hebbe Guſtavo Secondo, Re di Suecia, capitano e nel valore e
" nella peritia non inferiore a qualſivoglia de gli antichi. E non ha dubbio,
" che ſe la morte non gli rompeva sì preſto il corſo de' ſuoi vaſtiſſimi penſieri,
" gemerebbe hora la Germania, e gran parte del reſto dell' Europa ſotto
" giogo Straniero. Poiche offervantiſſimo della diſciplina militare, ſeppe in ſe
" ſteſſo & ne' ſuoi ſoldati, mantenerla ſempre viva. Non laſciava marcir nell'
" ozio la ſoldateſca: ma quando non v' era contraſto nemico, la teneva
" eſſercitata con moderate fatiche; et abbaſſandoſi egli ſteſſo dalla regia con-
" dizione a quella del più baſſo uffiriale inſegnava a formar le ſquadre, a
" maneggiar l' armi, come sì ſcaricaſſe il moſchetto in piedi, come curvo,
" come a ſedere. Non comportò mai nelle guerre di tanti anni, che nel ſuo
" eſſercito sì trovaſſer donne di ſcandalo. E voleva ne' ſoldati la modeſtia, e
" l' affabilità con tutti, vietando affatto ogni inſolenza. Per dar' animo agli
" altri ſoleva metterſi a combattere alla teſta: & a chi lo pregava a porſi in
" luogo più ſicuro, rèſpondeva, *Ch' egli era ſolito non di ſpignere, ma di guidar'*
" *i ſoldati alla battaglia.* Onde non è maraviglia, ſe nel corſo continuo di tanti
" anni con nazioni ferociſſime, otteneſſe tante vittorie; e che nell' iſteſſa
" battaglia, dov' ei fu privo di vita, il ſuo eſſercito reſtaſſe vittorioſo.
" Aggiungaſi a tutto queſto, che non havendoſi eletto alcun' Idolo, al cui ca-
" priccio doveſſe ſacrificare e la propria riputazione, e'l ſangue, e le ſoſtanze
" de' ſudditi; ma riconoſcendo i meriti di tutti, e dipendendo da ſe ſteſſo;
" conciliòſſi appreſſo i ſuoi una venerazione tranſcendente l' humana ca-
" pacità. E felice invero poteva riputarſi, s' el valore che da Dio gli era ſtato
" donato, fuſſe da lui ſtato impiegato, non in danno della religione cat-
" tolica. Ma venendo a mancare nelle ſue grandi impreſe la giuſtitia della
" cauſa, reſtan prive di quel premio che ſi deve alla pietà & religione."
Ritratti & Elogii di Capitani Illuſtri, 397, &c.

* John Bernard Schenk, prince and abbot, choſen March 12, 1623. Curioſity led him to the battle. A cannon-ball ſtruck him as he contemplated the action from one of the windmills. (*Le Barre, Hiſt. D'Allemagne, Theatr. Europ. tom.* ii. 749.) This prelate had a title to the ſame motto which his late neighbour the biſhop of Wurtzburg and Bamberg aſſumed in

count Bertholt Walſtein, ſerjeant-major-general Breüner, ſix colonels, and a prince of Ditrichſtein.

The Imperialiſts loſt only twenty-one pieces of artillery; for Walſtein, who little expected the king ſhould attack him, was not greatly provided; it being his firm opinion, till convinced by ocular proof to the contrary, that Guſtavus would not attempt to act deciſively before the Saxon and Lunenberg armies had formed their junction with him. So that this general, if I remember right, had but twenty-ſeven large cannons in all; though ſome writers add ten pieces more. Now ſuch a collection may be conſidered as a kind of defect in point of military precaution, foraſmuch as it was in his power to have procured a larger ſtore;——and under this article we may blame him likewiſe for the looſe and diſperſed cantonment of all his forces, many of whom marched the whole night, and were half fatigued when they faced their opponents the enſuing morning *. He is cenſured moreover for making his appearance in a ſedan-chair, and rarely, if ever, expoſing his perſon in ſuch trying emergencies as we have here recited. But Piccolomini made ample amends for the ſhyneſs of his generaliſſimo; for though he had three horſes killed under him, and received ten wounds, yet he ſtaid till the laſt man on the field of battle †. It may ſuffice to add, that Walſtein retreated precipitately without a purſuer from Leipſic to Prague, and there held a ſevere court-martial, which might be conſidered as a *forenſic* campaign. For moſt of his officers died gallantly; and a young colonel, whoſe ſcaffold was erected under our chieftain's window, began his ſpeech in the following manner: *Gentlemen, I preſent myſelf here to die; and upon what occaſion? For running away with my generaliſſimo.*——But Walſtein, who affected to be extravagant in all things, was alike extraordinary in rewards and in puniſhments; for he gave many of his officers gold chains, adorned with diamonds, to which a medal of himſelf was affixed, that amounted each to the value of £. 500.——He preſented Piccolomini with a large ſum, £. 1600., as we have mentioned formerly ‡; and when

the beginning of the Bohemian wars 1618. Being obliged to furniſh to the Imperial army a large contingent, as duke of Franconia, he affixed this device to his ſtandards: *Una manu gladium, altera Breviarium*; nor would the ſelf-ſame lemma twenty-five years afterwards have proved remarkably improper for Bernard van Galen, biſhop of Münſter.

* *Chemnitz*, tom. i. 373.

† Octavio Piccolomini, deſcended from one of the beſt families in Sienna, created afterwards duke of Amalfi. The more curious may peruſe his life at large in a quarto, entitled, *Scelta di Azioni egregie da generali e da Soldati Italiani dall' anno 1600 fino al 1700.* Venet. 1742. 4to.

‡ Pag. 85 of this vol.

when the king of Denmark reclaimed Holk, as his ſubject, under pain of confiſcating his little poſſeſſions, he gave him his choice of four Bohemian ſigniories, which contained each of them ſixteen or eighteen dorps and villages.

Here it may be proper to ſay ſomething more diffuſe concerning the death of Guſtavus, who fought ſword in hand at the head of the Smoland cavalry, which cloſed the right flank of the centre, and, perhaps, in his ardour outſtripped the brigades which compoſed the main body, and whoſe buſineſs it was to advance upon the ſame line with himſelf. As his majeſty's eyeſight was not the moſt perfect, and forasmuch as a miſt began gently to obſcure the ſky, it is moſt probable to imagine * that, attended only by his own followers and ſervants, and the ſquadron commanded by him, he had a violent deſire to examine the center of the Imperial army, towards which his own invincible *brigades* were now advancing, and on whoſe bravery and firmneſs he principally grounded the future ſucceſs of the day's ſervice. It is natural, I ſay, to conclude, that the king loſt his life in ſome attempt like this, being prompted on by a high ſpirit of impatience and curioſity; for moſt accounts agree, that he fell by the hands of Piccolomini's cuiraſſiers, whom ſome place in the firſt line of the Imperial left wing oppoſite the letter C, and others place it in the very central point behind letter B: but the confuſion and difficulties under each of thoſe articles are ſo perplexing and intricate, that I have ſometimes been induced to think, that Piccolomini was a colonel both of infantry and cavalry, and that two regiments derived their names from him; that ſort of honour and encouragement being not unfrequent in the Swediſh ſervice; where duke Bernard had a couple of regiments, a ſubſtitute-colonel being appointed; and ſo had Teüffel, Knipbauſen, Falkenberg, and others †.

Here therefore, that is, in the front of the troops firſt deſcribed, or, which is more probable, in the interval between them and the adjoining maſs of infantry, Guſtavus received a ball in his left arm ‡, which at firſt he either did not feel or diſregarded, ſtill keeping foremoſt, with great intrepidity; yet the ſoldiers perceived their leader to be wounded, long before he ſpoke to that effect, and expreſſed their affliction and conſternation: *Courage, my comrades*, replied he, *the affair is nothing; let us reſume our point, and return to*

* *Memoirs communicated. Theatr. Europ.* tom. ii. fol. 742. *Caraffa*, lib. iii. 402. 120. *Colen. Agrip.* 1639.

† *Arma Suecica*, p. 73.

‡ Another account ſays, that he received two piſtol-ſhots. *Memoirs communicated.*

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the charge *. One of the equerries cried out likewiſe, that his majeſty was wounded, for which the king reproved him harſhly †. At length perceiving his voice and ſtrength fail him, and fearing to diſmay his brave aſſociates, he whiſpered the duke of Saxe Lauenberg to this purport: *Couſin* ‡, *I perceive myſelf to be grievouſly wounded: convey me hence to ſome place of ſafety* §. In that inſtant, as the king's followers were preparing to retreat, an Imperial cavalier advanced, unobſerved, in this momentary confuſion of turning, and having cried out, *Long have I ſought thee* ‖, tranſpierced his majeſty with a piſtol-ball through the body; but he lived not to glory in this inhumanity; for the maſter of the horſe to the duke of Saxe Lauenberg ſhot him dead with the words recent on his lips. Upon this Piccolomini's cuiraſſiers gave the king's companions a moſt deſperate attack. His majeſty was for ſome moments ſupported on his ſaddle, but the horſe being at that very inſtant ſhot in the ſhoulder, made a deſperate plunge, and flung the rider to the earth. His few perſonal attendants ſtaid with him; but the troops that accompanied him were ſoon diſperſed. One of the gentlemen of the bedchamber, who was likewiſe on the ground, cried out aloud, in order to ſave his maſter's life, that *he* was the king of Sweden. Upon which an Imperial cuiraſſier, who had alighted to ſtrip the bodies, ran him through with his ſword: Guſtavus afterwards being aſked who he was, replied boldly, *I am the king of Sweden, and ſeal with my blood the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of Germany:* adding likewiſe, *Alas! my* POOR QUEEN! *Alas! my* POOR QUEEN! The Imperialiſts gave him five dreadful and inhuman wounds; and though one ſhot him through the head, he had ſtrength to pronounce, *My God! my God!* His body was ſtripped in an inſtant, the ſhirt excepted, for every enemy was deſirous to poſſeſs ſome ſpoil that belonged to him. His buff waiſtcoat was ſent to the arſenal at Vienna **,

* *Merc. Franc.* tom. xviii. p. 734.

† *Memoires de Santa Cruz*, tom. v. 3.

‡ This appellation was not purely an expreſſion of regal courteſy, for the wife of Guſtavus Vaſa, and grandmother of Guſtavus Adolphus, was a princeſs of Saxe Lauenberg; and our king's father's ſiſter married Magnus III. duke of Saxe Lauenberg, who was brother to the father of Francis Albert, concerning whom we are now ſpeaking. *Mem. communicat.*

§ *Santa Cruz*, ibid.

‖ We have at length diſcovered, that this perſon was one *Maurice Falkenberg*, a lieutenant of cavalry in Goëtz's regiment. He knew the king, having been lately his priſoner, and received many courteſies from him on account of his ſurname or kindred: for if the reader remembers, there was a baron *Falkenberg*, a German born, who bravely defended Magdeburg againſt Tilly. *Memoirs communicated. Vide Monumenta Paderbornenſia*, 216.

** *Patin. Relat. Hiſt.* p. 18.

but

but fell firſt into Piccolomini's hands*. A common ſoldier ſeized *that magical* ſword†, concerning which the German profeſſors have publiſhed more diſſertations than one; and Holk obtained by purchaſe the poſſeſſion of his ring and ſpurs. One Schneberg, a lieutenant in Goëtz's cavalry, ſeized his gold chain, which is ſtill preſerved in the Schneberg family; namely, at the time the *Monumenta Paderbornenſia* were made public‡.

Having mentioned this work, we muſt beg leave to remark tranſiently, that it was compoſed by Ferdinand de Furſtenberg biſhop of Paderborn: and as the preſent part is purely digreſſional, it may be wondered, why this perſon was ſo extremely anxious to make ſuch minute enquiries concerning the authors of the king's death. But his own words under this article ſhall ſolve the difficulty; for the good prelate had a mind that the natives of his dioceſe ſhould claim the honour of deſtroying *Antichriſt*: for ſuch the Papiſts ſtyled Guſtavus.

Placuit hoc recens Paderbornenſium militum facinus, dum cetera monumenta percenſemus, hic ſubnectere.——NE QUI ALII, UT POST VICTORIAM IGNAVI ETIAM GLORIANTUR, HANC SIBI LAUDEM PRÆCERPANT.

Nevertheleſs it may be worth while to remark here, that though Schneberg took the chain, yet from the period in queſtion to the preſent moment, we know nothing concerning a famous *Turquoiſe* enchaſed therein, and hanging at the bottom, of extraordinary ſize and beauty, and belonging from time immemorial to the crown of Sweden. *Cyanos*, ſays a moſt faithful and candid hiſtorian §, *quam aurea catenula appenſam collo geſtabat, ſingularis magnitudinis gemma, atque antiquum Sueciæ regum munus, uſquam inventa eſt, quamvis rex omnino ſpoliatus in campo deinceps repertus ſit.* That this remarkable ſtone ſhould never make its appearance ſince in Europe, is a difficulty hard to be accounted for; ſince Schneberg might have ſhewn the *Turquoiſe* in the ſame manner he produced the *chain*.

Meanwhile, one Innocentio Bucela, *camerado*, as the language then ran, to colonel Piccolomini, informed his friend, that the king of Sweden, whom he well knew, was naked and dead hard by them. Piccolomini flew immediately to the place mentioned, accompanied only by ten cavaliers, and found Guſtavus in his laſt convulſive agonies.

* *Purgi* Mars Sueco Germ. p. 230. 12°.

† *Relat. Eſpagnole* de la Bataille de Lützen imprimée a Liſbon. 1633. 4°.

‡ Anno 1669. *In Heriſialle Saxon.* p. 216. et ſeqq. See more in *Struve*, under the article of Ferdinand II. § 39.

§ *Purgi* Mars Sueco Germanicus, p. 230. It was of the true oriental ſort, which comes out of the *old rock* in the mountains of Pruſſkua, about eighty miles from the town of Muſcheda. *Memoirs communicated.*

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He propoſed that moment to have carried off the deceaſed, but Stalhans charged with ſuch fury, that the Imperialiſts were obliged to relinquiſh their prize; and, what may be worth remarking, the king's two faithful grooms, though mortally wounded, had thrown themſelves over their maſter's body *.

Many have ſuppoſed Francis Albert, duke of Saxe-Lauenberg, concerning whom we have ſpoken amply in various places, in order to give ſome light into what hereafter may follow, to have had ſome hand in the king's death, not by open force and an act of murder, but by concealed indications agreed on betwixt him and the Imperial party.——It is not our cuſtom to diſturb the aſhes of an illuſtrious perſonage, merely becauſe he belonged to another nation, and has ſlept in tranquillity more than a century.——That there is a probability exiſting to this prince's diſfavour, muſt ever be allowed; but truly cogent and irreſiſtible proofs, I think, there are none. The reader ſhall peruſe candidly and impartially the whole that we know †.

This officer, who was four years younger than Guſtavus, had ſerved in Italy, as a colonel, under Aldringer and Galas, in the Mantuan war; and by the account, which Sirot gives of him in that campaign, was a perſon of a very high and impetuous temper. Upon ſome diſguſt, whether real or fictitious we will not take upon us to pronounce, he demanded his diſcharge from the court of Vienna, and made a tender of his ſervices to the king of Sweden. After the battle of Lützen, being looked upon with coldneſs by the royal army, he repaired firſt to the Saxon, and then a ſecond time to the Imperial ſtandards, and took a freſh commiſſion under Walſtein; paſſed between him and duke Bernard, in the *ſuppoſed conſpiracy* of the former; and was committed to priſon upon the aſſaſſination of the Auſtrian generaliſſimo. We find him afterwards one of the chamberlains extraordinary to the emperor. Being taken priſoner at the battle of Sweidnitz, for then he had been reſtored a ſecond time to favour, and declared commander in chief of that town and diſtrict, he was generouſly protected by Torſtenſon from the reſentment of the Swediſh ſoldiers, and died, partly by his wounds, and partly with vexation, in a few days after the engagement ‡.

Some ſay he bore a mortal hatred to the king of Sweden, inaſmuch as that prince had once given a blow to one of

* *Le Barre*; Hiſt. d'Allemagne. Theatr. Europ. tom. ii. 749.

† The author expected conſiderable helps from profeſſor *Menke*'s Diſſertation *de dubio Guſt. Adolphi mortis genere*; but on peruſing that piece, found himſelf to be greatly diſappointed.

‡ 1642.

his

his brothers, who made a visit to Stockholm, about the period when Gustavus first ascended the throne. The narrative runs thus. At the house of a certain lady, whom *each* of these princes had an esteem for, the king having lost all the money he carried with him, desired the mistress of the mansion to lend him a part of her winnings; which she declined, by saying, it was beneath the dignity of a monarch to borrow from a poor subject. In the course of the evening the duke of Saxe-Lauenberg lost his money also, and then the lady of the house made him a tender of her purse, without being solicited; adding, in terms of courtesy and politeness, "Sir, the king my master has money at hand, and in great abundance; but you are a stranger, far removed from home, and must of course depend on the chance of remittances." Upon this Gustavus took fire, and making some sharp expostulations, the duke interfering in behalf of his patroness, gave the blow we lately mentioned. This story, it must be confessed, reads no ways amiss, when delivered from the pen of an Italian novelist, or French memoir-writer: *si non e vera, e ben trovata*; but as we do not know precisely that the prince in question was ever in Sweden, not but that there is a probability a duke of Saxe-Lauenberg might have made a journey to Stockholm, on account of the consanguinity that subsisted between the regal and princely families*, we of course shall presume to pronounce nothing confidently, except more solid accounts could be procured from Germany, in reference to an affair so long removed from knowledge, and which seems to me to have taken its first rise on the southern side of the Alps †, and not from Germany or Sweden.

The circumstances, which plead strongest against duke Francis Albert, are these. When he made a tender of his services the preceding August to his majesty near Nurenberg, Oxenstiern conceived an untoward suspicion of him, at the first glance ‡. For as he had great interest with the elector of Saxony, it was thought Walstein, whose creature he was, connived at his quitting the Imperial service, in order to seduce the said elector from the Swedish interests. Of course, therefore, the Chancellor failed not to lay open all his apprehensions to the king his master; but Gustavus replied, *That a prince and pro-*

* Genealogia *Rittershusii*, fol. Tubing. 1668. See also *Hübner*'s Genealogies in German. 4°.

† It is related at large, by *Riccio de Bellis German.* 4°. 434, &c. but he, though a bold, lively historian, and peculiarly fond of all anecdotes, scruples not to pronounce the present narrative, *anilem fabellam, mulierculorum deliramentum.*

‡ *Puffendorf* de Rebus Suecicis, fol. p. 832.

testant

teſtant could neither be a villain nor an aſſaſſin. On his firſt arrival, many military employs, of conſiderable honour, were offered him; but he declined them all, and choſe rather to ſerve near the king's perſon, in the capacity of a volunteer. It is remarkable, he wore a green ſcarf in the day's ſervice at Lützen, which was not cuſtomary amongſt the Swediſh officers. He received no wound, upon ſuppoſition he attempted to diſengage the king, though the maſter of the houſhold, the pages, and very grooms, that attended him, were all killed, if we except one, who lay wounded, ſtripped, and ſenſeleſs, and expired ſo ſoon after the engagement, that accounts from him can hardly be depended on with any tolerable degree of certainty. The duke often ſhewed the royal blood that had fallen on his cloaths. Indeed it does not make much againſt him, that the king received a piſtol-ſhot in the hinder part of one of his elbows; for in ſuch a confuſion his majeſty might naturally turn himſelf round more times than once. True it is, he conveyed himſelf out of the battle precipitately, and never acquainted duke Bernard and Kniphauſen, the king's ſucceſſors in command, of this direful and diſaſtrous event; but, on the contrary, fled to Weiſſenfels, about eight miles from the ſcene of action, and returned next morning to the Swediſh camp, when he heard the royal army had become victorious. He there found but a very cold and diſcourteous reception; for the univerſally-received opinion in Sweden, to the preſent moment, is, that Guſtavus fell by ſignal agreed upon, and treachery; and this is confirmed by the tradition of officers to their friends and relations, from the very day when the battle of Lützen was fought *.

To the beſt of my unbiaſſed judgment there appears one circumſtance in duke Francis's favour, namely, that his maſter of the horſe, who was a gentleman, killed the cavalier who ſhot Guſtavus; for had the prince been engaged in any connivance or conſpiracy, it is natural to think, that this perſon might have borne his ſhare therein. We can ſay no more, and the truth muſt be left to the great ſearcher of all ſecrets †.

Thus fell the King of Sweden; the news of whoſe death broke the heart of the unfortunate elector Palatine in about ſix days ‡; nor did the gratitude of the Saxons erect the

* *Memoirs communicated.*

† There is a defence of this prince, by the author of the Schaubühne der Welt; but I never had the good fortune to procure a copy of that work, which conſiſts of four volumes in folio, *cum fig.* Francfort 1699—1718. It was written, if I miſtake not, by Job Ludolphus.

‡ He died Nov. 19, at Francfort on the Mayne, and we muſt allow a certain ſpace for conveying the melancholy tidings to him. The princeſs Sophia, who married Erneſt Auguſtus, elector of Brunſwic Lunenberg, was his twelfth child.

ſlighteſt

ſlighteſt monument or cenotaph to the deliverer of their country. In a word, this illuſtrious potentate has no monument on the plains of Lützen, except this imperfect hiſtory can be called a *monument*; ſave only a few large and miſhapen ſtones, which the piety of the peaſants has piled together, in order to perpetuate his memory. He died, aged *thirty-ſeven years, ten months, and twenty-ſeven days*, having received thirteen wounds before the battle of Lützen was fought.—He finiſhed his courſe, ſays a ſpirited hiſtorian, as an hero ought to do, *with his ſword in his hand, the word of command betwixt his lips, and victory in expectance*; concluding all with this religious ejaculation, *My God! My God!*

Nor was this death non-conformable with his majeſty's conſtant practice; for his great amuſement, at leiſure hours, conſiſted in peruſing the Holy Scriptures. It was his cuſtom to retire much to his apartment, and keep the doors anxiouſly cloſed; conſidering the ſacred writings attentively, whilſt the army concluded he was delineating plans of ſieges and battles, or inditing letters to foreign potentates. Which puts me in mind of one circumſtance, at the camp of Werben; when the whole Imperial army was preparing to force his lines, Steinberg, a privy-councillor had ſome extraordinary intelligence to report to his maſter; and as he half opened the curtain of his tent gently, and perceived Guſtavus very intent on reading the Bible, he retired ſoftly, and as he hoped, unobſerved; but the king recalled him: *Steinberg*, ſaid he, *I find great conſolation in peruſing the word of God: princes themſelves muſt acknowledge, that the evil demon ſpreads the moſt artful ſnares for thoſe who fancy they lie under no obligation to render an account to their own conſciences, and their fellow-creatures* *.

Few couriers were better received than thoſe, who conveyed the account of the king's death, to declared enemies, or concealed ill-wiſhers: nor did the report greatly diſpleaſe the court of White-hall; where the miniſtry, as it uſually happens in caſes of timidity, had its degree of apprehenſions, for fear the event ſhould not be true; and, as I have learnt from good authority, impoſed ſilence on the news-writers, and intimated the ſame to the pulpit, in caſe any funeral encomium might proceed from that quarter. The ungrateful Richelieu looked upon Guſtavus's death as a ſort of triumph. The emperor was more modeſt, contenting himſelf only with the exploſion of a few rockets: but the Spaniards exhibited a mock-tragedy, which conſiſted of twenty-four acts, and took up twelve nights in its repreſentation, entitled, The Death

* *Heylmanni* Leo Arct. 76, 77.

of

of the King of Sweden: and, as an author of great authority * declares, kindled up ſo many bonfires on the occaſion, that the court interpoſed, leſt fuel ſhould become too ſcarce the approaching winter. In a word, of all the catholic princes, the pope alone lamented the death of Guſtavus. On the other hand, funeral ſermons were preached in honour of him throughout all the proteſtant churches in Germany; and, what was very extraordinary, almoſt every preacher, without a poſſibility of knowing the intentions of other preachers, *drew a parallel between him and king Joſiah* †.

Having thus finiſhed the battle of Lützen, we may obſerve, that the Swedes, by a ſtrange antitheſis of fortune, obtained a *triumph*, but *loſt* their hero: the Imperialiſts relinquiſhed the field of battle too precipitately; yet, in truth, acquired a complete victory, for they *outlived* Guſtavus! Yet the effects of the king's operative ſpirit never intirely left the military body that had breathed and moved under his influence. The French repaſſed the Rhine upon Turenne's death; but the Swedes, after the deceaſe of their maſter, extended their victorious arms, not only over Lower Saxony, but to the very threſhold of the Alps. The principle of acting continued the ſame; the proportion only of the *vis vivida* was leſſened.——Nothing but a large fire could be capable of ſo prodigal remains.——In a few words, it may be remarked of Guſtavus, that he was equally great, living, dying, and even after death; fulfilling and completing the idea of a character, CUJUS GLORIÆ NEQUE PROFUIT QUISQUAM LAUDANDO, NEQUE VITUPERANDO QUISQUAM NOCUIT.

As Alexander conſigned to poſterity the Ptolemy's, the Antigonus's, the Seleucus's, and the Antipaters, who, after his death, founded kingdoms in Egypt, Syria, Aſia Minor, and Macedonia: ſo Guſtavus, *from whoſe tomb*, ſays a ſpirited hiſtorian, *the laurels ſprung forth*, bequeathed to mankind the Saxe-Weimars, the Horns, the Baniers, the Torſtenſons, and Kniphauſens; who, if fair ſcope had been allowed them, would have given the finiſhing ſtroke to that *great* monarchy, whoſe very foundations their maſter had ſhaken the operations of nine-and-twenty months. Theſe valiant chieftains, formed in the ſchool of ſo excellent an inſtructor, gave ſigns neither of diſtreſs nor diſmay, when their allies partly proved inſincere to, and partly forſook them, at the concluſion of the peace of Prague, two years after Guſtavus's death. On the contrary, they retired ſtep by ſtep, gloomily, and unwil-

* *Vide Schaubühne ut ſupra.*

† *Chemnitz*, tom. i. 376. *Mem. d'Electrice Palatine*, 4°. 310.

lingly,

lingly, from the heart of the empire*; and kept the war alive, with unſpeakable obſtinacy, for the ſpace of ſixteen ſucceſſive years; and far from being ſqueezed into the Baltic ocean, as men formerly, and at that time, plainly propheſied, completed their eighteenth campaign, with making a fortunate camiſado on one of the towns of Prague.

In this circumſtance there is ſomething extremely *remarkable*; namely, that the amazing obſtinate and extenſive war which I have here in part deſcribed, after a duration of thirty years, ſhould conclude upon the *very ſpot of ground where it firſt began.*

Thus, with more labour than I can expect thanks, I have at length finiſhed the life of Guſtavus; a prince perhaps, with whom few heroes may be compared in the ſeveral diſtinguiſhing characters of *ſoldier, ſtateſman, father of his people,* and *ſincere Chriſtian.* Had it pleaſed God to have made a leſs infirm ſtate of health my portion, I might have been tempted, in a ſecond work, leſs circumſtantial and diffuſed, than matters of biography uſually require, to have carried on the *hiſtory of Germany down to the concluſion of the peace of Munſter:* the moſt important, as well as moſt deciſive era, that is to be found in the annals of Europe! But the magnitude of the undertaking partly diſmayed me; not to mention the expence and difficulty of conſulting, in perſon, the archives and libraries of various countries†. Numbers, it is certain, are to be found, amongſt my countrymen, who, in every reſpect, are infinitely better qualified for ſuch an undertaking than I can pretend to: and indeed it would be no inconſiderable ſatisfaction to me, to ſee our nation derive its knowledge of affairs on the continent from any hiſtorians, except the French; whoſe method, it muſt be acknowledged, is well conceived, and their ſtyle uſually ſuch as hardly allows the reader to be inattentive; but the writers themſelves are negligent and romantic, inſincere and partial.

* *Singolarità delle Guerre di Germania*, 4°. 283. Venet.

† The author has by him, already finiſhed in one volume, quarto, The *Hiſtory* of THE THIRTY YEARS WARS, from the breaking out of the troubles in Bohemia, in 1618, till the death of Guſtavus, 1632; ſo that only ſixteen years remain to be completed. [This has never, I believe, been publiſhed. Editor.]

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following uſeful SCHEME *and* DIARY of the War, &c. from the King's entering Germany till the battle of Lützen, compoſed for the better underſtanding the Three Great Campaigns of 1630, 1631, 1632, though the only one of the kind I ever remember to have ſeen, was begun in September, 1631, and carried on till November 6, 1632, by an Engliſh or Scottiſh officer, who ſerved under Guſtavus. I have ſupplied it by an addition of thirteen months, corrected the names of places, &c. and added the *third* and *fourth* columns throughout, in order to render the whole complete; making various additions likewiſe to the *firſt* and *ſecond* columns. Nothing can be more neceſſary in a Military Hiſtory.

(July 1630.)—Scheme and Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TORQUATO DE CONTI
LANDED June 24. The intervening days, between that time and July, were employed in disembarking and reviewing his army, and examining the country.	
Publishes his manifesto.	Makes weak efforts against the king, with an army of equal numbers; the duchies of Pomerania and Mechlenburg being well garrisoned throughout.
4. Reconnoitres the island of Usedom, with 4000 men.	
5, 6. Gives audience to the deputies of the dukes of Pomerania and Mechlenburg, and the town of Stralsund.	
7. Takes a fort at Wolgast.	Extorts Garts and Griffenhagen from the duke of Pomerania.
8. Advances to the cloister and pass of Pudegla.	
9. Makes himself master of Swein.	
10. Signs articles of confederation with the duke of Pomerania, who	Encamps half his army at Garts, and half at Anclam.
14. Writes to the emperor.	Retreats to Anclam, and forms a large camp.
10—25. Remains in the islands of Usedom and Wollin.	
23. Appoints a solemn fast.	
26. Transports his army over the Frish-hof, and invests Stetin.	
— Takes it by stratagem.	
27. Orders Banier to give a camisade to Dam.	
— Stargard and Camin taken.	
— Negotiates with the administrator of Magdeburg, who places himself under the protection of Sweden.	

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen.—(July 1630.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
The chancellor Oxenſtiern commands a ſeparate body in Polish Pruſſia, to watch the appearance of the Poles, and the king's new friends in thoſe parts; while Leſlie and Ruthven form a ſecond camp near Stralſund, caſting an eye of obſervation alternately towards the iſlands of Rugen and Uſedom on the one ſide, and the duchy of Mechlenburg on the other.	Walſtein, then expecting his recal, lived privately at Memmingen, near Ratiſbon, to watch the motions of the diet, and avert the impending diſgrace.
	Tilly employed in reducing the landgravate of Heſſe, and ſecuring his own grants of poſſeſſions in Weſtphalia and Lower Saxony.
The adminiſtrator of Magdeburg ſent to oppoſe Tilly in that duchy.	Torquato de Conti had the care of Pomerania, and the duke Savelli of the duchy of Mechlenburg.
	30,000 veteran Imperial troops are employed in the ſiege of Mantua, under the command of Colalto, Aldringer, and Galas.
Bauditzen and Hepburn act in Outer Pomerania with 8000 men.	
	The diet of Ratiſbon.
	8000 men ſtationed at Deſſau-bridge, to prevent the king from marching to Magdeburg.

(Auguſt 1630.)—Scheme and Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TORQUATO DE CONTI
1—8. Commanded parties abroad.	
6. Secures the paſs of Stolp.	
9. Publiſhes a ſecond manifeſto.	
Fortifies Stetin, and fixes a camp there under Guſtavus Horn.	
Offers Torquato battle.	Remains inactive.
15. Conceives ſome deſigns againſt Gartz and Grieffenhagen. Sends Horn to blockade Landſberg.	
Reſolves firſt to clear Pomerania and the duchy of Mechlenburg.	Quits his laſt camp, retires to Gartz, and thence to Stolp.
The plague rages at Stetin.	Marches at the head of 3000 men to throw ſuccours into the town of Wolgaſt, but is defeated.
Takes Wolgaſt town and caſtle.	
20. Appoints a ſolemn faſt.	
Receives a reinforcement of 8000 men from Livonia.	
Fits up Wolgaſt caſtle for his queen.	
Prepares an invaſion of Mecklenburg, by taking the important paſſes of Tribeſes, Gripnitz, and Trepto.	
In this month fell into Aligheri's ambuſcade.	
Anſtruther, as ſome conjecture, pronounces his harangue at Vienna.	31. Breaks up his camp at Stolp, and again intrenches near Anclam.

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(Auguſt 1630.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
Oxenſtiern commands in Pruſſia, near Brunſberg.	Walſtein remains inactive in Suabia, near Ratiſbon.
Leſlie and Ruthven take preparatory meaſures to facilitate the king's irruption into Mechlenburg.	Tilly continues to attempt the reduction of Lower Saxony.
Chriſtian-William, adminiſtrator of Magdeburg, oppoſes Tilly.	The Duke de Savelli defends the duchy of Mechlenburg.
	Pappenheim blockades Magdeburg.
15. The Swedes attempt to ſurprize Landſberg.	10. The Electors write to Guſtavus.
18. Marvellous eſcape of 700 Scots, who take Rugenwald by ſurprize.	18. The Emperor writes to him.
	Tieffenbach and Goëtz conduct two ſeparate armies in Sileſia and Luſatia, and Balthazar di Marradas commands a third in Bohemia.
	The diet of Ratiſbon continues.

(September 1630.)—Scheme and Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TORQUATO DE CONTI
1. Friday, obſerves a ſolemn faſt.	1. Aligheri, a deſerter from the Swedes, attacks the king's lines.
— Reviews his troops, and pays thoſe lately arrived.	2. Makes another attempt.
Takes Griffenberg and Golnau.	
6. Leaves Stetin, and prepares to invade Mechlenburg.	4. Imperialiſts ruin Paſſevalk and Uckermund, and then leave them.
Sends aſſiſtance into Lower Saxony, which lands the 25th near Lubec, and joins Francis-Charles, Duke of Saxe-Lauenberg.	7. Retake them, and commit great outrage.
13. Writes to the Catholic electors.	
14. Embarks with 12,000 men to reduce the duchy of Mechlenburg.	14, or thereabouts. Loſe 1000 men near Garts.
— Reaches Stralſund, and takes Bart and Damgarten.	
17. Writes to Lewis XIII. and Richelieu.	Torquato obſerves the motions of Horn at Stetin.
— Appoints a ſolemn faſt.	
26. Advances to Ribnitz and forms a camp there, having taken the town.	
28. Diſſolves the allegiance of Walſtein's new ſubjects by two proclamations.	
Detaches Banier to the frontiers of Mechlenburg, near Pomerania, and orders Bauditzen to inveſt Colbergen.	
Returns to Stralſund to indite proper letters to all his friends and enemies.	

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(September 1630.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
Oxenſtiern continues in his old ſituation near Brunſberg.	Aldringer, Galas, and Colalto recalled, with an army of 30,000 men, from Mantua.
The Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, Francis-Charles, and the Swediſh reinforcements act in Lower Saxony, and take Boitzenburg, Lauenberg, and Nyehauſen.	Colonel Reynacher oppoſes Saxe-Lauenberg.
4. Bauditzen and Kniphauſen form the blockade of Colbergen.	Perpetual rencounters in the duchy of Magdeburg, between the Imperialiſts and adminiſtrator.
Bauditzen reinforces him, having taken Piritz.	Tilly ſtill continues in Lower Saxony, and on the frontiers of Heſſe.
Banier commands an army on the frontiers of Mechlenburg next to Pomerania.	The duke de Savelli commands Walſtein's troops in the duchy of Mechlenburg.
	Pappenheim takes Francis-Charles, duke of Saxe-Lauenberg, priſoner at Ratzburg-caſtle.
	— Reduces Allerſleben to capitulate.

(October 1630.)—Scheme and Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TORQUATO DE CONTI
Beſieges Roſtoch, but converts the ſiege into a blockade.	Imperialiſts convey 4000 freſh troops into Roſtoch, with conſiderable loss.
— Clears the whole ſea-coaſt with his fleet.	
— Advances towards Wiſmar.	Torquato ſends Holk's and Butler's regiments to reinforce Savelli.
— Beats the duke de Savelli.	
[Here, ſome ſay, he firſt exhibits the brigade or column.]	
Writes to Charles I. the letter not extant.	A convoy of four regiments of Walſteiners defeated.
11. Returns to Stralſund.	
Camerarius pronounces a ſpeech of the King's dictating at the Hague.	
Guſtavus remains at Stralſund.—Makes a ſhort digreſſion into Mechlenburg; returns again to Stralſund.	
31. Writes to the emperor.	

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(October 1630.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
Banditzen and Hepburn form an army of 8000 men near Rugenwald, in Back Pomerania: take Scheifelbein, and enter the Marche.	The duke de Savelli oppoſes Guſtavus in the duchy of Mechlenburg.
	3. Col. Denhoff defeated near Stetin by the Imperialiſts.
4. Kniphauſen carries on the blockade of Colbergen.	Offa and Montecuculi command in Suabia.
Oxenſtiern continues in the neighbourhood of Elbingen to watch the Poles.	Göetz and Tieffenbach in Sileſia and Luſatia.
Banier ſucceeds the king in the duchy of Mechlenburg, as commander in chief.—Publiſhes an edict.	— Don Baltazar in Bohemia.
	— Pappenheim in LowerSaxony.
The adminiſtrator of Magdeburg acts in that duchy.	
The adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg in Suabia.	

(November 1630.)—Scheme and Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TORQUATO DE CONTI
	Attempts fruitleſsly to throw a reinforcement into Colberg.
	— Detaches 10,000 men to raiſe the ſiege.
	5. Imperial mandate publiſhed againſt Guſtavus.
12. Sends Falkenberg to defend Magdeburg.	
— Marches as far as Griffenberg to join Horn, and fight the Imperialiſts.	
20. Returns to Stetin, where he continues.	

entering Germany till the battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(November 1630.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
	3. The diet at Ratiſbon concludes.
6 or 8. Monro takes Scheiffelbein.	
Kniphauſen turns the blockade of Colberg into a ſiege.	9. The emperor publiſhes his edict concerning contributions and regulating the army.
Roſtoch ſtill blockaded by Todt.	
13. The ſtrange battle of Colbergen between Kniphauſen and Montecuculi.	
A great fire at Colbergen.	
Stations of troops in diſtant provinces, as in laſt month.	—The ſame on the Imperial ſide, only that Montecuculi ſerved in Pruſſia.
26. A dreadful tempeſt at Magdeburg.	

(December 1630.)—Scheme and Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TORQUATO DE CONTI
1. Continues at Stetin.	
Writes to the magiſtracy of Lubec.	
— Makes a ſhort excurſion into the duchy of Mecklenburg.	— Remains on the defenſive, beſeeching Tilly to ſend him ſupplies.
— Summons all his troops for ſome great expedition: reviews them, and pays off all arrears.	
12. Finiſhes the fortifications of Stetin.	— Recalled.
	ANNIBAL COUNT DE SCHOMBERG commands.
	— Encamps under Gartz and Griffenhagen.
23. Inveſts Griffenhagen.	
24. Takes it by ſtorm.	
27. Marches to beſiege Gartz.	The Imperialiſts fly to Cuſtrin, and thence to Francfort, burning the bridge over the Odier. Their whole army ſaved by the elector of Brandenburg giving it entrance into Cuſtrin.
28. Takes fort Morwitz.	
29. Gartz evacuated: And the Imperial army decamps.	

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(December 1630.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
A sea-fight between the Swedes and the Imperialists.—15 large ships under Gabriel le Roy, and 9 Swedish men of war.—Swedes victorious.	The Duke de Savelli opposes the Swedes in the duchy of Mechlenburg.
	The Imperialists ravage and destroy all Pomerania.
The elector of Brandenburg publishes a manifesto against the cruelties and depopulations of the Imperialists.	Tilly writes to the administrator of Magdeburg.

(January 1630-1.)—Scheme and Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	SCHOMBERG
Denied entrance into Cuſtrin; and thereby loſes the power of ſaving Magdeburg.	— By means of Cuſtrin, preſerves Spar's, young Walſtein's, Göetz's, and the old Saxon regiment.
— Takes Köeningſberg.	
8. Advances to Lubus, within four miles of Francfort.	
— Takes Legnitz-caſtle and Piritz, and ſecures all, except Landſberg, between the Warta and the Oder.	
The winter extremely ſevere.	
13. Treaty of Bernwalt ſigned between Sweden and France.	— Repreſents his bad ſituation to Tilly.
	TILLY.
The king publiſhes twenty-two new prayers.	
18. Reviews his army, conſiſting of 16,000 men, at Dant.	
	24. Advances to Francfort on the Oder.
26. Poſts Horn at Köeningſberg to obſerve Tilly's motions.	
— Grants kind protection to the inhabitants of the New Marche.	
— Gives up all thoughts againſt Landſberg: and, taking the advantage of a ſevere froſt, enters Mechlenburg.	

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(January 1630-1.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
Horn's blockade of Landſberg goes on.	Don Baltazar commands in Bohemia; Göetz, and Tieffenbach, in Silesia; Savelli, in the duchy of Mechlenburg; Oſſa, in Suabia and Alſatia; and Pappenheim, in Lower Saxony.
8. Leſlie takes Löcknitz.	
15. Horn, with a ſeparate army, obſerves Tilly near the frontiers of Silesia.	Count de Schomberg made governor of Francfort.
	Colonel Hatzfield murdered.
— Recalled towards the end of the month, and poſted in the New Marche.	

(February 1630-1.)—Scheme *and* Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TILLY
4. Sets out at the head of 16,000 men, on a ſecond expedition into Mechlenburg.	
Takes New Brandenburg and Clemptno.	
— Propoſes terms to the inhabitants of the diſtrict round Stargard.	
Garriſon of Trepto diſlodged.	
14. Damin beſieged.	Accuſes the duke de Savelli, governor of Damin.
Löitch taken. Kniphauſen's army joins the king.	Propoſes to ſtop the king's journey into Mechlenburg, but deniis.
The king detaches Banier to take Loczin.	
— Encamps his troops between that and Trepto.	
Malchin ſurprized.	
Fridland and Weſtrow taken.	
[Guſtavus in eight months renders himſelf maſter of eighty cities, caſtles, and fortreſſes in Pomerania and Mechlenburg.]	
Receives ſome ſuccours from Scotland; withdraws his garriſons from the iſle of Rugen; is reinforced by ſome of Oxenſtiern's army, and by the troops that inveſted Colberg.	— Advances from Francfort upon the Oder towards Mechlenburg.
	— Paſſes the king's lines, but dares not attack them.
—In expectation of Tilly, places Banier at Damin, Kniphauſen at New Brandenburg, Count Ortenberg at Trepto, Horn at Fridland, and himſelf at the paſs of Paſſewalk, to guard the Oder and Pomerania.	
— Encamps between New Angermond and Freyenwald.	Bernſtein makes an unſucceſsful camiſado on Templin.

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(February 1630-1.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
The rhingrave commands in Mechlenburg.	Pappenheim acts in Lower Saxony.
Oxenstiern in Prussia.	Other imperial armies stationed as before.
8. Diet at Leipsic begins.	
All Back-Pomerania conquered.	

(March 1630-1.)—Scheme *and* Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TILLY
1. Articles ſigned with the Marquis of Hamilton.	— Puts the garriſon of Feldſberg to the ſword.
Guſtavus adds twenty new edicts, concerning plunder, extortion, &c. to his military code.	9. Takes New Brandenburg by ſtorm, with an army of 22,000 men.
— Arreſts the garriſon of Colberg, by way of reprizal.	— His great cruelty.
	— Diſmantles it.
— Encamps between Trepto and Damin.	— Enters Fridland, and attempts Trepto in vain.
— Invents brigades in his camp at Schwet. Monro, part II. 25.	— Advances to Damin, and deſpairs of taking it.
	— Returns to Repnin.
18. Croſſes the Warta to obſerve Landſberg.	— Fruitleſsly attempts to deſtroy the king's fine bridge acroſs the Oder.
— Conſtructs a famous bridge over the Oder at Schwet.	— Retires beyond Francfort on the Oder, whence he came; others alledge, he went back to Repnin.
Zednick taken.	
	— Orders a garriſon of 7000 men into Francfort.
25. The king determines to beſiege Francfort.	— And 5000 into Landſberg.
27. Croſſes the Oder, and continues his march.	— Draws the garriſons from Trewen-Brietzen and Munchenberg.
	— Fears to inveſt Damin.
	— Forms deſigns againſt Magdeburg.

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(March 1630-1.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
	Don Baltazar, Montecuculi, Goëtz and Tieffenbach, command in Bohemia and the annexed provinces. Offa in Suabia and Alfatia.
2. Colbergen furrenders, after five months fiege, to Colonel Todt.	
9. Horn retires to his maſter near Schwet.	
New Brandenburg is taken.	
The Swedes defeat a body of Croatians near Muncheuberg.	Coloredo attempts, in vain, to burn the king's bridge at Schwet.
	Schomberg appointed to defend Francfort.
18. Remonſtrance and concluſions ſent to the emperor from the diet of Leipſic.	Pappenheim employed in the duchy of Magdeburg.
24.—And to the Catholic electors.	
A convention of the ſtates of Pomerania.	
25. Horn ordered to watch the Imperialiſts on the ſide of Sileſia.	

(April 1631.)—Scheme *and* Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TILLY
1. Arrives at Lubus.	The Francfort garrison, consisting of 7000 men, escape, part of them into Silesia.
2. Forms his approaches round Francfort.	
— Takes the town by storm, and kills 3000 men.—Old Leslie made governor.	
— Sends 4000 men towards Landsberg.	
4. Gustavus writes to the confederates at Leipsic; and the elector of Saxony appoints a thanksgiving.	
5. Follows the Landsberg detachment with the gross of his army.	
— Sends the rhingrave and Bauditzen into Silesia.	
The town of Landsberg surrenders after eight days siege; and thus Pomerania and Mechlenburg are cleared, and a passage opened into Silesia.	12. Tilly invests Magdeburg in form.
18. The garrison marches away. The king returns to Francfort upon the Oder, negotiating, by means of couriers, about Spandau, which he obtains afterwards.	
The States-general subscribe to Gustavus about 500000l. per month.	21. Takes a strong fortress.
	— Alarmed needlessly at Gustavus's coming.
The king garrisons Francfort, Croffen, and Landsberg.	29. Farenbach, an Imperial colonel and engineer, performs wonders.

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued*.—(April 1631.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
The rhingrave and Bauditzen command in Silesia. Take Croffen the 16th.	The administrator of Wirtemberg, [Duke Julius] and the Protestants, form an union in Suabia, and levy troops.
9. Treaty between France and the elector of Tryers.	
15. A detachment of Swedes beaten between Landsberg and Schieffelbein.	Don Baltazar, Tieffenbach, Montecuculi, and Diona act in Silesia, &c. against Bauditzen and the rhingrave.
16. Palm Sunday. The diet of Leipsic breaks up.	
	18. Landsberg evacuated.
	The Imperialists attempt Croffen in Silesia.
	The emperor publishes an edict for raising new taxes.—Excises meat.

(May 1631.)—Scheme *and* Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TILLY
1. Detaches from Furſtenwald, near Francfort, 10,000 infantry, and 80 troops of cavalry towards Berlin.	
— Sends count Ortenburg to demand Spandau and Cuſtrin.	
2. Diſpatches Horn on the ſame errand.	
3. Has an interview with the elector in Copnick-grove.	
— Obtains Spandau only for a month.	
— Enters Berlin.	
A treaty of confederation between France and Bavaria.	
The king goes to Potzdam.	
— Lies in his camp at or near Potzdam the remaining part of this month.	
6. Solicits a confederacy with the elector of Saxony in vain.	
— Enters Berlin.	
10. Hears that Magdeburg is taken.	10. Takes Magdeburg by ſtorm; burns the city and deſtroys the inhabitants.
— Encamps at Potzdam to intercept Tilly's retreat.	— Breaks Deſſau-bridge too precipitately.
— Takes Old Brandenburg and Ratenau.	13. Makes his public entrance into Magdeburg.
— Views the country near Magdeburg.	— Stays thereabouts many days.
— Retakes Werben and Borg near Jericho Monaſtery.	
28. Eſcapes an ambuſh of Pappenheim.	— Removes from Magdeburg, and croſſes the foreſt of Hartz.

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(May 1631.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
Oxenſtiern commands in Pruſſia.	The Imperial commanders ſtationed as in the two preceding months.
Horn in Silefia, reinforced by the King.	
8. A treaty of confederation and alliance, for eight years, between France and Bavaria.	
	14. An Imperial ban publiſhed againſt the Leipſic confederates.
	Pappenheim attempts to ſecure Havelberg.

(June 1631.)—Scheme *and* Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TILLY
1. Takes Guterboch, to ſecure the two bridges, over the Elbe, Deſſau and Wittemberg.	— At Alleſleben treats with the princes of the houſe of Saxony.
5. Reinſtates the dukes of Mechlenburg.	— Has a deſign on Erfurt.
8. Reſtores Spandau, with great reluctance.	
11. Obtains it by a new treaty of alliance.	
— Receives four regiments from his army in Pruſſia, and ſome new levies from Brandenburg.	
— Sends Oxenſtiern a reinforcement of 4000 men.	
12. Returns by water to Stetin. Gives audience to the Moſcovite ambaſſador the 15th. Propoſes to aſſiſt at the ſiege of Gripſwald.	13. Advances to Weimar.
	14. Croſſes the Unſtrut.
	15. At Oldſleben.
— Publiſhes his apology concerning Magdeburg.	— Goes to Mulhauſen; has a deſign on the landgraviate of Heſſe Caſſel.
Anſtruther pronounces his harangue to the emperor.	— Sends Pappenheim to ſecure Havelberg; who afterwards raiſes contributions at Eiſleben.
	— Continues in theſe parts all the month.
	28. Propoſes to march and attack Guſtavus, but is diſmayed by Pappenheim's and Mansfelt's ill ſucceſſes.
29. Guſtavus returns from Stetin to Berlin.	
Bauditzen and Dewbatel ford the Elbe, with 4000 horſe and dragoons, and take Tangermond ſword in hand.	

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(June 1631.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
Horn commands the Swediſh army in Sileſia.	The Imperial generals in their laſt-mentioned poſts.
	The Imperialiſts attempt Croſſen in vain.
16. Gripſwald capitulates to Todt, after a blockade and ſiege of eleven months.	
17. Two dukes of Mechlenburg command in their duchies.	

(July 1631.)—Scheme *and* Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TILLY
— Defeats Pappenheim near Magdeburg, and takes Stendal.	
	Pappenheim ſends for Tilly.
9. Banier takes Havelberg, ſword in hand.	
The king encamps moſt judiciouſly at Werben.	Tilly, who had intended to make an irruption into Heſſe Caſſel, obliged to return.
12. Concludes a treaty with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel.	
17. Gives Bernſtein a camiſado, and ruins four of Pappenheim's beſt regiments.	17. Advances to Wolmerſtadt in the dioceſe of Magdeburg.
— Encamps at Werben.	
— Receives a viſit from the landgrave of Heſſe and duke Bernard, with a tender of their ſervices.	19, 20. Reviews his army.
21. Recals the garriſon of Tangermond.	21. Arrives at Tangermond, forms a plot to fire the king's camp and powder-waggons.
— Diſcovers Tilly's plot, and turns it to advantage.	
23, 24. Several ſkirmiſhes.	
25. Guſtavus repulſes Tilly.	25. Attacks the king's lines.
26—30. Continues on the defenſive in his excellent camp at Werben.	26—30. Remains quiet at ſome diſtance, about Mulhauſen.
— Writes a letter of thanks to the Magdeburgers.	

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(July 1631.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
	Furſtenberg, with 18,000 men, partly the Mantuan army, forces the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg to renounce the Leipſic concluſions.
	12. Fugger and Furſtenberg, with part of the Italian army, invade the landgraviate of Heſſe Caſſel.
16. The marquis of Hamilton ſails from Yarmouth.	— Recalled to join Tilly.
18. Duke Bernard acts in the landgraviate of Heſſe Caſſel.	Tieffenbach commands in Sileſia.
31. The marquis of Hamilton lands at Wolgaſt, with 6000 Engliſh forces.	

(August 1631.)—Scheme and Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TILLY
— Remains at Werben.	— In the neighbourhood of Werben.
	10. Diſlodges, and moves towards Saxony.
12. Signs a treaty with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel.	
Queen of Sweden lands at Wolgaſt, with 8000 men.	
15. The king ſends his forces on various deſtinations, and leaves Bauditzen with the ſtanding camp at Werben.	
— Propoſes to form two other camps, one at Ratenau, and another at Old Brandenburg.	16. Joined by Furſtenberg, with 18,000 men, near Maunſtelt.
	— Summons the elector of Saxony to enter into new engagements, and demands a paſſage over Wittemberg-bridge.
— Receives preſſing letters from the elector of Saxony.	26. Takes Merſberg.
	— Pillages Naumburg and Zeitz.
29. Advances with part of his army to Ratenau, whilſt the main body reaches Old Brandenburg.	29. Summons Leipſic.
30. Marches towards Saxony.	
31. Arrives at Coſwick, where Arnheim confers with him.	

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen--*continued.*—(Auguſt 1631.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
10, or thereabouts. The Engliſh joined by 4000 Swedes, newly landed.	
Horn commands in Sileſia, and Todt in the duchy of Mechlenburg.	
20. The elector of Saxony reviews his army.	
The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel acts in his own country.	21. Pappenheim ravages Miſnia.
The elector of Saxony encamps at Torgau to defend the banks of the Elbe. His whole army amounts to 20,000 men.	
— Prevents Furſtenberg from paſſing the river.	

(September 1631.)—Scheme *and* Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TILLY
1. Forces the elector of Saxony, whom Arnheim repreſented, to ſign a treaty.	1. Ravages the country about Leipſic.
3. Allowed to paſs the Elbe at Wittemberg-bridge.	3. Inveſts it with 40,000 men.
4. Meets the Saxon army and ſome Brandenburg troops at Dieben.	
5. Reviews the combined army.	5. The town capitulates.
6. Deliberates and halts on Tilly's taking Leipſic.	6. Tilly invites the king to battle by letter.
7. Marches and fights the battle of Leipſic.	7. Defeated at Leipſic, and flies to Halle.
8. Inveſts that city.	
9. Purſues the Imperialiſts to Merſburg, and takes it.	9. — To Aſcherſleben, and writes to Aldringer; and thence to Halberſtadt; 80 Engliſh miles.
— Diſpatches his army in ſeveral corps to purſue the enemy.	— Publiſhes monitorial letters to recal his diſperſed troops.
11. Takes Halle and Merſburg.	
13. Writes to Charles I. on the victory of Leipſic.	13. Leaves Halberſtadt.
14. Collects his forces.	
16. Begins his journey, and marches along the Unſtrut.	
17. Lies at Great Someren.	17. Reaches Alvede, 15 miles.
18. Takes Erfurt.	
— Settles the affairs of Thuringia.	25. Arrives at Corvey, and croſſes the Weſer. Receives 5000 troops from Cologn.
— Sends for Oxenſtiern out of Pomerania.	
26. Advances to Arnſtadt.	26. Lies at Warburg.
	— Points his courſe between Waldec and Heſſe, and arrives near Fulda.
27. Reaches Ilmenau; divides his forces.	
28. Croſſes the Thuringian foreſt.	
29. Lies at Schleüſſing.	
30. Beſieges Koeningſhofen.	30. Advances to Fritalar in Heſſe Caſſel.
— Frightens the Imperial commiſſaries from Francfort on the Mayne.	

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(September 1631.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Elector of Saxony lies with 16,000 men near Torgau.	Gronsfelt and Boninghausen act in Westphalia and Lower Saxony, against the duke of Lunenberg, archbishop of Bremen, and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel's troops.
2. The English troops arrive at Stetin.	
3. The landgrave of Hesse returns home from the king to carry on the war, taking duke Bernard with him.	
— Clears the abbacy of Hirschfeild.	
	Aldringer and Fugger oppose the landgrave.
12. The elector of Saxony invests Leipsic.	
13. Receives its capitulation, and reduces Misnia.	
Banier sent to oppose Pappenheim in the diocese of Magdeburg.	
—Blockades Mansfelt in that town.	
The landgrave of Hesse wages war fortunately in the diocese of Paderborn, and the abbacy of Fulda, &c.	
15. The landgrave of Hesse takes Fritzlar.	15. Hover with their troops about Erfurt; retire.
	The duke of Lorrain marches to join Tilly.
	Tiefenbach and Goëtz threaten to invade Saxony.
	—Quit Lusatia for private reasons.
26. Bauditzen marches part of the king's royal army by another road through the Thuringian forest.	
27. Horn, with another detachment, frightens the imperial armies from Eysenach.	
— The elector of Saxony, in conjunction with Hamilton's forces, invades Lusatia.	28. Aldringer near Eysenach.
29. Horn takes Gotha.	
30. — Returns to the king.	30. Some Croatians alarm Dresden.

(October 1631.)—Scheme *and* Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TILLY
1. Takes Schweinfurt.	
2. Makes his entrance.	2. Removes from Fritzlar.
3. Diſpatches circular letters to the biſhopric of Bamberg and parts adjacent.	3. Ravages ſome towns in the landgraviate of Heſſe Caſſel.
4. Forces the biſhop of Wurtzburg to make his eſcape.	4. Joined by Aldringer.
— Inveſts Wurtzburg.	
5. Makes himſelf maſter of it.	
5—8. Beſieges Marienberg-caſtle, and takes it by ſtorm.	6. Reviews his army at Fulda.
8—14. Diſpatches his army in parties to make conqueſts in the dioceſes of Wurtzburg and Bamberg.	10. Reaches Aſchaffenberg; confers with the duke of Lorrain.
15. Wertheim taken.	— Sends Aldringer to join the Lorrainers.
The king gives a camiſado to three regiments of Tilly.	16. Detaches 3000 men towards Wertheim, whom the king defeats.
17—20. Viſits the troops at their various ſtations.	17. Joined by the Lorrain army.
	18. Advances towards the Higher Palatinate.
	20. Lies about Darmſtadt.
21. Commanded parties abroad, &c. which ſurpriſe Rotenberg, Ettchofsheim, and Mergentheim.	21. Repulſed near Rotenberg.
	22. Takes Babenhauſen.
	23. Solicits the city of Francfort.
26. Guſtavus publiſhes a ſecond manifeſto.	— Marches into the Bergſtraſs.
— Doubts whether he ſhall march to Nurenberg or Francfort on the Mayne.	
	30. Advances again towards the Higher Palatinate, and continues thereabouts.

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(October 1631.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
The elector of Saxony hears Paradeiſſer's propoſals of accommodation with the emperor, at the interpoſition of Cadretta, the Spaniſh ambaſſador.	Goëtz ravages Lower Luſatia, and Tieffenbach the Upper, and conquer both provinces.
	— They retreat, by orders from Vienna.
Horn ſtays with the king all this month.	4. The Lorrainers paſs the Rhine.
Leſſle and the Engliſh under Hamilton, act in Luſatia and Sileſia.	Gronsfelt and Leſlie oppoſe the landgrave of Heſſe.
	The elector of Bavaria puts himſelf at the head of 20,000 men.
7. Arnheim reduces Lower Luſatia.	
The landgrave of Heſſe takes Munden.—Enters the dioceſe of Paderborn.—Carries the war into Weſtphalia, and marches to join Guſtavus.	
16. Roſtoch ſurrenders to General Todt.	
Banier beſieges Magdeburg; Hamilton and the Engliſh then with him.	
18. Virmond beſieges Halberſtadt in vain; joins Mansfeldt at Magdeburg.	
20. Arnheim reduces Upper Luſatia.	
25. The elector and Arnheim enter Bohemia; take Tetchſin and Starahora, joined by old count Thurn.	Don Baltazar di Marradas commands againſt Arnheim, &c.
	28. The recall of Walſtein agitated at Vienna.
	Mansfeldt commands in the dioceſes of Halberſtadt and Magdeburg.
	The Croatians attack Old Dreſden, but are repulſed.

(November 1631.)—Scheme *and* Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TILLY
1. Hanau taken by camiſado.	
	2. Retires into Franconia, and ſtorms Mergentheim. — Propoſes to rejoin the Lorrainers.
5, 6. The king paſſes backwards and forwards to Oxenfurt. — Ill of a fever. Leaves Horn in Franconia.	5, 6. Forms a deſign of taking Oxenfurt ſword in hand, but without ſucceſs.
7, 8. Advances towards Francfort.	7, 8, 9. Reduces ſeveral towns in his way to Nurenberg.
10—13. Takes Steinheim, Procelden, Miltenberg, &c. in his way.	13. Orders Oſſa to take Rotenberg.
14. Croſſes the Maine at Aſchaffenberg.	14, 15. Makes himſelf maſter of Weinſheim, Guutzenhauſen, Weitſenburg, and Wilſburg-caſtle.
15. Enters Hanau. Obtains Ruſſelheim from the landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt.	
16. Lies at Offenbach. — Makes his public entry into Francfort.	16. Ravages the margraviate of Anſpach. 17. Advances to Schwabach.
19. Takes Hoëchſt.	18. Inveſts Nurenberg.
20. Returns to Francfort. Joined by the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel with 10,000 men.	
22. Retires to Hoëchſt to perform his thankſgivings in private for taking Francfort.	
23. Forms a league with the counts of Veteravia.	23. Raiſes the ſiege. 24, 25. Lies two nights at Rott, where his powder waggons blow up.
25—27. His actions near the Rhingau and Bingen.	26. Puts his army into garriſon and winter-cantonment; one part in Bavaria, and one in the Higher Palatinate.
29. The army returns to Francfort.	28, &c. Goes to Donawert.

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(November 1631.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Arnheim ſummons Prague.	
5, 6. Horn with a ſeparate army in the dioceſe of Wurtzburg, to obſerve Tilly.—Aldringer and the duke of Lorrain continue here the whole month. The landgrave of Heſſe ſent with his own army of 10,000 men to interrupt the ſiege of Nurenberg.	
8. The elector of Saxony makes his entrance into Prague. Count Thurn publiſhes a general protection in Guſtavus's name.	Don Baltazar, Tieffenbach, Galas, and Goëtz act againſt Arnheim and count Thurn.
15. Banier ſent about this time, to take the command in the dioceſe of Magdeburg; with him Hamilton and the Engliſh act.—They inveſt Magdeburg for ſix weeks.	
	Offa joins Tilly, and goes with him towards Bavaria.
	The duke of Bavaria appointed generaliſſimo over the army of the league.
	— The Lorrainers forced to retire acroſs the Rhine.
28. Arnheim and Thurn beat four imperial generals at the battle of Limburg.	

(December 1631.)—Scheme and Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TILLY
1. Marches in order to inveſt Heidelberg.	
2, 3. Takes ſeveral towns in the Bergſtraſs.	2. Meets the elector of Bavaria, having repoſed his army in winter-quarters.
4. Beſieges Oppenheim fort, changing his deſign againſt Heidelberg.	4. Takes Kitzingen.
7. Paſſes the Rhine, and engages the Spaniards.	— Goes to Nordlingen, and there remains inactive.
8. Oppenheim town and fort ſurrender.	— Appoints Cratz field-marſhal in the Upper Palatinate.
9. The winter begins to be extremely ſevere.	
10. The king beſieges Mentz.	
13. Mentz capitulates.	12. The elector of Bavaria ſummons a diet at Ingolſtadt.
14. Guſtavus makes his public entrance, it being, as ſome ſay, his birthday.	— Sends an ambaſſador to the emperor, and another to the king of Sweden.
16. A public thankſgiving.	
18. The king ſurprizes Fridberg.	
22—28. The Spaniards evacuate ſeveral towns in the Palatinate.	
The city of Spires ſides with the king, following the example of Worms.	
Guſtavus hears propoſals from the Bavarian miniſter.	
— Erects a column on paſſing the Rhine.	

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(December 1631.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
3. Arnheim and Thurn take Egra; inveſt Budweis without ſucceſs.	
4. Horn takes Kitzingen,	Aldringer takes the field to relieve Rotenberg, but too late; he retires to Augſburg.
10. and Weinheim; keeping the field all the month, and making advantage of Tilly's retiring into quarters.	
12. Takes Gebſatel.	Pappenheim acts in Lower Saxony.
13. Arnheim and the elector return to Dreſden, which diſpleaſes Guſtavus, who wanted them to keep the field.	13. The Imperialiſts attempt Prague in vain. Walſtein accepts the generalſhip. Galas and Baltazar command in Bohemia.
16. Horn takes Mergentheim; blockades and takes Rotenberg.	Bouinghauſen and Manſfelt act in Mechlenburg, againſt the dukes, Banier, Todt, &c.
— Marches into Suabia.	
20. Beſieges and takes Hailbrun.	
21. The landgrave of Heſſe beſieges and takes Köeningſtein-caſtle; then retires with his army into his own territories.	
— Enters the abbacy of Fulda.	
24. Magdeburg propoſes to capitulate. Banier and Hamilton diſagree about retreating.	The Spaniards forſake many towns in the Palatinate.
26. The rhingrave commands on the Moſelle, and defeats the Spaniards in various rencounters, particularly near Frankendale.	
Horn returns into Franconia.	Pappenheim raiſes the ſiege of Magdeburg.
30. Takes Guntzenhauſen.	
Col. Lohauſen, after a long ſiege, takes Doëmitz in Lower Saxony.	
The dukes of Mechlenburg clear their country.	
The Swedes take Mergentheim, i.e. Mariendal, Friedberg, Köeningſtein, Hailbrun, Germerſheim, Landau, and Bingen.	

(January 1631-2.)—Scheme and Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TILLY
Manheim taken by ſurprize.	
3, 4, 5. Heidelberg and Frankendale blockaded.	3, &c. Goes to Donawert and Amberg, and forms a ſcheme of moleſting the elector of Saxony, by ſending the Imperialiſts 10,000 Bavarian recruits.
Guſtavus negotiates with England, France, Holland, the electors Palatine and of Cologn, and the duke of Neuberg.	
10. An armiſtice concluded for 14 days; the king writes to Horn on the ſubject.	10, 11. Returns to Nordlingen, to prevent Guſtavus entering Bavaria through the duchy of Wirtemberg.
11. Advances in the interim to Gelenhauſen, to give battle to Pappenheim, who had violated the truce.	
The Spaniards diſregard the convention, and paſs the Moſelle.	18. Sends ſome ordnance from Wilſburg-caſtle to Offa.
19 The French embaſſadors annex their ſubſcription to the armiſtice, or treaty of neutrality.	
20. The king returns to Francfort with his queen.	— Detaches more troops into the Upper Palatinate.
22. Sends the rhingrave againſt the Spaniards.	
24. The armiſtice expires.	
The king diſpatches duke Bernard on a ſeparate command; he takes ſeveral towns about Mentz.	
29. Protects the trade of Francfort by an edict.	

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(January 1631 2.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Horn continues near Weinsheim.	Aldringer keeps an eye to the city of Augsburg, and prepares to relieve Rotenberg.
2, 3. Reviews his army.	
	7. Pappenheim evacuates Magdeburg; and the marquis of Hamilton repossesses it.
10. Obeys the truce, and visits Ipshoven and Nurenberg.	
— Joined by duke William of Saxe Weimar.	
Wismar surrenders to Todt and the duke of Mechlenburg.	12. Pappenheim quits Wolfenbuttle.
— A battle between the garrison and the Swedes.	14. The elector of Triers publishes his manifesto with regard to France.
The archbishop of Bremen appears with 8,000 men.	
20. The rhingrave takes Kirchberg by assault, and defeats the Spaniards near Castel: Falls afterwards into an ambuscade.	
21. Horn returns to Sweinfurt.	
	22. Walstein publishes his placard to invite all deserters and discontented old commanders.
	The elector of Bavaria joins Tilly.
25. Prepares to possess Bamberg.	Cratz made field-marshal under Tilly.
29. Takes Hochstadt.	Pappenheim retreats cross the Weser to Hamelen, pursued by the generals Todt, Lunenberg, William of Weimar, Banier, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the archbishop of Bremen.
Duke William of Saxe-Weimar joins Banier and Hamilton in the diocese of Magdeburg.	

(February 1631-2.)—Scheme *and* Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TILLY
1, &c. At Francfort.	
	2. Sends Cratz to ſuccour Forcheim.
4. Quits it to repel the Spaniards, who had violated the truce.	
	8—20. Employs himſelf in fortifying the banks of the Danube.
10. The king of Bohemia and Lord Craven arrive at Francfort.	
11.—The marquis of Hamilton alſo.	
His majeſty goes to Hoëchſt, where the king of Bohemia finds him.	
— That prince regaled ſplendidly by Guſtavus, as likewiſe a vaſt number of foreign miniſters.	
Guſtavus ſends Oxenſtiern ambaſſador to Saxony; he does great ſervice at the diet of Torgau.	
16.—Marches to Mentz in order to beſiege Creützuach.	
18. Inveſts Creützuach.	
	20. Goes into the Upper Palatinate.
22. Takes poſſeſſion.	
23. Returns to Francfort.	23. Prepares himſelf to attack Horn.
24, &c. Reduces the whole biſhopric of Mentz.	24. Advances to Altdorf.
	27. Enters Forcheim.
	28. Advances to Bamberg.

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(February 1631-2.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Horn takes Bamberg—detained by rains and floods.	
Marquis of Hamilton sets out to wait on the king at Francfort.	Pappenheim cuts to pieces 1,500 new raised Swedish dragoons near Corvey.
Banier and duke William of Weimar take Goslar, Northeim, Göttingen, and Erichsberg-caſtle.	
	13. Di Marradas recovers part of Bohemia.
14. The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel retakes Warberg.	
20. Horn prepares to inveſt Forcheim.	
Duke Bernard conquers the whole electorate of Mentz.	
Palatine-Chriſtian of Birkenfelt levies troops for the king.	
Count Hanau takes Drusenheim.	
Ulm accepts a Swediſh garriſon.	
25. Banier and duke William of Weimar receive orders to march to the king on his entering Bavaria.	
— Todt ſupplies their places.	
28. Horn prepares to receive Tilly.	The town of Cologne ſigns a neutrality with Guſtavus.
— Duke William of Weimar ſent to reinforce Horn, but did not arrive.	

(March 1631-2.)—Scheme *and* Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TILLY
— Receives the account of Horn's defeat. — Affembles his army, in order to be revenged on Tilly.	1. Defeats Horn, and enters Bamberg. — Continues about Hasfurt in the bishopric of Bamberg.
4. Sets out from Francfort.	
6. Advances to Aſchaffenberg. 7. To Lohr, thirty miles, halts there. 9. To Warenfelt. 10. To Arnſtein. 11. To Tettelbach.	
12. To Kitzingen; diſpatching Hepburn to Oxenfurt.	12. Calls a council of war at Forcheim. 13. Reviews his troops, and marches into the Upper Palatinate. 15. Advances to Chriſtian-Erlang.
16. Marches to Weinſheim, his three armies being now united, and Dunkelſpiel.	16. To Neümarkt, where he continues ſome days.
20. Encamps at Furt.	20. Retreats towards the Danube.
21. Viſits Nurenberg. — Has ſome rencounters with Tilly's army. — Changes his deſign and march.	
24. Advances to Oetingen and Pleinfelt. — Paſſes young Pappenheim in Wilſburg-caſtle.	
26. Takes Kayſerheim town and cloiſter, and inveſts Donawert.	26. Continues about Ingolſtadt.
27. Takes it by ſtorm.	
28. Alſo a caſtle of the Fuggers.	
29. Sends the Palatine Auguſtus with an army into the duchy of Neuburg; he takes Höchſtadt and Lawingen.	
30. Banier makes an unſucceſsful camiſado on Neuburg.	30. Retires into Bavaria.
31. The king leaves Donawert	

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(March 1631-2.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Horn retires from Bamberg, and makes a fine retreat, croſſing the Maine.	Walſtein declared generaliſſimo, enters Bohemia with 20,000 men, not including Di Marradas's army.
2. Cuts two regiments of his purſuers to pieces in retreating to Mergentheim.	
Oxenſtiern left commander in chief in the electorate of Mentz, and the Palatinate.	
	Pappenheim takes the field and croſſes the Weſer, to the eaſtern ſide.
5. Horn retires to Schweinfurt.	
7. Writes to the king.	
	— Retakes Erichſberg and Eymbeck.
11. Joins him.	
	— Marches through Hildeſheim and Lunenberg.
15. Conducts the van-guard to Weinſheim.—Stays with his maſter.	
— Duke William of Weimar commands in Horn's abſence, in Thuringia, &c.	
— The elector of Saxony enters Bohemia, and boaſts that his troops amount to 37,900 men.	
Todt commands againſt Pappenheim.	
Some recruits land from England. They inveſt Boxtehude, and take it in three weeks.	
Sir Patrick Ruthven made governor of Ulm, and general in Suabia.	
General Todt diſplaced on Salvius's repreſentations. Leſlie ſucceeds him, and being wounded, Bauditzen is ordered to ſet out, and take the command.—Meanwhile Todt ſtill acts.	31. Count Embden with 10,000 Spaniards croſſes the Moſelle. He is ſupported with another army under Gonſalvo di Cordova.

(April 1632.)—Scheme *and* Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	TILLY
1. Advances with his army to Northeim.	1, 2. Lies encamped near Rayn.
2. Joined there by Duke William of Saxe-Weimar's reinforcements.	
3, 4. —Erects his batteries and bridge, in order to croſs the Lech.	3, 4. Spreads his troops along the Lech.
5. The battle of the Lech.	5. Defeated, and carried off the field of battle, mortally wounded.
6. The king advances into Bavaria.	
7. Points his courſe to Augſburg.	6, 7, 8, &c. The Elector of Bavaria takes the command, and flies towards Ingolſtadt.
8. Encamps at Lechauſen.	
9. Summons Augſburg. Treaty ſigned between France and the elector of Triers.	ELECTOR of BAVARIA.
10. Guſtavus receives the capitulation of Augſburg.	
11. Settles the government; reſtores the Lutheran religion.	
14. Makes his public entrance.	
15. Goes to Waho [Aicha] in his way to Ingolſtadt.	
16. Inveſts that town.	
17, 18, 19. Employed in the ſiege, and repulſes a vigorous ſally.	18. Surprizes Ratiſbon.
20. Overturned by a cannon-ball.	20. Tilly dies at Ingolſtadt.
22. Makes a journey to Neuburg.	
24. Gives up the ſiege of Ingolſtadt.	
25. Takes Moſberg.	
29. Goes to Landſhut, which Horn and Hepburn beſieged.	

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(April 1632.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
	Walſtein advances towards the middle of Bohemia; ſuppoſed to command 50,000 men.
	— Croſſes the Elbe near Budin; advances to Schlani. Takes Budin and Prague.
7. Oxenſtiern, duke Bernard, and the rhingrave, oppoſe the Spaniards with 15,000 men.	
Horn detached to purſue Tilly's army; rejoins his maſter at the ſiege of Augſburg.	
13. Luca di Cagro, a Spaniſh general, intends a camiſado, and is defeated by the rhingrave.	
	14. Don Philip de Sylva joins the Spaniards with 3,000 men.
20. The queen of Sweden eſcorted by Oxenſtiern to the city of Mentz.	
21. Col. Horneck ſurrenders Spires to the Spaniards.	
23. Horn ſent from Ingolſtadt to penetrate again into Bavaria.	
25. Returns.	
27. He and Hepburn beſiege Landſhut.	
Todt orders the Engliſh to blockade Stade.	Pappenheim raiſes the blockade at Stade, and ruins Leſlie's and Monro's regiments.

(May 1632.)—Scheme *and* Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	ELECTOR of BAVARIA
4. Turns back to Mosberg.	
5. Takes Freisingen.	
— Recals duke Bernard from the electorate of Mentz, and sends Horn thither.	
6. Advances towards Munich.	
7. Makes his public entrance.	
9. Reviews his army.	
— Leaves Hepburn governor of Munich.	
16. Quarrels with Sir H. Vane.	
20. Advances to Augsburg in order to give Oſſa battle.	20. Cratz makes an irruption into Bavaria.
25. Raiſes the ſiege of Biberach.	
27. Returns to Augsburg.	27. Takes Weiſſenberg.

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(May 1632.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
The rhingrave oppoſes Don Gonſalvo in the electorate of Triers.	Pappenheim attempts to force a paſſage through Todt's army, but miſcarries.
Banditzen takes the command againſt Pappenheim.	— Goes to Wolfenbuttle. Negotiates about ſelling Stade to the king of Denmark.
11. Horn arrives at Francfort, to replace duke Bernard.	— Enters the territories of Heſſe.
	20. Oſſa beſieges Biberach.
	21. Spaniſh generals forced to leave Spires.
	23. Greatly preſſed by Oxenſtiern's army and the French.
	25. Retreat with difficulty.
	26. Walſtein over-reached by Arnheim in a march. Takes Egra.

(June 1632.)—Scheme and Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	ELECTOR of BAVARIA
Leaves Bavaria, and marches to Munich.	— Enters the Upper Palatinate.
— Takes Aichſtadt, Dillingen, and Pappenheim-caſtle.	5, 6. Takes Sultzbach and Amberg.
7. Arrives at Furt.	
8, 9. Reviews his army.	
10. Makes a viſit to Nurenberg.	10. Advances to join Walſtein, and receives from him a reinforcement of 16,000 men.
— Attempts to intercept the duke of Bavaria.	
11. —Reaches Lauff.	
12. —And Hirchſbruch.	
— Retakes Sultzbach.	13, 14. Returns towards the king.
— Seizes the paſs of Hartmanſhoven.	WALSTEIN
— Retires to Nurenberg, on hearing Walſtein and the duke of Bavaria were in full march.	14. Takes Prague, and offers Saxony a peace.
	16. Having taken Leütmeritz, approaches Egra.
19. Regains Nurenberg.	— Enters the Palatinate, in order to join the elector of Bavaria, who had ſurprized Ratiſbon.
— Encamps there.	
	25. Joins the duke of Bavaria.
	26. Both armies advance to Neümarkt. Walſtein leaves the diſtrict rouud Amberg.
	27. Rencounter between his troops and Colonel Dewbatel.
	28. Advances to Freyſtadt.
	30. Arrives at Schwabach; and confronts the king.

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued*—(June 1632.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
Duke Bernard left to purſue Offa defeats Hannibal count Hohen Oems	
Baniet left with 8,000 men at Augſburg.	6. Don Baltazar enters Luſatia.
Duke William of Weimar left with 12,000 men in Suabia.	
10. Arnheim enters Luſatia to oppoſe Don Baltazar—ſaves Bautzen.	
The adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg obſerves Offa with 8,000 men.	
Horn detached towards the Upper Palatinate.	
	14. Ellenbogen in Bohemia ſurrenders to Holk.
17. The rhingrave beſieges Coblentz, and takes it the 21ſt.	
21. Beſieges Trarbach, and takes it.	
[The French army in and near the electorate of Triers.]	
25. The elector of Saxony and Arnheim return to Dreſden to liſten to a negotiation, which Guſtavus hinders.	
Dewbatel, with 10,000 Swedes and Brandenburghers, enters Sileſia.	
Arnheim returns with his army, having made a very fine and artful retreat.	28. Pappenheim offers the Swedes battle.

(July 1632.)—Scheme and Diary of the War, from the King'

GUSTAVUS	WALSTEIN
4. Removes his camp to Furt.	4. Intrenches at Furt.
5—10. Common rencounters.	
11. Oxenſtiern begins his march from the electorate of Mentz, to join his maſter.	Commanded parties abroad. Margraviate of Anſpach ravaged.
20. The king takes a great convoy of Walſtein's.	20. Walſtein ſends Holk with 10,000 men into Miſnia.
27. Gains intelligence of the imperial magazines at Freyſtadt.	
30. Dewbatel gives that town a camiſado, and deſtroys the magazines.	
The king defeats General Spar, and takes him priſoner.	

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(July 1632.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
3. Horn takes Graffenberg, after ſix days ſiege.	
— And Berncaſtel, and Veldents.	
	Pappenheim, preſſed by the duke of Bavaria to make a diverſion in Thuringia or Saxony, which he refuſes; and then marches to raiſe the ſiege of Maſtricht, July 4.
12. Dewbatel ſeizes Great Glogau.	
Banier recovers Munich, and drives Crats out of Bavaria.	
Duke Bernard clears the Lech from archduke Leopold's forces.	
14. Bauditzen razes the fortifications of Duderſtadt, and afterwards takes Einbech.	
— The duke of Lunenberg beſieges Duderſtadt.	
— Takes it the 24th.	
20. Oxenſtiern joins the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel; they advance into Franconia, with in all 10,000 men; wait at Wurtzburg for duke William of Weimar, who had been diſpatched to bring the Engliſh, and ſome Swediſh forces from Lower Saxony, and ſome Saxon regiments; in all about 8,000 men.	
24. Duke Bernard and Banier receive orders, by an expreſs, to join their maſter.	
25. Arnheim clears Luſatia; receives a reinforcement of 10,000 Swedes.	— Serves on the banks of the Weſer, about the end of the month.
Horn returns to Mentz.	— Gronſfelat left to command in his room.
30. The duke of Lunenberg blockades Wolfenbuttle.	

(August 1632.)—Scheme and Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	WALSTEIN
1. His oration to his generals on depredations, contributions, cruelty, &c.	The court of Vienna highly pleased with Walstein's declining a decisive engagement. That general wants to enter into some accommodation with Gustavus.
4, 5. Parties sent abroad.	— Displeased with Felt-marshal Cratz.
8. The king pays his army. — Takes Hertzog-Aurach, to facilitate the junction of his troops.	— Sends parties abroad all the beginning of the month.
17. His four little armies destined to join him, advance to Bruck.	
18. The king meets and reviews them.	
20. Repairs a bridge which Walstein had broken down.	
21. The junction formed: A public thanksgiving: Battle offered to Walstein. His lines attempted.	21. Renders his intrenchments extremely strong.
22. The attack continued.	
24. The desperate engagement about Altenberg-castle.	24. Makes a very obstinate resistance.
25. The king's fine retreat.	
26. Forms a new camp close to Walstein.	26. Sends parties abroad till the end of the month.
29, 30. Commanded parties sent abroad.	

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued.*—(August 1632.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Lunenberg and Bauditzen divide their armies. Bauditzen, in Pappenheim's abſence, breaks into Weſtphalia. Surprizes Warburg and beſieges Paderborn the 12th: Raiſes the ſiege the 21ſt.	
6. Horn routs the Imperialiſts near Straſburg.	
9. Arnheim and the Swedes take Breſlau.	
10, 11. Oxenſtiern's and duke William of Weimar's armies advance to join each other: junction formed the 13th. Horn enters Straſburg.	
11. —Advances into the Lower Palatinate.	
13, 14. Duke Bernard's and Banier's armies unite with Oxenſtiern's and duke William of Weimar's between Kitzingen and Wemſheim, having marched through the biſhopric of Aichſtadt into Franconia.	13. Holk makes an irruption into Vogtland, having taken Zwicka the 12th.
15. Horn raiſes the ſiege of Wiſloch.	
17. Cuts to pieces 1,000 imperial cavalry by means of an ambuſcade. Paſſes Montecuculi acroſs the Rhine. The Combined Swediſh armies reach Hertzog Aurach.	16, 17, &c.—Ravages Miſnia.
18. Lie at Bruck. — Arnheim and Dubalt gain the battle of Limburg.	
21. The combined Swediſh armies all join their maſter. Horn obtains Straſburg-bridge.	21. Gronsfeldt forces Bauditzen to retire. Pappenheim's great effort towards raiſing the ſiege of Maſtricht.
22. — Enters Upper Alſatia. Leaves Dewbatel to beſiege Stolhoven.	23.—Repaſſes the Rhine.
26. Little Jacob joins Bauditzen with 3,000 cavalry.	Montecuculi leaves Alſatia to aſſiſt in Bavaria.
30. Horn enters Suabia to aſſiſt the Wirtembergers, and takes Offenburg and Ortenberg-caſtle.	

(September 1632.)—Scheme *and* Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	WALSTEIN
1, 2, 3. Small rencounters.	1—10. Sends abroad commanded parties.
4. The king explains himself to the Nurenbergers about decamping.	
7. A public annual commemoration for the victory at Leipsic.	
8. The king dislodges.	
9. Lies at Neustadt.	12. Dislodges.
13. Removes to Weinsheim.	
14. Divides his army.	14. Arrives at Forcheim.
15. Returns with half towards Nurenberg, then marches into Bavaria.	
— Recalled to Nurenberg by a letter from Oxenstiern.	
21. Lies at Dunkelspiel.	21. Summons Culmbach.
22. At Nordlingen; thence advances to relieve Rayn.	
	24. Advances to Bamberg.
25. Mitaval surrenders Rayn.	25. Parts with the elector of Bavaria and his army.
27. The king cuts to pieces 400 Croatians near the Lech.	Montecuculi takes Rayn, and attempts in vain to hinder the king from crossing the Lech.
	29. Walstein takes Bareüth.

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—continued.—(September 1632.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
Oxenſtiern ſtays at Nurenberg with General Bauditzen.	
5. Horn returns to Straſburg. — He and Dewbatel command in Alſatia.	
9. Horn beſieges Benfelden.	
	13. Galas beſieges Lauff.
15. Duke Bernard, with 12,000 men, ſent to obſerve Walſtein in Franconia on one ſide, and Pappenheim on the other.	19. Pappenheim appears in the abbacy of Corvey in Weſtphalia.
Duke William ſent to collect ſome Swedes and Engliſh which laid near Hanover.	20. Purſues Bauditzen 20 miles. — Montecuculi oppoſes the Swedes and Engliſh near Hanover.
Hamilton and Hepburn leave the King and ſet out for England.	— Gronsfeldt, Boninghauſen, and Mansfelt act all in Lower Saxony.
	Offa commands againſt Rathven, &c. in Suabia.
22. Bauditzen enters Heſſe.	22. The two young dukes of Tuſcany go to ſerve in Walſtein's army.
Arnheim in Sileſia and Luſatia.	Marradas, Tieffenbach, and Goëtz act againſt Arnheim.
	Tieffenbach ſent into Auſtria to repreſs the inſurrection of the peaſants.
24. The duke of Lunenberg forced by Grounsfelt to raiſe the ſiege of Wolfenbuttle.	24. Galas ravages Vogtland and Miſnia.
Ruthven and the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg command in Suabia.	25. Aldringer detached by Walſtein to aſſiſt the elector of Bavaria.
— And the duke of Mechlenburg in Lower Saxony.	

(October 1632.)—Scheme *and* Diary of the War, from the King's

GUSTAVUS	WALSTEIN
1, 2. Paſſes the Lech.	1. Takes Coburg.
3. Retakes Rayn.	3. Repulſed at Coburg-caſtle.
— And Landſberg.	
5. At Neuberg on the Danube beheads col. Mitzval.	5. Advances into Vogtland.
6, 7. Prepares to beſiege ſome towns in Bavaria, particularly Ingolſtadt.	
8 Marches to Nordlingen.	8, 9. Gains ſeveral towns in Vogtland.
	10. Arrives at Plauen.
12. Orders Kniphauſen to retake Lauff.	11. Forms a camp at Weida.
13, 14. Purſues and defeats col Mumich.	13, 14. Advances towards Leipſic.
15. Returns to Nurenberg, where he is reinforced by 5,000 Switzers.	
17. Advances towards his army.	17. Sends ſome cavalry to make a bravado to it.
	18. Summons it to capitulate.
19. Arrives at Kitzingen, and meets his queen.	19. Takes Weiſſenfels.
21. Joins duke Bernard at Schleüſſing, having marched from Bavaria into Thuringia in 14 days.	20, 21. Beſieges Leipſic.
	22. Takes the town.
23. Reaches Arnſtadt; ſtays there ſome days.	23.—And the caſtle [Pleiſſenberg.]
— Incorporates the Engliſh and Scottiſh amongſt his other regiments.	24, &c. Reduces other towns in Miſnia.
Oxenſtiern returns to Nurenberg.	
28. The queen of Sweden arrives.	28. Forms his junction with Pappenheim.
— The king reviews his troops at Erfurt.	
29. Marches 13 miles beyond Erfurt.	
30. Continues his march.	

entering Germany till the Battle of Lützen—*continued*.—(October 1632.)

SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Duke Bernard advances to raiſe the ſiege of Coburg.	1. Galas takes Chemnitz.
	2. Pappenheim ordered to join Wallſtein; ſends Merodé againſt Bautzen, and leaves Gronsfelt to obſerve the duke of Lunenberg. — Raiſes contributions from Mulhauſen. — Attempts Erfurt in vain; marches on to Wallſtein.
	3. Holk and Galas unite their armies in Milnia.
	4. —Take Freyberg.
Ruthven and the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg act againſt Offa in the circle of Suabia.	12. —And Wurtzen.
28. Horn takes Benfelden, after a ſiege of near 8 weeks.	

(November 1632.)—Scheme and Diary of the War, &c.

GUSTAVUS	WALSTEIN
1. Thurſday, arrives at Naumburg.	1. Sends ſome cavalry to Leipſic, and removes to Weiſſenfels.
2. Diſpleaſed at being deified by the people.	
3. Intrenches himſelf, not propoſing to hazard a battle.	
4. Intercepts Colloredo's letter.	4. Detaches Pappenheim to Halle.
5. Reconnoitres Walſtein's lines.	5. Prepares for the battle.
— Reſolved to fight in Pappenheim's abſence.	
6. Gains the victory at Lützen.	6. Defeated and flies.
— Killed.	
N. B. When his Majeſty died he left ſix armies in the field, beſides his own; namely, Kniphauſen's in Lower Saxony, Dubalt's in Sileſia, the Palatine of Birkenfelt's in Bavaria, Bauditzen's in the electorate of Cologn, Horn's in Alſatia, and Ruthven's in Suabia; not to mention four confederate armies, viz. the Saxons, Heſſians, the troops of Lunenberg, and Bremen.	

APPENDIX

TO THE

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

OF

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

I.

Oratio GUSTAVI ADOLPHI Helſingfordæ in comitiis habita, menſe Januarii, A.D. MDCXV. ætatis ſuæ XXI.*

ILLUSTRES, generoſi domini, nobiliſſimi, clariſſimi, prudentes ac honeſti. Ego quidem in præterito quadriennio, quo per omnipotentis providentiam huic regio imperio præfui, libenter & ſæpe quæſiviſſem occaſionem, quomodo poſſem aliquando de harum provinciarum conditione, & omnium veſtrûm ſtatu certi quid cognoſcere: ut in tempore, quod ad omnium veſtrûm ſalutem facit, ita ordinare ac diſponere poſſim: quò ſub meo imperio queatis (in quantum his incommodis temporibus fieri poteſt) ſervari per legum & legitimarum ſanctionum cuſtodiam; & ut ipſe (prout à Deo mihi commiſſa poteſtas hoc exigit) poſſim querelas veſtras & gravamina comperire, & poſtea illis remedia comparare; ſed quàm libenter hoc effectui dediſſem, & quantum mihi hoc cordi curæque fuerit; tamen ab hoc per multiplices difficultates, quas bellum ſecum traxit, ſemper præpeditus fui ad hoc uſque tempus & oblatam occaſionem. Hanc autem prætermittere nolui quo minus. Vos omnes ad me & hæc comitia vocarem: ut vobiſcum non ſolùm harum provinciarum negotia perpenderem, ſed etiam vobiſcum agerem de rebus quibuſdam, quæ pertinent ad commune regni & chariſſimæ patriæ noſtræ bonum & ſalutem. Itaque gratias vobis benevolas ago, quod tam promtè, quàm bonos & fideles ſubditos decet, hîc conveneritis. In memoriam vobis ſatis revocatis, quomodo Sigiſmundus rex Poloniæ eo tempore, quo ſecundum jus ſuum hæreditarium ad regiam dignitatem aſcenderat, hîc in dilectâ noſtrâ patriâ ſtatim ab initio, & poſtea continuè quoties occaſio hoc ipſi dictare videbatur, eò anniſus eſt, ut nos deducet à puræ & verâ apoſtolicâ doc-

* It was pronounced originally in Swediſh, and tranſlated verbatim by Loccenius. Hiſt. Succ. 4to, 526.

trinâ;

trinâ; & occœcaret nos pontificiis erroribus ac tenebris, quò omnia ejus consilia & molitiones, tam accommodationis quadam specie, quàm insidiis & vi directæ erant. Hæ ut impedirentur, rex Carolus, dilectissimus & honoratissimus meus dominus pater laudatissimæ memoriæ, unà cum pluribus aliis rectè sentientibus christianis, Suecis, & patriæ verè amantibus viris, summopere studuit. Super istæc extranea cepit arma Sigismundus, eaque in regnum, patriam suam introduxit, & regni incolas ad civile bellum adversus seipsos concitavit & irritavit, & persecutus est beatæ memoriæ dominum parentem meum & illos, donec ipse & illi, necessitate coacti, defensionis arma contra Sigismundum capesserent, quibus ejus & asseclarum illius machinationes anno 1598, ad Lincopiam, divinæ gratiæ providentiâ, frangebantur & irritæ reddebantur, ejusque & asseclarum contra Deum & patriam perjurium puniebatur & vindicabatur. Inde quoque contra recens pactum ibi præstitum, patriam suam deseruit, omnem offensam & turbationem post se relinquens; per quæ non modò multi honesti viri, sed etiam totius regni status periclitari imò prorsus interire potuissent. Quamvis autem beatæ memoriæ dominus parens meus & regni ordines satis cautæ habuissent regium imperium statim ab eo ad alium transferendi; tamen prius in diversis comitiis & conventibus ipsi & ipsius filio hoc obtulerunt. Sed ab ipso deinceps nihil aliud agitatum & susceptum est, quàm damnosum bellum adversus hoc regnum, per quod postea universi regni ordines permoti sunt ad abjudicandum & renunciandum ei jus suum hæreditarium ad hoc nostræ patriæ regimen & imperium; & de cætero mutarunt veterem unionem hæreditariam, atque in beatæ memoriæ dominum parentem meum transtulerunt; prout Norcopiensis & plures recessus, unà cum renunciationibus in publicum editis, ulterius continent ac ostendunt quas ut annihilaret Sigismundus rex, postmodò vi & astutiâ operam dedit. Ut autem eò melius reliquum suum propositum hoc modo persequi & promovere posset, exinde non solùm bello, sed etiam vanorum scriptorum copiâ hunc præsentem regni statum perturbatum ivit, velut quoque præterito tempore bello in Livoniâ, & diversis diplomatibus ac mandatis huc in regnum missis & disseminatis satis testatum fecit, in quibus non modò dominum patentem beatæ memoriæ & me, sed etiam omnes regni ordines famosis & falsò effictis scriptis, nostras & illorum actiones & facta laude digna conatur Sueciæ subditis totique mundo odiosa reddere. Ego me diversis temporibus ad amicam reconciliationem scripto obtuli: ut diuturnum illud & cruentum bellum aliquando deponeretur, atque provinciæ & regna salutarem pacem degustarent, & mala bellum concomitantia

mitantia tandem ceſſarent. Sed ille nihil aliud quàm probroſa verba reſcripſit, magis ad perturbationem, quàm conciliationem facientia. Ulterius contra inducias inter Sueciæ & Poloniæ delegatos præteritâ æſtate factas, mandata & libellos famoſos huc in Sueciam miſit, eo fine, ut per eos, vos à pacis obligatione (qua vos in ante dicto induciarum pacto parenti meo & mihi devinxiſtis) abduceret, & ſic diſcordiam, diſſidium, atque, ſi fieri poſſet, inteſtinum bellum excitaret, à quibus periculoſis ejus conſiliis vos benevolè dehortor. Dat vobis dulcia & fallacia verba, dolet veſtras vices & ſtatum, quærit tamen ſub eo fuco vos in graves conditiones conjicere. Vociferatur de eo in ſuis diplomatibus, quod in bello cum vicinis veſtris & circumjacentibus regnis verſemini; ſed non addit, quod libenter vos à veſtro juramento ſeducere, atque ad inteſtinum bellum irritare velit. Artificiosè quoque diſſimulare & reticere poteſt, quis in cauſa fuerit, ut eum vicinis noſtris Ruſſis incideremus in hoc bellum. In ſumma hoc agit, ut quovis modo ſubditorum meorum animos à me abducere poſſit & alienare, atque ſic plus motuum creare. Quapropter vos gratioſè monitos volo, ut vobis ab hujuſmodi ſcriptis caveatis, & veſtros vicinos, conterraneos & parœcianos adhortemini, ne quis veſtrûm per ea circumveniatur. Ut verò eò melius & reipſa intelligatis Sigiſmundi artes, quibus ſemper uſus eſt, provincias & regna populatus eſt, multas turbas, bellum & ſanguinis effuſionem procuravit, conſtitui ſummatim coram vobis repetere, quomodo non ſolùm in animo habuerit per bellum in Ruſſiâ geſtum ſubigere noſtram patriam, ſed etiam quomodo præcipuâ in cauſâ (poſt delictorum pœnam) fuerit, ut implicaremur huic Ruſſico bello, & quâ ficta ſpecie deceperit Ruſſos; ut inde poſtea colligere poſſitis, quid intendat cum ſuis diplomatibus. Hoc ſatis notum eſt, quum rex Poloniæ, bello in Poloniam traducto, contra Sueciæ regnum nihil efficere poſſet, & ille cum ſuis & pontificii legati conſiliis & auxiliis, modum & viam parentem meum beatæ memoriæ & Sueciæ regnum occupandi ferme impoſſibilem deprehenderet, aliud excogitat medium, atque ſic conatur uno malleo duos ictus facere, ut dici ſolet. Polonis enim dabatur occaſio, ficto dolo Ruſſos ad inteſtinam perducendi diſcordiam; in qua ſibi non difficile fore arbitrabantur, ſive unum provehendi ad imperium, qui cum illis facturus eſſet, ſive totam Ruſſiam ſibi ſubjiciendi. Erat in Ruſſia anno 1605, Boritz Fœdorouvitz Gudenou, qui ex vili genere & ortu erat, & czaris Frederici affinis, ſuo tempore ſtabuli magiſtri officium gerens, quum verò factus eſſet czaris affinis, præponebat eum (quia ipſe parum cordatus erat) toti Ruſſiæ, quæ re ipſi anſa dabatur plebem in ſuam fidem & obſequium

obſequium adducendi, & quia videbat, czarem improlem eſſe, cogitabat de viâ magnum ducatum ſub ſe redigendi. Sed ipſi obſtaculo erat Johannis Baſilii, quondam czaris minimus natu filius, Frederici Ivanovitz frater, nomine Demetrius: eoque hunc clam occidi facit. Quum verò czar Fredericus Ivanovitz obiiſſet abſque hæredibus, plebs deſiderabat dictum Boritz, qui, pro vulgi arbitratu, non malè præfuerat imperio, defuncto czari ſuccedere. Alioqui ſibi in ſuâ adminiſtratoris dignitate quandam auctoritatem & exiſtimationem conciliarat; ita ut magnates, qui poſſent ratione conſanguinitatis eſſe proximi imperio, non auderent populo contradicere; ſed ipſi cogerentur, licet inviti, dictum Boritz eligere in czarem. Sed ille per decennium, quo Ruſſiam regebat, primatum invidiam & odium magis & magis in ſe derivabat. Quum ergo rex Poloniæ comperiſſet, iſtum in omnium Ruſſorum odio tandem eſſe, effingendum ſibi aliquid & tentandum eſſe cogitabat, quo ſeditio & inteſtinum diſſidium inter Ruſſiæ incolas cieri poſſet; nihil moratus, quod ante quinquennium pacem & amicitiam ad XX annos cum eodem Boritz feciſſet. Sed reperiebat fugitivum monachum gente Ruſſum, qui ex vili Otrapiorum genere ortus, nomine Griſka erat. Hunc monachum Sigiſmundus putabat eſſe idoneum, per quem conſilium ſuum effectui mandaret; quia aſtutus homo & magus erat. Idcircò evulgabatru morem, iſtum monachum eſſe Demetrium, Johannis Baſilii minimum natu filium, ſparſis in Ruſſia (ſecundum morem ejus hîc in regno præterita ætate uſitatum) non paucis diplomatibus & literis ſub iſtius Demetrii nomine, prætendens, verum Demetrium non fuiſſe interfectum, ſed illos, qui in mandatis habebant, eum occidere, ſubduxiſſe eum & abdidiſſe in monaſterium, ubi in hunc diem educatus eſſet, & poſtea, quum ad maturam ætatem perveniſſet, ſe contuliſſe in Lithuaniam, ut Boritzii tyrannidem effugeret, ideo monebat eos, ut à Boritzio deſciſcerent ad illum, qui verus eorum dominus eſſet. Rex etiam monebat Woiwodam de Sandomiria, ut quaſi per ſeipſum, ei aliquot millium auxilium præſtaret, quod etiam fecit. Ita monachus iſte, ſubmentito Demetrii nomine, cum illo exercitu pergebat, & obſidebat aliquot Ruſſicas urbes; quæ ſe conteſtim à rege Poloniæ & commento ejus decipi patiebantur. Ruſſi, qui ſatis ſciebant dolum ſubeſſe initio quidem ei aliquantum reſiſtebant, ſic ut rex cogeretur monacho ſuo plus auxiliarium copiarum mittere. Tandem tamen tædio Boritziani imperii afficiebantur, ita ut majorum ac minorum gentium ſubditi ab eo deficerent, & in partes Demetrii paſſim tranſirent. Itaque poſtquam rex Demetrii ſui ſucceſſum cognovit, fœdus cum

eo inivit, & promisit ei imperium Muscoviticum, & nuptias Sandomirii principis filiæ. Ipsum contra obligatum iri ad introducendam pontificiam religionem in Russiam, & ad juvandum regem Poloniæ in occupatione regni Sueciæ, cum aliis hujusmodi. Proinde rex ei ingentem exercitum auxilio misit; quo nonnullos cogebat, nonnullos ex imprudentia putantes ipsum genuinum czaris filium esse, impellebat ad suas partes sequendum, quidam, ex invidia & odio Boritzii imperii, ei ultrò accedebant; donec Boritzius ex desperatione sibi ipsi mortem conscisscebat. Boritzii filius ad aliquot hebdomadas post patrem suum administrabat imperium; sed ille quoque cum matre suâ veneno sublatus est. Itaque regis Sigismundi monachus ad Russicum imperium coronatur in urbe Muscovicâ. Hîc ex Boritzii casu sibi quivis cautelæ exemplum capiat, ac videat, quomodo DEUS plectat illos, qui per latrocinium & malas artes extollunt se in domini sui sedem ac thronum; etiamsi DEUS hoc ad tempus ferat; sera tamen & gravis pœna cum vindicta tandem supervenit. Hîc etiam vobis considerare & cernere integrum est, quid Sigismundus rex libellis aut scriptis suis emissitiis effecerit, & quomodo dictum Boritzium imperio & vitâ dejecerit, & monachum exaltarit, Russos perturbarit: unde postea omnes hi motus exorti sunt. Potestis insuper ex his judicare & colligere, quàm periculosum propositum hujusmodi scriptis, quæ indies huc mittit, adversus patriam nostram conceperit, à quo DEUS nos clementer custodiat. Quilibet sapiens vir etiam bene perpendere potest, in quanto discrimine Sueciæ regnum chara nostra patria versata sit, quando iste regis Poloniæ monachus imperium Russiæ tenebat: erant enim illi fœdere conjuncti; erant unius pontificiæ religionis; erant duorum potentium regnorum, nobis vicinorum, compotes, ita ut, nisi DEUS illorum consilia prævenisset & fregisset, impossibile coram humanis oculis fuisset, se contra illos defendere. Sed ut illud sacrum dictum habet: Decerne consilium, & fiat irritum; armate vos, & tamen fugam capite: quia DEUS nobiscum est; pro quo ipsi gloria sit. Quum enim iste Demetrius dicto modo à rege Poloniæ extolleretur ad imperium Russiæ, statim cogitabat de servando pacto suo, omnis generis præparationem ad bellum faciebat, quo secum animo constituerat adoriri Sueciæ regnum. Sed quum ei, secundum ante dicti fœderis tenorem, etiam illud pactum, servaretur, ut principis Sandomirii filia ei nuptui daretur, & videretur firmum fœdus inter Russiam & Poloniam coaliturum, atque in nos redundaturum, Deus aliam ingrediebatur viam. In ipsis enim nuptiarum diebus excitabat DEUS Russicum dominum, nomine Basilium Ivanovitz Suski, qui satis sciebat, hoc merè

fictum

fictum opus cum isto Demetrio esse. Ille fastidivit Polonicum istud imperium; proinde commovit populum, & ipsos quoque magnates, ut eorum favor in ipsum inclinaret, atque sic, occiso pseudo Demetrio cum suis Polonis, ab ipso pendentibus, hunc Basilium Ivanovitz eligunt sibi czarem. Hîc dictum fœdus jam cum suo Demetrio exspiraverat, hîc omnia cassa erant, pro quibus tamdiu laborarant, hîc etiam amicitia inter Polonos & Russos in merum odium, vindictæ cupiditatem, & apertum bellum conversa ac mutata erat. Sigismundi regis animo non parum ægrè erat, quod ejus consilium in Russia non felicius cessisset; putabat tamen, hîc nondum quiescendum esse; idcircò cum ingenti exercitu à se armato ipse proficiscebatur in Russiam. Ut autem Russis, tunc vacillare incipientibus ulterius imponeret, iterum spargebat rumorem de Demetrio, quasi non occiso, sed elapso, & apud se in castris præsente. Sic Russi, pro barbaricâ suâ levitate, majore sui parte iterum deficiebant à czare suo & revertebantur ad partes Poloni, qua defectione Polonorum castra ita roborabantur, ut czarem & paucos illos, qui adhuc in fide ejus erant, in urbe Muscovia obsidione cingerent, & in tantas angustias redigerent, ut auxilium à patre meo p.m. petere cogerentur; quia verò dominus parens meus haud ignorabat, quanti periculi res futura esset, si rex Poloniæ Russiâ potiri deberet, regia ejus majestas suæ & patriæ securitatis causa, desiderio ejus deesse non poterat. Itaque eò mittebat exercitum suum, & czarem liberabat obsidione; & totam Russiam liberasset, si quorundam extraneorum proditio non interveniisset, prout multis vestrum notum esse potest, qui ipsi adfuerunt. Hæc peregrinorum defectio tantum effecit, ut rex Sigismundus Russiam occuparet, & filium suum, czarem fieri curaret, & Basilium monachum faceret. Per hanc occasionem regis Poloniæ molitiones, quas parens meus beatæ memoriæ, patriæ securitatis causa, non poterat non impedire, primùm incidimus in hæc Russica negotia, quæ postea anno 1613, per Russorum dolum malum eruperunt in hoc bellum. Non potest illud absque admiratione tam extraneorum, quàm incolarum abire, quomodo factum sit, ut nos tam subitò cum Russis, quibus nuper auxilium ferebamus, quique nostri amici erant, adeò cruentum bellum nacti simus. Ut ejus rei causam sciatis, & reipsâ videatis, eam ex merâ Russorum inconstantiâ & perfidiâ profectam esse, paucis coram vobis referam. Postquam beatæ memoriæ dominus parens meus, ut prius dictum est, ita propter regis Sigismundi molitiones permotus erat, ut succurreret Russis, pro qua re ipsi promissa erat Kexholmia ejusque ditio in remunerationem expensarum; quamtumvis autem czarem Russiæ liberasset ab obsidione ferme triennali

triennali Muſcoviæ urbis: non tamen poterat caſtelli Kexholmenſis compos fieri, niſi illud obſidere, & vi cogere deberet. Atque quum Kexholmia jam occupata eſſet, regia ejus majeſtas ſatis rationis habuiſſet ad diſpiciendum, quomodo de circumjacente terra ſibi ſtatim in rem ſuam conſulere potuiſſet; quia Ruſſi paulò ante Uladiſlaum regis Poloniæ filium, parentis mei inimicum, ſibi elegerant in czarem. Nihilominus tamen regia majeſtas in mandatis dederat ſuo mareſchallo, ut ſolummodò invigilaret horum finium defenſioni. Sed quum Ruſſos pœniteret, quod Polonis ſubjecti eſſent, qui crudeliter & violenter illis imperarent, recolligebant ſe ſuaſque copias, tam validas, ut urbem Muſcoviam & Polonos in eâ obſiderent. Quum tamen vererentur, ſe impares fore obſidioni perſequendæ, ex caſtris ad Muſcoviam ſcribunt Novogardiam, & cives iſtic jubent petere Campidominum ſibi auxilio. Qui quum ex ipſorum deſiderio adveniſſet, Ruſſorum conditio quotidie melior fiebat, partim ob Polonicorum militum ſeditionem, partim ob alias diſſenſiones inter Polonos natas, ita uti Ruſſi ſibi perſuaderent, ſe per ſeipſos hoc bene effecturos. Sed Novogardenſes hac occaſione circumventum ibant Campidominum, & blandis verbis eum tam diu detinebant, ut omnis ejus exercitus ad extremam famem redactus eſſet, ea re deinceps adductus eſt ad occupandam urbem Nougardenſem. Hoc facto, Ordines Novogardenſes, qui in arce erant, inibant contractum cum Campidomino, nimirum quod vellent unum ex domini parentis mei filiis ſibi dominum & czarem eligere, quod etiam poſtea à proceribus in Muſcovia approbatum eſt, ſecundum hujus contractus vigorem poſtmodò omnes reliquæ domus occupabantur. Poſteaquam Ruſſi Polonos, qui in urbe Moſchâ erant, tamdiu fame torſerant, ut cogerentur arcem et urbem dedere; iſti *(Ruſſi)* adeò animis inflati ſunt, ut non ſolum oblivíſcerentur promiſſi de Carolo Philippo principe fratre meo in czarem creando; ſed etiam omnium gentium juris. Non enim modò alium ſibi czarem eligebant; ſed quoque noſtros milites, qui Tiphini & Augdoræ erant, ex improviſo obruebant (ſecundum Nougardenſium proprium deſiderium, in illorum ſecuritatem qui in præſidiis locati erant) eoſque miſere trucidabant, quod adhuc tolerari potuiſſet, ſi amicæ tranſactioni ſe accommodare voluiſſent. Ad eos diverſæ literæ monitoriæ ſcribebantur, ut nobiſcum amicè agere vellent. Sed illi eas literas quaſi metu ſcriptas interpretabantur: ingentem enim exercitum ad Brunitz collocatum habebant. Ut autem illis oſtenderem, ſe ſibi ipſis imponere, per mea agmina ad Nougardam ſtantia excurſionem ad eorum caſtra Brunitzenſia fieri jubebam, obſidebam quo-

que Augdoam; & Deo favente ad Brunitziam ſedentes cædebantur, & Augdoa capiebatur. Ut autem mundus intelligeret, quantum mihi diſpliceret ſanguinis effuſio & cruentum bellum, deinde ex urbe Narvâ per Campidominum Aulæ & Campi Mareſcallum, ſenatum Ruſſicum ulterius admoneri faciebam, ut ad amicam compoſitionem animum applicare velint inſtruebam quoque Campi Mareſcallum Jeſperum Andreæ & Magnum Martini poteſtate cum illis volentibus tranſigendi, ſed illi probroſa & inania dicta regerebant. Interea tantum valui apud Magnæ Britanniæ Reges & Ordines Belgicæ, ut ſuos legatos ad hujus negotii compoſitionem mitterent. Illi quoque jam ad ipſius compoſitionis actum convenerunt, quomodo verò Deus illorum animos ad juſtitiam & pacem flectere poſſit, tempus docebit. Hunc in modum res proceſſit, & nos ad Ruſſicum bellum devenimus, quod mihi, per hoc triennium, impoſſibile fuit amovere ob hoſtis pertinaciam; quantæcunque etiam mihi curæ fuit. Spero tamen, Deum per media, quæ nunc dedit, omnia in bonum verſurum. Quum ergo ita ſit, quod rex Poloniæ omni conatu, diplomatibus & mendacibus ſcriptis, bello per Livoniam & Ruſſiam, ſuſcitato, hoc agit, uti dictum eſt, ut dilectam noſtram patriam in perniciem præcipitet, & pontificis ac Polonorum ſervitutis jugo ſubjiciat; ideo cauto opus eſt, ne ab illis vos ſeduci patiamini, velut Ruſſi fecerunt, ſed eorum exemplum vos circumſpectos faciat, conſiderantes, quot diverſa mala imperiorum mutationes ſecum trahant; præſertim quando fit per inteſtinam diſcordiam. Proinde revocate vobis ſemper in memoriam varias obligationes, quibus dn. parenti meo beatæ memoriæ & mihi diverſis temporibus vos obſtrinxiſtis, additis ſcriptis & corporalibus gravibus juramentis. Ne quoque oblivioni tradatis immenſa pericula ac moleſtias, quas pater meus b. m. & ego multis modis, veſtræ ſalutis cauſa, paſſi ſumus & ſuſtinuimus. Intuemini porrò cauſas & ipſum fundamenum belli Ruſſici, quod non regiæ majeſtatis b. m. vel meâ culpâ ceptum & tamdiu continuatum eſt; ſed quod ducit originem ſuam veram ex ipſorum Ruſſorum perfidia & pervicacia. Vos itaque boni viri velitis perſeverare in illa fidelitate, quam hactenus in vobis comperi, ſic ego de cætero quoque, ut hactenus, veſtræ ſaluti ſummopere ſtudebo operamque dabo, ut vos reducam ad pacem, quietem & meliorem ſtatum; ad quod Deus omnipotens gratiam ſuam largiatur.

II.

Copy of Mr. LILLY (the Aſtrologer's) Letter to the King of SWEDEN, upon his receiving an honorary Reward of a gold Medal.

[In the Aſhmolean Muſæum, MSS. N° 8365.]

[This letter was written about 1612, when Guſtavus was 18 years of age.]

Sir,

THAT munificent honorarium, ſent from your royal hand by our valiant countryman captain Owen Cox; he (accompanied with the right honourable Sir George Aſkew) delivered unto me the 5th of October laſt, (ſtylo vet.) which, with all humble thankfulneſs, I did receive.

But finding my weak labours have met with ſo great eſteem in your princely thoughts, even to invite a king, from the treaſure of his own virtue, and in the midſt of thoſe buſy engagements your majeſty has now on foot before Copenhagen, to caſt your no leſs gracious aſpect than high teſtimony of favour upon me, is a conſideration that would ſurpriſe me with the greateſt admiration, did not I perfectly ſee the meaſure of princes benefit holds more proportion with the largeneſs of their heart than merit of thoſe on whom beſtowed.

What brought me to honour your heroick name, and thence led on the engagement of my pen, in behalf of yourſelf and nation, was the large relations my only Engliſh Mecenas (the right honourable the lord Whitlock at his return from Sweden) gave me of thoſe princely endowments, your heroick virtues and generous inclinations: and now give me leave with humble reſolves to engage, that foraſmuch as your majeſty's favour, like a beam caſt from that king of planets, has out of your innate goodneſs, conveyed influence upon ſo obſcure and remote a perſon, your majeſty ſhall aſſuredly draw to yourſelf greater obligations than hitherto I could manifeſt; together with the reſolution of ſailing after your own ſhip, and under the fortune of your own trophy, through the moſt perilous ſeas and trial of all your concernment.

And while my being is continued on earth will I retain this ſignal of your kindneſs as my chiefeſt treaſure; intending moreover its future preſervation in ſome eminent and public place, and with ſuch an inſcription as ſhall ennoble your princely bounty, and record my humble gratitude to all poſterity.

That GOD, whose great name the reverse of your medal wears, dispose of all your designs; and may the guardian angel of Sweden happily carry on your sword with compleat and continual victory, and plant your trophies throughout the dominions of all your enemies; these are and shall be a part of the earnest and hearty votes of

Your Majesty's most humble
and most obliged servant,

A true copy, Jan. 8. 1759. W. LILLY.
Wm. Huddesford.

III.

LE CAPITOLATIONI della compagnia dell' Indie Orientali e Occidentali, instituta dal rè GUSTAVO ADOLFO di Suetia per beneficio de suoi sudditi, fino dell' anno 1626*, che poi fù da lui pochi giorni innanzi la sua morte estesa anco alli sudditi de suoi confederati, e di tutta Alamagna, con amplissimi privilegi, e sono li seguenti †.

I. CHE fra dodici anni à venire nissuno soggetto al regno di Suetia trapassando lo stretto di Gibilterra con altro titolo, che della general compagnia negotiasse nell' Africa, nell' Asia, nell' America, nella Magallanica, ò ne' paesi Australi sotto pena della perdita delle navi, e di tutte le mercantie; & i padroni delle navi, i quali in simili paesi havessero traficato, fossero tenuti render conto de' loro negotii, e come trasgressori de gli ordini, e decreti regii, fossero puniti.

II. Che questa compagnia s'intendesse cominciata al prima di Maggio 1627, e durasse fino à dodici anni venturi; nel qual tempo à nissuno de' compagni fosse lecito ripigliare il danaro sborsato; nè introdurre à parte del negotio altre persone; se poi decorsi i dodici anni parerà alla compagnia prolongare il tempo del privilegio, egli concede questa proroga in quel modo, che più piacerà.

III. Che ciascun anno si saldassero i conti, a i quali potessero esser presenti tutti quelli, che di sua parte havessero posti nella compagnia mille scudi. Ogni sei anni si facesse un computo finale di tutti i conti; imperoche se'l guadagno, e l'utile (il che non voglia Dio) non corrisponda al danaro postovi, in guisa, che à gl'interessati non paia doversi continuar la compagnia, all'hora fosse disciolta.

* Loccenius says in 1627.

† Continuatione del Commentario delle Guerre succesſe in Alemagna, &c. Descritto dal Sign. Conte Bisaccioni. In Venet. 4to. 1634.

IV. Che

IV. Che ſi notificaſſe à tutti con publici editti, che ciaſcuno entrar poteſſe in queſta compagnia, dandoſi di tempo à gli habitatori del regno di Suetia ſino alle calende di Marzo, & a' foreſtieri ſino al primo di Maggio; di modo, che chi vorrà mettere il danaro nella compagnia debba pagarlo in quattro volte; cioè una parte nel termine preſcritto, e le altre tre parti in tre anni venturi.

V. Scorſo il tempo preſcritto ſi elegano i ſopraſtanti, i quali ſolo ſiano tanti di numero, quante centinara di migliara di ſcudi foſſero contati; ſe però tal'uno quale haveſſe contribuito cento mila ſcudi non voleſſe due ſopraſtanti, i quali però haver doveſſero il ſalario, come ſe foſſero un ſolo.

VI. I ſopraſtanti debbano eſſere eletti con i voti communi de' participanti, e chi non haveſſe contribuito mille ſcudi, non habbi voto nell' elettione; e niſſuno ſia eletto per ſopraſtante, il quale non habbia contribuito due mila ſcudi.

VII. I ſopraſtanti primieramente eletti durino nel loro officio per ſei anni; e paſſato queſto termine delle tre parti di loro, due foſſero di nuovo elette; e per la terza parte foſſero ſoſtituiti i principali de' participanti, il che coſì ſi oſſervaſſe ogni due anni, doppo i ſei anni decorſi, ſinche terminaſſe il tempo prefiſſo nel privilegio.

VIII. Che tutti, e qualunque ſi foſſe tanto del paeſe, come ſtranieri, che contribuito haveſſe nella compagnia 100 mila ſcudi, conſtituiſſero ſe gli pareva un ſopraſtante, & a queſto fine foſſero apparecchiate tutte le nationi con le ſcritture del contratto, acciò per mezo di quelle poſſano traſmettere il denaro nelle mani di coloro, ch' eſſi ſtimano fedeli, e buoni; E che claſcuno nella ſua partita ſcriveſſe à qual natione aggregar ſi voleſſe. Li foraſtieri, che riſolvendoſi habitare nel regno di Suetia contribuiranno 25 mila ſcudi nella compagnia, godano l'iſteſſe ragioni, che i terrazzani, e ſiano liberi daogni tributo, purche non eſercitino nelle città negotti civili, e ſia loro conceſſo per ogni volta, che gli piacerà, libero paſſo per partire.

IX. Li ſopraſtanti ſiano di autorità, e di potenza eguali, ſenza riguardo de gli officii, ò delle dignità, che per altro haver poteſſero. E datoli il giuramento promettano, di ſempre eſeguir fedelmente l'officio loro; ogni coſa accommodare; procurare il commodo della compagnia; evitare il danno, favorire giuſtamente, & egualmente tutti ſenza riguardo d'amicitia, di nobiltà, ò di dignità di chi ſi ſia; non perdonare ad alcuno, nè condeſcendere al piacer di altri; ma doppo l'haver à tempi debiti reſo i conti, & oſſervati i capitoli del preſente trattato, ſodisfare per quanto potranno

à rutti. Che non diſtribuiſcano nè mercantie, nè navi proprie, nè ricompraſſero da ſe, nè per mezo d'altri, ò direttamente, ò indirettamente dalla compagnia mercantia alcuna.

X. Che a' ſopraſtanti ſi aſſegnaſſero di ſalario mille ſcudi l'anno.

XI. Se li ſopraſtanti foſſero aſtretti a prò della compagnia far viaggio, per la loro ſpeſa, e fatica, oltre la paga delle vetture, haveſſero ſei marche Suezzeſi al giorno, che ſono di noſtra valuta lire undici, e ſoldi cinque.

XII. Che alli ſecretarii, cancellieri, & altri miniſtri ſi pagaſſero i ſtipendii dalla cancellaria della compagnia. Et i ſopraſtanti di ciascheduna camera rendeſſero i conti particolari de loro ſecretarii, e miniſtri.

XIII. Ma ſe per ſorte alcuno de ſopraſtanti ſi riduceſſe a ſtato tale in qual ſi ſia camera, che più non poteſſe aſſiſtere, & eſſer utile alla compagnia, ſi che perciò ne riſultaſſe danno alcuno; il danno toccaſſe alla camera, in cui egli ſi ritrova, overo a quelli, che lo deputarono ſopraſtante; e che ſi computaſſe il danno, ſempre col danaro contribuito da lui, alla compagnia, quale per ciò reſti ſempre obligato ad eſſa; il che anche s'intendeſſe de' compagni, e di quelli, ch'entraſſero a parte, i quali col ricomprare molte merci haveſſero fatto qualche debito con la compagnia.

XIV. Che non ſi ſoſteneſſero, nè portaſſero in areſto i ſopraſtanti, nè i loro beni ſotto pretesto di render conti, nè de pagar debiti; ma tutte le pretenſioni, che vertiſſero contro di loro ſi riduceſſero al giudice ordinario.

XV. Che i danari, che ſi metteranno nella compagnia ſiano eſenti da ogni confiſcatione, nè in conto alcuno ſi poſſano applicar ad altri; anzi, che ſe avveniſſe, (il che Dio non permetta) che il rè di Suetia haveſſe riſſa, ò guerra con altri regi, prencipi, ò republiche; li ſudditi de' prencipi nemici, che haveſſero contribuita qualche ſomma di danari nella compagnia ſiano capaci di poter ripigliar la loro ſorte principale, e tutti gli frutti, emolumenti, e commodi, come gli ſteſſi ſudditi, e confederati col rè di Suetia, e non altrimente, che ſe co' prencipi loro non foſſe guerra ò diſcordia alcuna.

XVI. Che le città commode alla navigatione, e che eſercitano la mercantia ſe contribuirāno trecento mila ſcudi, conſtituiſcano camera, e le coſe neceſſarie per la rata di queſta ſomma.

XVII. Che foſſe libero anche alle città, e provincie di ridurre il denaro contribuito a queſto effetto in una ſomma, e determinar la camera, e le coſe neceſſarie; dichiarando però,

però, che le ſpeſe ſtraordinarie ridondino nelle città, che ne riportano il commodo, e non nella compagnia.

XVIII. Che la flotta delle navi ſi radunaſſe à Gottemburgh, e di conſerva da quel porto ſi partiſſero, e compito il viaggio di nuovo colà ſi riduceſſero: & ivi ſcaricaſſero le mercantie, e poi di novo rimandaſſero le navi, dove erano partite cariche, purche i venti, & il tempo lo permettano, e che non ſi temeſſe di qualche coſa ſiniſtra a danno della compagnia.

XIX. Se qualche camera reſtaſſe ſfornita di qualche ſorte di mercantia, le altre, quando ne ſiano richieſte, la provedino, e procurino, che ſimili mercantie peregrine, e foreſtiere, ſi ritrovino in tutti li luoghi.

XX. Che doppo l'elettione de' ſopraſtanti, e la deputatione della camera, in ciaſcheduna di eſſe ſi deputino eſpreſſi direttori, li quali ogni giorno faccino i conti, e con li ſopraſtanti deliberino, e determinino delle coſe neceſſarie; come del continuare, o non continuare la compagnia, della diſtributione delle mercantie portate, e di ſomiglianti coſe.

XXI. Che ſi concedeſſe alle camere autorità di permutare qualunque ſupraſtante da una camera all'altra; e che ogn'una di eſſe camere, debba tenere in Gottemburgh un'amminiſtratore; che le camere tra di loro in termine di due meſi doppo la partita delle navi mandino i conti l'una all'altra, acciò ſi poſſa ſaper la ſpeſa delle merci caricate, e de gli apparati delle navi, & ogni tre meſi rimettere la ſomma delle coſe vendute.

XXII. Che ogni volta, che parerà neceſſario s'inſtituiſca una dieta, & adunanza delle camere, accioche deliberar ſi poſſa ſopra la levata delle navi; quante, & in che modo debbano eſſer fornite; in che luoce, & a che prezzo ſmaltir ſi doveſſero le portate mercantie; rendere i conti, & altre coſe ſimili. Il che ne' primi anni oſſervar doveſſe la camera, che haverà contribuito più dell'altre; la quale perciò doverà haver la precedenza ſopra le altre; le altre camere poi haveranno la loro precedenza, e luoco ad imitatione di queſta.

XXIII. Che nella dieta compariſſero dodici ſopraſtanti a nome di tutte le camere, alli quali egli haverebbe aggionto il terzo decimo voto a ſuo nome, accioche con più commodità riſolvere ſi poſſa ſopra li maggiori affari; & a queſto effetto ciaſcheduna camera conſtituiſſe tante perſone, quante ſomme haveranno contribuito nella compagnia; per eſempio, ſe qualche camera haveſſe ..... la metà contribuiſſe ſei perſone, ſe la terza parte, quattro, ſe quattro parti, tré; e ſe la ſeſta parte, due; e tutto quello, che con queſto modo dalla maggior parte delli voti concluſo, e riſoluto reſtaſſe, foſſe da tutti gli altri accettato.

XXIV. Che tutte le mercantie, che foſſero nel regno di Suetia introdotte, o da quello eſtratte fuori, paghino di gabella quattro fiorini per cento, e queſto per una volta ſola, doppo la quale ne a' banchi, dogane, ò porte, ſe li poſſa far pagar altro. Donaſi anco facoltà alla compagnia, che dopo l'haver pagato li quattro per cento ſopradetti, poſſino traſportar le ſue merci per tutto il regno ſenza pagar altro datio, o gabella; purche le dette merci non ſi vendano a poco, a poco, con diſcommodo, e danno de' cittadini, e ſudditi del regno.

XXV. Che egli ricevuto haverebbe ſotto la ſua protettione la compagnia, e la conſervarebbe nel ſuo libero eſercitio della mercantia, & uſo della navigatione, e la difenderebbe contro tutti quelli, che tentaſſero di nuocerli, e ne' tumulti di guerra gli aiutarrebbe (richiedendo il biſogno) con la guardia ſua propria.

XXVI. Che in ſe ſteſſo pigliarebbe l'aſſunto di fabricare caſtelli, e fortezze in quei luochi, che ſaranno giudicati opportuni alla ſicurrezza de' trafichi, e de' mercanti ſteſſi, e di preſidiarli con armi, ſoldati, & artigliarie a proprie ſpeſe.

XXVII. Che le prede, e le coſe tolte a' corſari, & ad altri nemici s' impiegaſſero in utile della compagnia, & in difeſa del trafico; ſenza che egli, o il ſuo ammiraglio ſopra eſſe pretenda ragione alcuna; ma ſe l'acquiſto delle prede ſi faceſſe con l'opera de' ſoldati del rè, in tal caſo la preda ſi compartiſſe con egual portione.

XXVIII. Che egli non prenderebbe, nè ſi ſervirebbe di navi, artigliaria, danari, o mercantie, della compagnia, per ſervitio di alcuno di ſuoi, nè meno per uſo del regno, ſenza il volere, e'l libero conſenſo della compagnia.

XXIX. Che egli dà facoltà a quelli, che hanno parte nella compagnia di far contratti con i popoli habitanti fra i termini, e confini ſudetti, di far nuove confederationi con prencipi, e popoli foraſtieri a proprio nome, di fabricar città, caſtelli, e fortezze; di occupar luochi deſolati, e di farli habitabili, e di operare, e procurare per quanto poſſono l'utile, e commodo proprio, e della compagnia. Con queſto però, che non faccia violenza hoſtile contro gli habitatori di quei paeſi, e che nè anche ſi tenti coſa alcuna contro i ſudditi del rè di Spagna; nè che ſi pretenda, & eſerciti commercio alcuno ne' luochi a loro ſoggetti ſenza eſpreſſa loro licenza; ſotto la pena di già ſtabilita contra li traſgreſſori de ſuoi ordini, e contra li perturbatori della publica pace.

XXX. Se avveniſſe mai, che queſta compagnia ſotto ſpecie d'amicitia foſſe ingannata, o in qual ſi ſia altro modo mal trattata, e nell'uſo de' trafichi, ò per forza, o per fraude impedita,

impedita, o defraudata; all'hora gli cócedeua piena facoltà di rifarſi de' danni con qual ſi voglia modo, e mezo, che potranno; e di procedere contro coloro, che s'ingegnaſſero d'impedire li loco tranſichi, o di farli violenza, come contro corſari, nemici, aſſaſſini, e turbatori della publica quiete.

XXXI. E per maggiormente ſcoprire il deſiderio ſuo di ajutare, e promovere la compagnia, che egli vi contribuirà, e metterà a riſchio della fortuna, come gli altri, quatro cento mila talari Suezzeſi.

XXXII. Che oltre li quattro fiorini per cento da pagarſi in vece di datio, egli ſi prenderebbe il quinto dell'oro, argento, & altri minerali, che dalle cave de' metalli tranſportate foſſero; e la decima parte de' frutti di quei paeſi, in recompenſa de gli ajuti, privilegii, & eſentioni, che loro concedeva. Con queſte coſe però egli non comprende le mercantie, le quali foſſero dalla compagnia diſtratte; nè l'oro, e l'argento, o improntato, o nò, che dalla compagnia foſſe ſtato ricevuto in vece delle ſue merci; ma che tutto ciò laſciarebbe alla compagnia, & oltre di quanto ſi è detto non riſcuoterebbe coſa alcuna.

XXXIII. E perche Guglielmo Uſſelinz da Anverſa Brabantino ha ſpeſo gran tempo della ſua vita in ricercare i ſudetti porti, e per teſtimonianza de' ſtati della Fiandra, e di Mauritio prencipe di Oranges, egli ſia ſtato il principal inventore in Olanda della compagnia dell' India occidentale, e con li ſuoi ammaeſtramenti habbi molto coadiuvato, & havendo egli di già riſoluto di ſtarſene nella Suetia, habbia promeſſo di fedelmente manifeſtare quanto egli con tante ſue fatiche haveva penetrato; però in ricompenſa di ciò egli vuole, che la compagnia le paghi un fiorino per migliaro di quelle mercantie, che dalla compagnia ſaranno o portate, o levate, per tutto quel tempo, che ſi faranno i trafichi ne' luochi accennati nel privilegio.

XXXIV. E perche di già abondantemente la compagnia é ſtabilita, e ne' luoghi foraſtieri ſono traſmeſſe genti del paeſe; perciò s'inſtituiſca un conſeglio, il quale con gli officii, con l'autorità, e con le reſolutioni attenda all' amminiſtratione della giuſtitia, alla conſervatione delle buone leggi, & alla continuatione della guerra; acciò, che queſta impreſa con giuſtitia ſi cominici, con prudenza ſi proſeguiſca, e felicemente ſi forniſca.

Queſto conſeglio debba determinare ſopra il far ſoldati, deputar governatori, ſopraſtanti, e Giudici, ſopra l'edificar città, e caſtelli; accommodar le differenze, e riſſe, che naſcer poteſſero fra gli habitatori di quei paeſi, & i foraſtieri colà paſſati;

paſſati; e lo ſteſſo anco quando fra queſti, e li ſopraſtanti, o camere e confederati ſuccedeſſe qualche diſcordia.

Finalmente queſto conſeglio habbi da mantenere, & oſſervare tutte quelle coſe, le quali ſono proprie, e convenevoli ad un buon ſtato, e politia.

Perche li mercanti, che devono attendere alli loro trafichi, adobbamenti di navi, conti, & alle loro corriſpondenze (coſi eſſe le chiamano) non poſſono applicarſi a ſimili affari, perciò con l'erettione di queſto conſeglio reſtano ſgravati.

Queſto conſiglio doverá inſtituirſi de' principali de' participanti, quali devono eſſere eſenti da' negotii, & affari delle commiſſioni, de' nocchieri, & altre conſegnationi della compagnia, atteſo, che a queſte coſe doveranno attendere li ſopraſtanti, e dar informatione a loro conſiglieri, delle navi, e de gli avisi, che poteſſero alla giornata ricevere, che in tutte l'occorenze ſi poſſa riſolvere di quelle, che far ſi debba.

In detto cóſeglio tutte le coſe ſi riſolvino có forme al parer de' piu.

Il numero de conſeglieri ſi debba preſcrivere conforme all'occorrenze, & al giudicio della compagnia.

XXXV. Se per ſorte qualche principe, communità, città, o campagnia contribuiſſe 500 mila ſcudi, in queſta compagnia, ſi deputi a ſuo nome un'agente con ogni plenipotenza, acciòche con lui trattar ſi poſſa delle coſe neceſſarie, che occorreranno.

XXXVI. Se alli participanti pareſſe eſpediente dimandare altre conditioni diverſe da queſte, le quali poteſſero eſſere di commodo, & utile alla compagnia, purche non repugnino a gli ordini del regno, ſalute della republica, & al beneficio della compagnia, gli ſiano liberalmente conceſſe.

Queſto privilegio il Re di Suetia poco avanti la battaglia fatta a Lutzen, communicò a gli attenenti, & a' confederati della Germania, aggiungendovi queſti altri Capitoli.

I. Concede ampia facoltà alli ſudditi delle provincie da lui ſoggiogate, & a tutti quelli, che ſeco ſi confedereranno, di conſtituire camere, & amminiſtrationi fuori del regno di Suetia ne' loro proprii diſtretti, & in qualunque luoco, che più loro piacerà. E ſe a chi ſarà ſuo attinente o amico (non confederato), che di già li foſſe ſtato conceſſo di entrare nella compagnia, piaceſſe di adornar le proprie camere, debbano di ciò dichiarati avanti, perche ſua maeſtà non intende negar ſimil coſa, conforme però alle occorrenze, & al biſogno.

II. E perche

II. E perche nel primo articolo del privilegio ſi nominano alcune parti del mondo; non doverſi ciò coſi rigoroſamente intendere, che la compagnia foſſe aſtretta più in un luoco, che in un altro, ma che con queſte dichiarationi S. M. concedeva facoltà d'indrizzare la loro navigatione dovunque più li piaceſſe, e di eſercitare li loro trafichi in ogni parte, e di terra, e di mare, dove poſſano ſperare commodo, & utile maggiore.

III. Che l'entrar nella compagnia ſia conceſſo ad ogn'uno ſino all'ultimo di Decembre 1633, paſſato il qual tempo non poſſino più entrarci. Nel detto tépo ciaſcuno, che entrerà ſia tenuto di pagar la quarta parte della ſóma, che vorrà contribuire; e queſto acciò che la compagnia habbia il ſuo principio li 10 di Gennaro 1633, & indi durar debbi per lo ſpatio di dodici anni continui avenire. Nel reſto il ſecondo, e quarto articolo rimanghi nel ſuo vigore.

IV. Se poi qualcheduno di quelli, ch'entreranno nella compagnia voleſſe contribuir in una ſol volta tutta la ſomma, a queſti tali la compagnia ſufficientemente prometta, & a ſuo tempo attenda; che fornito il tempo preſcritto nel privilegio, li ſarà pagato la ſolita portione, e frutto delli ſuoi danari dal giorno, che li contò; non eſſendo di dovere, che alcuno tenghi morto il ſuo capitale, ſenza il dovuto utile, e frutto.

V. Oltre a tutte queſte coſe S. M. dichiarava, che il Talaro Suezzeſe, di cui ſpeſſo ſi è fatto mentione reſtaſſe ſempre nel ſuo valore, cioè di quattro Marche; ſei e mezza delle quali fanno uno ſcudo Imperiale, e che li conti nella compagnia ſempre ſi faceſſero a ragione di ſcudi Imperiali.

VI. Che le ragioni, e privilegii, li quali nel quinto, & ottavo articolo ſono conceſſi a quelli, che haveſſero contribuito cento mila Taleri Suezzeſi, ſi reſtringeſſero a cin quanta mila ſcudi Imperiali, e quelli, che ſono conceſſi nel ſeſto articolo a quelli, che contribuivano mille, e due mila Taleri Suezzeſi ſi limitaſſero a cinquecento, & a mille ſcudi Imperiali; & a quanto ſi è detto nel decimoterzo articolo a quelli, che contribuiſſero trecento mila Talari Suezzeſi, ſi reſtringa a 150 mila ſcudi Imperiali; e perche nell' articolo ottavo a quelli, che conferiranno 25 mila Taleri Suezzeſi, era conceſſo molti privilegii, come in eſſo capitolo appare, hora ſua maeſtà, li reſtringeva a 12 mila, e cinquecento ſcudi Imperiali; e di più (oltre le ragioni della civiltà, e l'immunita della gabella, che in eſſo capitolo ſi contengono) vi aggiungeva, che volendo eſſi eſercitare gli eſercitii della città, & altri trafichi lo poſſano fare, e gli ſia conceſſo.

VII. Che

VII. Che li ſopraſtanti, quali foſſero in viaggio per gli affari della compagnia, ſenza haver riguardo a quanto fù detto nell'articolo undecimo, poſſano prendere dalle camere quanto farà loro di biſogno, conforme alla qualità de' luochi & occaſioni.

VIII. E benche nell' articolo decimo ottavo, fuſſe ſtata deſtinata per camera generale, e per la radunanza delle navi la cittià di Goltemburgh; con queſto però dichiara S. M. che ſe qualche natione, o città haveſſe la ſua camera non troppo lontana dal mare oceano, e perciò non li foſſe di commodo il mandare le ſue navi a Goltemburgh; ſiano tenuti di ſignificarlo alle diete generali de'ſopraſtanti, e nominare il luoco dove potranno, o li farà commodo di unire le loro navi con l'altre.

IX. Se con l'aiuto del ſignor Iddio, e con l'induſtria, & opera de' Tedeſchi aveniſſe, che ſi ergeſſero più di dodici camere; così anco ſi accreſceſſe il numero de' ſopraſtanti, li quali per vigor del vigeſimo terzo articolo, mandar ſi devono alle diete generali.

X. In oltre ſua maeſtà eſtende il vigeſimo quarto articolo del privilegio a tanto che la compagnia ſia eſſente dal pagare datii, e gabelle nel regno di Suetia per li primi quattro anni. Con queſto però, che niſſuno abuſi queſta gratia con fraudi, ſotto pena della perdita delle navi, e delle mercantie.

XI. Forniti, che ſiano li quattro anni; ne gli altri avenire ſi paghino le gabelle conforme all'articolo vigeſimo quarto.

XII. Che le navi, e mercantie della compagnia, che capiteranno nelli porti, e città delli ſtati, prencipi, e participanti, che haveranno accettato il privilegio conceſſo da ſua maeſtà alla compagnia, ſiano tenute di pagar impoſitione delli quattro per cento impoſta; a queſto modo però, li due terzi per ſua maeſtà, e l' altra terza parte ſia delli prencipi, ſtati, e participanti ſopradetti, proportionabilmente ſecondo la ſomma del danaro, che haveranno poſto nella compagnia. Non intendendo però di contravenire alle altre impoſitioni, e gabelle, che poteſſero havere ſopra le altre merci; ma ſolo delle mercantie della compagnia.

XIII. Che li prencipi, città, e communità, le quali contribuito haveſſero alla compagnia 250 mila ſcudi Imperiali, oltre il reſidente conceſſoli nel trigeſimo quinto articolo, habbino anco un aſſeſſore del conſeglio; il qual conſiglio doverà eſſer formato conforme nell'articolo trigeſimo quarto ſi è detto.

XIV. Che per maggior confermatione dell'amplificatione, e dichiaratione de' privilegii conceſſi alla compagnia, ſua

maeſtà eſtendeva la promeſſa fatta delli 400 mila Taleri Suezzeſi in 400 mila ſcudi Imperiali; per la qual ſomma di danaro egli non pretendeva maggior utile di quello foſſe toccato a gli altri pro rata.

Per chiara intelligenza di ogn'uno il Talero Suezzeſe, è di quattro marche, che di noſtra moneta ſono lire ſette, e meza. Il ſcudo Imperiale, è meza dobla.

IV.

REGIMINIS SUECICI CONSTITUTIO: Quam Rex invictiſſimus GUSTAVUS SECUNDUS & magnus ultimæ voluntatis inſtar regno populiſque ſuis ſtatione hac mortali functus exhibendam voluit.

[SUPPOSED to be complete in the beginning of the year 1630, and containing thirty-five pages in quarto.——N. B. This invaluable MS. which contained the proviſional diſpoſition that was made of the government of Sweden, in caſe he ſhould be killed in the German wars, during the minority of the princeſs Chriſtina, who was then aged about four years and ſomething more, was for a conſiderable time in the author's poſſeſſion, as all his intimate friends well know; but unfortunately loſt, with ſeveral other papers of conſequence, in going by ſea from London to Cornwall in 1758.]

V.

ARTICLES ſigned by GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS with JAMES marquis of HAMILTON.*

WE Guſtavus Adolphus by the grace of God king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, great prince of Finland, duke of Eſthone and Carel, and lord of Ingria, &c. To all and ſundry whom it concerns, make it known and certain, that whereas the illuſtrious and our ſincerely beloved lord James marquis of Hamilton, maſter of the horſe to the moſt ſerene king of Great Britain, out of his zeal for the public good, and for acquiring eternal fame, hath reſolved to dedicate himſelf and the fortunes and forces of all he is concerned in, for reſtoring our oppreſſed friends in Germany, and for that end hath offered to us, by the illuſtrious and our ſincerely faithful co-

* Burnet's Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton.

lonel,

lonel, Alexander Hamilton, his fidelity and ſervice, and that he will, on his own expence, gather a ſtrength of ſix thouſand men, and bring them over as ſoon as may be to any place we ſhall appoint, either againſt the Imperialiſts, or any other of our enemies, and maintain them on his own charge, and do us all faithful and vigorous ſervice with them, till this great affair be brought to a good iſſue, provided we ſhall authorize this his deſign with our protection, and give him the underwritten aſſiſtance; therefore, there being nothing dearer to us than to make all vigorous reſiſtance to the common enemies of liberty, and having in high eſtimation the brave undertakings of generous men, we not only would not reject, but have heartily embraced the nobleneſs of ſo good reſolutions: we have therefore admitted, like as by the vigour of theſe preſents we admit, the ſaid lord marquis into our ſervice, armies, and military conſels, on the following conditions:

Firſt, Whenever he ſhall ſignify to us that he is ready to bring over his forces, we ſhall aſſign him a place for his landing, either to come and join with our armies, or to make an impreſſion elſewhere, as we ſhall think fit.

Next, If we appoint him to land in any place from whence he ſhall not come ſtraight to us, we ſhall, for ſtrengthening his forces, ſend to the place we ſhall aſſign for his landing four thouſand foot out of our armies, whom we ſhall furniſh with all neceſſaries, and maintain on our charges a whole year.

Thirdly, Becauſe the ſaid marquis thinks two thouſand horſe are neceſſary for his foot, for whoſe levy and pay he promiſes all aſſiſtance; we ſhall therefore think of all ways and means for raiſing and maintaining theſe.

Fourthly, We not only give the ſaid illuſtrious marquis the abſolute command of this army in our abſence, but ſhall alſo join to him a counſellor with whom he may conſult in all things, that ſo his deliberations be more expedite and clear.

Fifthly, Whatever the illuſtrious lord marquis ſhall take from the enemy, the lands and territories ſhall belong to us, but the revenues and all the emoluments ſhall go to him, and to the relief of his army: yet ſo as theſe revenues ſhall be gathered decently and in order, without depredations or plunderings; ſince our deſign is not to oppreſs thoſe who have been already enough preſſed, but rather to deliver them from the oppreſſions of others, as much as by the divine aſſiſtance we can.

Sixthly, That the marquis may more effectually perform what he hath bravely reſolved, and may ſooner make thoſe warlike inſtruments of his own invention, on which he relies much

much in his expedition, we ſhall not only with the firſt occaſion furniſh him with a hundred ſhip-pounds of crude iron; but ſhall alſo aſſign hammers for working it according to his deſign; of which inſtruments he hath promiſed to leave a model with us, and we ſhall be careful that none of our ſervants ſhall make uſe of them before he hath firſt made trial of them himſelf.

Seventhly, We ſhall alſo furniſh him with three hundred and ſeventy ſhip-pounds of iron-ball for his guns, and two thouſand and five hundred pikes, and as many muſquets.

Eighthly, Whenever the marquis ſhall advertiſe us of his needing gunpowder, we ſhall aſſign him bills of exchange in Holland for buying ſeventy-two ſhip-pounds of gunpowder.

Ninthly, If any other kings or ſtates ſhall concur with us, all they contribute ſhall be at our diſpoſal; but if the marquis his neceſſities require further aſſiſtance, we ſhall not abandon him, but faithfully aſſiſt him, as much as our affair ſhall permit.

Tenthly, For all which the ſaid illuſtrious lord marquis with all his forces hath promiſed fidelity to us, and ſhall be bound to it as well as our men, and theſe who receive our pay, are, for which both he and all his captains ſhall be particularly engaged.

But becauſe there is to be a treaty betwixt our commiſſioners and the Imperialiſts at Dantzick, therefore if a peace ſhall be there concluded, ſo that we ſhall not need the ſervice of the marquis and his army, he hath obliged himſelf to pay for the foreſaid materials at their entire value.

All which things being thus concluded, and to be firmly obſerved by us, we have ſubſcribed theſe articles with our hand, and commanded our royal ſeal to be put to them. At our caſtle in Stockholm the laſt of May, Anno Dom. 1630.

Signed,

L. S. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

VI.

ARTICLES ſigned by the marquis of HAMILTON with GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

WHEREAS there is a mutual compact agreed betwixt the moſt ſerene and mighty king of Sweden and me, for joining of our forces; that the articles be fully ratified, and leſt any thing afterwards fall in which may put a ſtop in our counſels,

counſels, or give matter for ſiniſtrous gloſſes, I therefore ſubſcribe for my part all the articles, adding only the following explication to ſome of them.

To the firſt, If the moſt ſerene king aſſign me a place for landing, I vow and promiſe by the grace of God to do it, betwixt and the day of the next June.

To the ſecond, If the moſt ſerene king of Sweden ſend me the agreed number of ſoldiers out of his own forces, at the place and time appointed, I underſtand that by furniſhing them with all neceſſaries, a full and entire pay without any deductions be laid down for a whole year, according to the eſtabliſhment of his majeſty with his own officers.

Beſides, If the moſt ſerene king cannot allow of ſo great a diminution of his forces, it will be neceſſary that he not only ſettle a fund, for ſuch a ſum as may levy, arm, and pay, as many ſoldiers, but there will be need of ſome more; for the odds will be vaſtly great betwixt his majeſty's trained ſoldiers, and a ſudden levy of raw novices.

To the third, Since the article of horſe is conceived in general terms on both ſides, nothing being certainly fixed on either, it will be expedient that your ſacred majeſty declare your mind in it plainly, how far you oblige yourſelf: and what ſhall be agreed for me, betwixt your majeſty and theſe to whom this affair is truſted by me, I bind myſelf to ratify.

To the fifth, Since the reaſons of my expedition to Germany are the ſame with your majeſty's, I have firmly reſolved to help and relieve the oppreſſed princes and ſtates of Germany, with the eaſe of all theſe burdens with which they are now preſſed, and therefore ſhall do every thing in order, and decently, as becomes moſt friendly auxiliaries; and if any thing be taken by me from the common enemy, I ſhall deſire nothing more than that the right of it be entirely and inviolably your majeſty's.

To the ninth, Since I have devoted my whole fortune with all my intereſts for promoting this our deſign, I promiſe, that whatever any ſhall contribute for it, ſhall all be laid out for this war, which I ſhall with my whole forces manage and carry on, till either it pleaſe God that you obtain a deſired peace, or that the liberty of Germany, which is now oppreſſed, be reſtored.

To the tenth, Since by this article your majeſty requires and expects fidelity from me and my army, I James marquis of Hamilton, by theſe preſents give my faith for myſelf and

and them, and bind both myſelf and them; and for the confirmation of this, I do ſubſcribe this article with all the preceding, and put my ſeal to it, at London the 1ſt of March Anno Dom. 1631.

(L. S.) HAMILTON.

VII.

SPECIALES CAUSÆ BELLI SUECICI*.

QUANQUAM autem naſcens, & e Germaniæ malis valida cum tempore incrementa ſumens Auſtriacæ domûs potentia, extraneis regibus, principibus, rebus publicis, ſenſim hoc modo magis magiſque formidoloſa facta fuerit, maximè cum, intra imperii Romani fines jam ſe non amplius continens, vicinos quoque, miſſis in Italiam, Boruſſiam, Tranſiſulana diverſis exercitibus, laceſſere haud vereretur: Guſtavus tamen Adolphus, ſecundus ejus nominis & magnus, Sueciæ rex, imprimis ſuſpectam habuit, luculenter deprehenſo; quo magis Baltici maris littoribus illius vires appropinquarent, eò plures majoreſve adverſum ſe indies ſeri bellorum occaſiones.

Velut jam anno mileſimo, ſexcenteſimo, viceſimo ſexto, literæ quædam regis Sueciæ ad Tranſilvaniæ principem, nec ab hoſte, nec ad hoſtem miſſæ, a Cæſarianis reſeratæ, interceptæ, ac confictâ in regis invidiam verborum interpretatione, publicatæ fuerant: ipſo internuncio in carcerem compacto, ac durè & hoſtiliter habito. Quæ injuria, quo inopinatò magis regem a Cæſare, quem, nec verbo, nec facto, hucuſque læſerat, perculit, eò altiùs in pectus penetravit, ac deſcendit: maximè, cum verus literarum tenor nihil, in Cæſaris aut imperii Romani præjudicium tendens, loqueretur, ſed bellum, quod regi Sueciæ cum Polonis hac tempeſtate intercedebat, ſolummodò concerneret.

Porrò regi a fide dignis relatum: licet componendorum inter Sueciæ ac Poloniæ regna diſſidiorum ſæpe numerò ſpes affulgeret; commiſſariis utriuſque regni annuatim in eum finem congredientibus: pacis tamen hos oſores, per internuncios ac literas, ſedulò apud Polonos operam dediſſe, ne vulnus in cicatricem coiret, antequam in Germaniâ ſuum plene attigiſſet ſcopum; ſpe certâ Polonis datâ, Germaniæ

* Chemnitius de Bello Sueco-German. vol. i. p. 7, &c. The reader may peruſe a fuller copy of this manifeſto in the Merc. Franç. tom. xvi. p. 297—317.

electoribus, principibus, ordinibus sub jugum missis, sese igitur, omnibus viribus collatis, eò gnaviter incubituros; ut Sueciæ quoque regnum à Polonis penitus opprimeretur.

Et quo verbis facta statim responderent, Suecosque omnibus bellorum gerendorum mediis, quantum pote, nudatos, Polonorum armis, favore suo suffultis, debellandos exponerent, & omni militum, & rei bellicæ commercio, quod utrumque liberum Polonis, Suecorum tunc hostibus, reliquerat, regi Sueciæ in Germaniâ interdicere visum.

Clarius autem odium eorum in regem anno milesimo, sexcentesimo, vicesimo septimo emicabat; quando Adolphus, Holsatiæ dux, cum copiis haud contemnendis, Sigismundo tertio, Polonorum regi, subsidio ablegatus: idque eo potissimum tempore, quo, equitatu Polonico ad Dirschaviam dissipato, & toto exercitu in consternationem haud exiguam conjecto, periculum erat, ne ipsis castris Poloni pellerentur. Quapropter hoc præter opinionem & immerito suo, illatum vulnus, regi eò magis doluit, quo certior spes erat, hostilem exercitum, absque hoc foret, ad internecionem cæsum, atque ita hac vice debellatum iri. Nec verò, missione militum, nec alio prætextu colorabantur istæ suppetiæ: quin potius ipsius Cæsaris signa & imperii Romani aquilæ in hostili acie apertè fulserunt. Dux quoque Holsatiæ, post navatam Polonis strenuam aliquamdiu operam, è Borussia cum residuo milite in Pomeraniam regressus ibidem, non secus ac aliæ Cæsaris legiones, hiberna nactus est: ut vel inde, e Cæsaris stipendio numquam excessisse, appareret.

Interea Cæsareus miles regis Sueciæ subditos, qui, negotiorum suorum ac innoxiorum commerciorum causâ, in Germaniam appulerant, ubicunque, nanciscì contingeret, hostiliter tractare: ablatis vi mercibus, & navibus fisco addictis. Quod iidem, non aliò locorum se justius confugere rati, ad regem detulerunt: ejus opem, auxilium, patrocinium supplicibus ac querulis precibus implorantes.

Imprimis septentrionalibus regibus ac regnis maximè suspectum accidere: quod Cæsar ac rex Hispaniæ supradicto milesimo, sexcentesimo, vicesimo septimo, & sequenti anno, per Georgium Ludovicum, comitem Suartzburgensem, & Gabrielem de Roy, commissarios suos, Lubecam, aliasque urbes Hanseaticas, in partes suas traducere conati, illarum ope classem in mari Baltico comparare molirentur. Ut ut enim alius color rei quæsitus nil aliud, videlicet, intendi, quàm ipsarum civitatum commodum; hac etenim ratione, abrogatis, quæ exteri invexissent, monopoliis, navigationem & commercia civitatibus sarta, tecta conservatum, ac, inter alia, Hispanicarum mercium vectarum ad solos eorundem portus

portus aſtrictum iri: ſeptentrionalium tamen regnorum reges, re altius penetratâ, aliorsùm id interpretati, aliquid monſtri alere negotium exiſtimabant; nec modo in regalium ſuorum ſuper mare Balticum, cujus tutelam & protectionem, ex majorum inſtituto, ſibi aſſerunt, inſigne vergere præjudicium, ſed & ipſis in reguorum viſceribus oppugnandis, media ac occaſionem quæri.

Que ſuſpicio in rege Sueciæ validiora incrementa ſumſit, poſtquam, finito bello Danico, a claſſe & navibus armandis minimè ceſſatum: in ſe enim, reconciliato Daniæ rege, fabam hanc cudi, haud ſine causâ ominabatur. Præſertim, quia Cæſariani, ſpe de adjungendis ſibi civitatum Hanſeaticarum viribus evoluti, Gedanenſium & Polonorum, cum quibus regi Sueciæ apertum bellum, naves in conſortium aſciverant, illarumque ope mare Balticum, harum artium hactenùs inſolens, piratica infeſtum reddebant: in tantum; ut rex Sueciæ, regalium ſuorum, & ſecuritatis maritimæ, commerciorumve conſervandorum, claſſem & ipſe ſuam magnis incommodis atque impendiis adornare, illâque Cæſarianos occupatis portubus, præſertim Wiſmarienſi, incluſos tenere coactus fuerit.

Cum autem anno mileſimo, ſexcenteſimo, viceſimo octavo, Straleſundæ urbs a ſupremo Cæſareæ militiæ Imperatore, Fridlandio, præſidia, quæ imperabantur, admittere detrectans, arctiſſimo premeretur obſidio, ferroque ac flammâ extrema quæque perpeteretur, recepit illa quidem ab initio a Daniæ rege militem auxiliarum, quem ſpontaneo motu, defendendæ urbi, hic ſubmiſerat, & neceſſitate exigente, plus auxiliorum ab eodem conſequi poterat: ne tamen cum Cæſaris hoſtibus [quos inter tunc temporis Daniæ rex] conſpirare argueretur, mox ad Sueciæ regem, confugiens, ut addicti neutri parti principis, cujus benignitatem antehac luculentis rerum teſtimoniis experta fuerat, tutelæ ac patrocinio, ſequeſtro velut depoſuit exagitatam infeſtis hoſtium armis libertatem. Nec rex juſtiſſimis de cauſis, quas ipſimet Straleſundenſes per legatos ſuos deduxerant, recuſare ullatenùs potuit; quin civitati, non ipſius modò, ſed et publicæ, communiſque ſecuritatis gratiâ, miſſo non contemnendo militum ſubſidio, ſubvenîret.

Salvâ tamen obedientiâ, Cæſari & duci Pomeraniæ, tanquam ſuperioribus, debitâ; nec ad Cæſaris, aut cujuſquam offenſionem, ſed ſolam civitatis, portuſque Straleſundenſis, & conſequenter, totius maris Baltici defenſionem, commerciorumve libertatem: ut ex fœdere, cum Straleſundenſibus initio, ſole meridiano clariùs apparet.

Inde militum tribunis, qui Stralesundensibus suppetias missi, in mandatis datum: ne extra obsidium, & necessariæ atque legitimæ defensionis cancellos, adversus Cæsaris exercitum quicquam tentarent. Qui & ipsi, ab initio, Danis, quamdiu illic loci unâ commorati sunt, in expugnatione oppidi Bart, aliisve factionibus, nequequam ad capessenda contra Cesarianos hostilia arma, instigantibus, regis sui mandatum causati, intra hos terminos immoti steterunt.

Eodem penè tempore Cæsar duces Megapoleos omnibus ditionibus, quas ab imperio ipsi, eorumve majores, tot per annos, feudi nomine possederant, privârat; ducemque Fridlandiæ summum terrâ, mari militiæ suæ imperatorem, his investitum erat. Quorum, & religionis, & sanguinis nexu junctorum, ducum vicem rex, ipsâ Christianâ caritate, arctâque necessitudine flagitante, jure miseratus: præsertim cum, omni aliâ ferè spe destituti, in his angustiis ad regem, velut sacram anchoram, confugerent.

VIII.

The Monthly Pay of a SWEDISH Regiment of Infantry, under GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

Military Establishment.	Per Month. Dollars.	English Money. £.	s.	d.
To the colonel - - - -	184 —	32	4	0
Lieutenant-colonel - - - -	80 —	14	0	0
Serjeant-major - - - -	61 —	10	13	6
Chief quarter-master - - -	30 —	5	5	0
Captain - - - - -	61 —	10	13	6
Lieutenant - - - - -	30 —	5	5	0
Ensign - - - - - -	30 —	5	5	0
Two serjeants, each - - - -	9 —	1	11	6
The *Fuhrer**, *Furryer*†, *Muster-writer*‡, and the *Rust-master* §, each - -	7 —	1	4	6
Drummers and pipers, each - -	4 —	0	14	0
6 Corporals, each - - - -	6 —	1	1	0

* The *Furrer* attended the ensign, and took the colours when he was disabled or killed.

† The *Furriers* were under quarter-masters, and appeared in action armed with a halbert or partisan.

‡ The *Muster-schreiber*, as he is called in German, was clerk of the musters.

§ The *Rust-master* saw that the soldiers kept their arms clean and bright.

15 Rot-

Military Eſtabliſhment.	Per Month. Dollars.	Engliſh Money. £.	s.	d.
15 *Rot-maſters* *, each	5 —	0	17	6
21 Inferior *Rot-maſters*, each	4 —	0	14	0
A common ſoldier	3½ —	0	12	3
18 *Paſſe volants* †, each	3 —	0	10	6

Civil Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the ſame Regiment.

2 Chaplains, each	18 —	3	3	0
2 Examiners, or regiſters of the court-martial, each	30 —	5	5	0
4 Surgeons, each	12 —	2	2	0
4 Provoſt marſhals, each	12 —	2	2	0
Clerk of the regiment	30 —	5	5	0
Clerk of the council of war	18 —	3	3	0
Serjeant of the council or court of war,	18 —	3	3	0
2 Bedels, each	3 —	0	10	6
The executioner	7 —	1	4	6

And here it muſt be remarked, that if the ſervice required *Lehnung*, or advance money, it was his Swediſh majeſty's cuſtom (a certain ſum being due to his officers and ſoldiers at the expiration of each month) to divide the ſaid month into thirteen equal parts, and pay his troops a fixed portion of their ſtipend beforehand, upon the firſt, the eleventh, and one-and-twentieth day, amounting at the three ſeveral payments to the following proportion:

	Per Month. Dollars.	Engliſh Money. £.	s.	d.
Colonel	69 —	12	1	6
Lieutenant-colonel	32 —	5	12	0
Serjeant-major	14 —	2	9	0
Chief quarter-maſter	11 —	1	18	6
Captain	14 —	2	9	0
Lieutenant	11 —	1	18	6
Enſign	11 —	1	18	6
2 Serjeants, each	5 —	0	17	6

* The *Rot-maſters* took care of the ſeveral rots (each rot, or file, conſiſting of ſix men) which were committed to their charge. Twelve rots or muſqueteers and nine of pikemen, making a compleat company of 126 men, not including officers, paſſe-volants and ſervants.

† The *Paſſe-volants* were ſervants to the officers, and carried arms in the day of battle.

	Per Month. Dollars.		English Money. £.	s.	d.
Fuhrer, furrier, mufter-writer, and ruft-mafter, each - - - - -	4	—	0	14	0
Drummers and pipers, each - -	2	—	0	7	0
6 Corporals, each - - - -	3	—	0	10	6
15 Rot-mafters, each - -	2	—	0	7	0
21 Inferior Rot-mafters, each - -	1½	—	0	5	3
A common foldier - - - -	1¼	—	0	4	4½
18 Paffe-volants - - - -	1	—	0	3	6

Civil Eftablifhment, &c. of the fame Regiment.

2 Chaplains, each - - - -	7	—	1	4	6
2 Examiners, or regifters of the court-martial, each - - - - -	11	—	1	18	6
4 Surgeons, each - - - -	7	—	1	4	6
4 Provoft-marfhals, each - - -	7	—	1	4	6
Clerk of the regiment - - -	11	—	1	18	6
Clerk of the council of war - -	7	—	1	4	6
Serjeant of the council or court of war	7	—	1	4	6
2 Bedels, each - - - - -	1½	—	0	5	3
The executioner - - - -	5	—	0	17	6

IX.

ARTICLES de Confederation accordez entre le Roy de SUEDE, & le Duc de POMERANIE, pour eux, leurs Succeffeurs, Provinces & Subjets *, July 10th, 1630.

PREAMBLE reciproque entre Guftave, & Bogiflaüs, * * *
* *
* *
* *
* *

Apres que nous Guftavus Adolphus, &c. avons avec tres grande compaffion, confideré les tres-griefues & inouyes oppreffions que ledit feigneur duc de Stetin & Pomeranie, avec fes fubjects & provinces, a fouffertes pendant trois ans, & qu' entre la couronne de Suede & les provinces de Pomeranie y avoit non feulement conjonction de fang & de religion, mais auffi une tres grande amitié & confiance, par le moyen du commerce mutuel exercé & inviolablement entretenu de temps immemorial entre les fubjects defdits eftats, & prin-

* Mercure François, tom xvi. 286. Hiftorical but authentic relat. in Low Dutch, tom i. 169.

cipalement

cipalement par une etr confederation contractée entre nos predeceſſeurs d' heureu memoire, les roys de Suede & les ducs de Pomeranie, leur rovinces & eſtats, en la pacification faite entr' eux le jour ſainct Luc l' an 1570, enſemble auſſi noſtre grand intereſt à uſe de la mer Baltique, entant que les provinces de Pome ie ſituée a la coſte de ladite mer ayans eſte occupées, ſer vent de retraite aux ennemis, pour, (à noſtre grand preju) empeſcher la liberté du commerce, & infeſter nos royau s & eſtats; ayans meſmes, pour pallier leurs violences, abus e noſtre nom. Apres avoir auſſi conſideré que la confederatio our la neutralité (de l'entretenement de laquelle ledit ſeigne duc, nous avoit requis) n'eſtoit aſſez ſolidement eſtablie, no avons eſtimé (quoyque non requis devoir accourir au ſecours dit ſeigneur duc & ſes eſtats, pour avec l'aſſiſtance divine les delivrer d'oppreſſion; & meſmes pour repouſſer de nos eſtats s cruelles hoſtilitez, & venger les machinations & injuſtes opp ſſions faites contre nous; eſtans à ces fins, par l'aide de Die arrivez avec *une aſſez puiſſante armée* en Pomeranie (apres a ir pris la principauté de Rughe [Rugen] y ayans occupé *ns aucune reſiſtance* toutes les iſles, villes, ports, & forts, rvans pour la defence & conſervation de la ville de Stetin, apitale de la province, ayans toutes les places eſté abandon es par ceux qui les tenoient) *nous priſmes occaſion, contre opinion & l'eſperance du dit ſieur duc d'entreprendre & venir h reuſement à bout de reduire la dite ville de Stetin.*

D'autre part nous Bogiſlaüs, &c. &c. ayans conſi eré (1.) q'eſtans deſtituez de tous ſecours, (2.) nous ſeuls n'e ſions peu reſiſter à ſi grandes forces, (3.) nos ſubjects ayans eſté pour la plus part deſarmez par les precedents pretendus defenſeurs (4.) eſtans meſmes deſpöuillez de tous leurs biens, privez de tous vivres & moyens de defence, (5.) &, qui plus eſt, affoiblis & extenuez par une cruelle oppreſſion, durant trois ans, n'ont eu penſée ny courage de ſe delivrer, ny de reſiſter, pour n'empirer leur condition. (6.) Si bien que n'eſperans plus aucun ſecours: (apres tant de capitulations & promeſſes ſaintement jurées & toutefois enfreintes.) (7.) Survenant le louable & tres chreſtien ſecours de la ſacrée royale majeſté de Suede. (8.) Qui n'eſt point venu contre l'empereur ny l'empire, avec leſquells ſa majeſté n'a rien de faſcheux à deſmeler. (9.) Mais contre ceux qui contre tout droict & equité avoient occupé nos provinces, (10.) afin de les delivrer de violence, & les remettre en leur premier eſtat & liberté, & pour par meſme moyen aſſeurer ſa perſonne, & ſa couronne, & ce avec des proteſtations chriſtiennes & amiables, qui ont eſté ſuivies de leur effet, à l'eſgard de ville de Straſſund, & de la duché de Rugen, occupé pe

majeſté. Nous avons eu pluſtoſt et de louer & accepter, que de refuſer à noſtre tres gran prejudice, & de nos ſubjects, ſon ſecours & aſſiſtance.

Pour ce eſt il que nous Gr vus, &c. et Bogiſlaüs, &c. avons enſemble convenus & ac dez les ſuivants articles par nous d'un mutuel conſentemer approuvé.

I. Nous avec nos eſtats, ovinces & ſubjets reſpective-ment, voulons et prometto ſincerement et de bonne foy, conſerver à l'avenir entre us une ferme et conſtante amitié utile, et convenable à des ns voiſins, et ne faire ny ne permettre eſtre fait l'un à l'r re ouvertement ou couvertement, par qui, et en quelque niere que ce ſoit, aucun hoſtilité ; ains nous defendre les s les autres par armes, et par mutuel ſecours, contre toutes iolences, invaſions, ravages, *contributions*, oppreſſions, et ntraventions, ne nous point abandonner, beaucoup moi nous trahir, ou ſubjuger, mais plutoſt rechercher, et acc ſtre le profit et avantage, et deſtourner tout dommage l'a de l'autre : advancer de tout noſtre pouvoir le trafic et mmerce de Suede en Pomeranie, et de Pomeranie en Su e ; faiſans pour ce, ceſſer toutes inhibitions et empeſchem nts. A l'effect dequoy, nous roy et duc ſuſdit, pour nous, n ſucceſſeurs et eſtats, avons non ſeulement renouvellé la te ancienne paction et accord, pour l'entretenement d'un on voiſinage entre nous, nos royaumes, duchez principauez et leurs appurtenances, mais, auſſi l'avons par le preſent traicté de nouveau confirmé et corroboré, pour durer à jamais. Voulans en outre que la preſente confederation ſoit d dix ans en dix ans renouvellée et re-integrée.

II. Le dit accord s'entend eſtre renouvellé pour *la defference* mutuelle contre la violence, non point pour *l'offence, (si non que pour l'entretenement des choſes convenües entre nous, il fuſt grandement requis)* auquel cas, chacun de nous ſera obligé de preſter l'un à l'autre, *juſqu'au dernier effort*, mutuel ayde et ſecours,

III. Au moyen de ce, le preſent traicté ne doit point eſtre reputé fait *contre la majeſté ſacrée de l'empereur ny de l'empire*, mais pluſtoſt pour le conſerver en ſon anciennne forme, liberté, religion, et paix religieuſe et ſeculiere contre les tumultuaires, et perturbateurs de la paix publique : *n'entendans point nous departir de l'obligation par laquelle nous Bogiſlaüs duc ſuſdit ſommes tenus à la ſacrée majeſté imperiale et à l'empire, et au cercle de la Saxe Superieure* ; ains au contraire, proteſtans de nous y conſerver ſelon noſtre devoir *(à la charge tout à fois qu' ils ne requerront de nous aucune choſe contrevenante au preſent traicté,)* et de demeurer avec nos duchez, eſtats, et ſubjets joints à l'empire, audit circle, et aux conſtitutions Imperiales ; ne voulans que l'occaſion du preſent

traicté

traicté l'eſtat de nos provinces ſoit changé ny que rien nous ſoit oſté ny diminué de noſtre ſouveraineté, ny quant aux droicts royaux, dignitez, jurisdictions, droicts domaniaux et territoriaux à nous appartenans, ny ſemblablement quant aux privileges, tant generaux que particuliers de la nobleſſe de Pomeranie, et des ſujets et eſtats; ny aux conceſſions, droicts, ſtatuts, loix fondementales, ny aucun autre droict particulier,

IV. Puis que cette union tend principalement à ce que nous duc ſuſdit puiſſions eſtre delivré de la cruelle oppreſſion, de laquelle noſtre conſtante & fidelle innocence, a eſté travaillée pour l'eſpece de trois ans, contre les lois ſacrées de l'empire & dudit cercle, & contre les claires & expreſſes conſtitutions de la paix publique, & meſmes contre les ſpeciales ſincerations, mandements & declarations de la ſacrée majeſté de l'empereur, & les provinces & pays de Pomeraine eſtre conſervez en leur ancien eſtat, ſans recevoir aucuns empeſchemens limites, ports & paſſages, & eſtre delivrez à l'advenir de tous dangers. Pour ces raiſons a eſté de part & d'autre unanimement convenu entre nous, de s'oppoſer par jonction de forces à toute autr qui en l'empire Romain contrarie, & peut en quelque façon que ce ſoit contravenir à la paix de la religion obtenüe avec tant de peine & de travaux.

V. Les villes, lieux & provinces de Pomeranie, par nous roy de Suede occupéz, ou que nous pourrons cy-apres occuper, ſeront par nous *remis entre les fidelles mains & au pouvoir dudit ſeigneur duc de Pomeranie avec toutes leurs appurtenances, droicts, regales, & juriſdictions, ſans nulle reſerve, ny tergiverſation, & ſans repetition de frais de la guerre: meſmes la ville de Stralſond luy ſera par nous rendüe, pourveu que, comme ledit ſeigneur duc ne doit rien aliener deſdites provinces de Pomeraine, principalement la principauté de Rugen*; auſſi il eſtabliſſe ès dites provinces *tels officiers*, qui en tout ce qui concernera la defence & conſervation deſdites provinces, ſe monſtrent de bonne volonté envers les *commiſſaires de Suede*: pourveu auſſi, que les *privileges de la ville de Stralſond ſoient maintenus en leur entier*, & que ſpecialement par deſſus touts l'alliance faite par la dite ville avec ſa dite majeſté ſoit conſervée inviolablement *, & que les griefs par eux pretendus ſoient promptement reparez, & equitablement jugéz.

VI. D'autant l'eveſché de Camin eſtant dans les provinces & eſtats de Pomeranie, & en conſequence de ce, devant jouir en ſon particulier de tout ce qui par le preſent traicté

* His Majeſty, in the year 1628, renewed a treaty (for former ones had ſubſiſted) betwixt Sweden and the town of Stralſund. It was to hold in force twenty years, and is preſerved by Lotichius, tom. i. 608.

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a eſté accordé, pour le bien general de la Pomeranie, a eſté particulierement convenu, que ſi contre les privileges, ſtatuts, & loix fondementales de l'eveſché & du chapitre, eſt attenté quelque choſe au fait d' election de l'eveſque ou du coadjeuteur, ou à quelque autre occaſion que ce ſoit, nous roy & duc ſuſnommez l'empeſcherons conjointement de tout noſtre pouvoir, & maintiendrons la liberté du chapitre & du dioceſe, enſemble la libre election de l'eveſque, ſon eſtat, ſes droicts & ſes dignitez.

VII. *Nul de nous ſans le vouloir & conſentement de l'autre, ne pourra renoncer au preſent Traicté,* & beaucoup moins nous duc de Pomeranie ne pourrons, pour ce qui concerne la preſente defence de noſtre eſtat, faire aucun traicté, ny alliance, avec qui que ce ce ſoit que ſi ſa royale majeſté pour noſtre bien et de nos provinces, vouloit faire quelque traicté, l nous devra eſtre communiqué, duquel, ſi y voulons entrer et eſtre joints, ny nous, ny nos provinces ne pourrons en eſtre exclus.

VIII. Si quelque prince chreſtien ſe veut adjoindre à la preſente confederations, et s'y aſſocier à conditions raiſonnables, il luy ſera libre de la faire, moyennant que par la dite jonction les eſtats d'aucuns de nous n'en recoivent dommage, et n'empirent leur condition.

IX. Parceque qu'en cette confederation particuliere (permiſe de tout droict, entant qu'elle eſt pour la conſervation de la paix religieuſe et ſeculiere de Pomeranie) nulle mention n'a eſté faite des autres confederations et accords cy-devant faits pour la conſervation d' icelle; les dits accords ne pourront en rien prejudicier au preſent traicté, ny eſtre alleguéz contre iceluy. Et nous duc ſuſdit promettons de ne nous point allier par traicté avec qui que ce ſoit, ſans le ſpecial vouloir et conſentement de ſuſdit royale majeſté.

X. Si le dit ſeigneur duc, ſes provinces, et ſujets, à l'occaſion de la preſente confederation, eſtoient aſſaillis en guerre par qui que ce ſoit, en tel cas non ſeulement nous roy de Suede et nos royaumes et eſtats ſerons obligéz, et promettons d'entreprendre ſoigneuſement et fidellement la defence dudit ſeigneur duc, mais auſſi y attirerons les autres princes nos confederez, pour augmenter et fortifier le nombre et les moyens de la defence. Comme auſſi au reciproque, nous duc de Pomeranie, nos provinces et ſubjets ferons le meſme, au cas que ſa royale majeſté et ſes royaumes et eſtats fuſſent infeſtez par guerre, à cauſe du preſent traicté.

XI. Par la preſente confederation le privilege de naturalité s'entend eſtre reſpectivement accordé aux ſubjets de l'une et de l'autre parties, royaumes et eſtats de Suede et de

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la duché et eſtats de Pomeranie: et la nation Suedoiſe honorera, aydera et procurera le profit et advantage de la Pomeranoiſe, et la Pomeranoiſe de la Suedoiſe en temps de paix et de guerre; ſauf reſpectivement aux uns et aux autres, leurs droits, privileges, et immunitez particuliers.

XII. Pour la conſervation, facilité et advancement du commerce, la monnoye royale de Suede aura cours en Pomeranie, et celle de Pomeranie en Suede, et ſera exposée ſelon l'evaluation qui en aura eſté faite ſur les lieux.

XIII. Si ſurvient quelque different ou quelque meſintélligence entre ſa royale majeſté et ledit ſeigneur duc ou entre leurs ſujets, ou eſtats, elle ne ſe terminera point par l'epée et par guerre, ains en la façon preſente par la pacification de Stetin en l'année 1570, c'eſt à ſcavoir par perſonnages d'authorité, nommés par les parties, ou eſleus par ſort.

XIV. Finalement, nous roy de Suede nous ſommes expreſſement reſervéz, qu' au cas que ledit ſeigneur duc vient à deceder ſans deſcendans maſles, ſes heritiers, avant que l'electeur de Bradenburg (auquel comme au futur ſucceſſeur de l'eſtat, l'hommage a deja eſté fait) ait approuve et ratifié la preſente confederation, et avant que le dit ſucceſſeur ſoit venu en perſonne pour la liberation de ces provinces, ou au cas que cette ſucceſſion fuſt revoquée en doute, et rendue litigieuſe au dit ſeigneur electeur; nous roy de Suede, ou nos ſucceſſeurs de nos royaumes et couronne, retiendrons ces-dittes province en forme de ſequeſtre et de protection, juſques à ce que le droict ſucceſſif ait eſté pleinement eſclairci et eſtabli; et que par le ſucceſſeur les frais de la guerre nous ayent eſté entierement payez et rembourſéz (ſans toutefois en faire ſouffrir aucune charge ny contribution aus dites provinces, eſtats et ſubjets de Pomeranie) et juſques à ce que la preſente confederation ait eſté par luy deüement ratifiée et confirmée.

Tout ce que deſſus s'entend avoir eſté accordé & promis de bonne foy & ſans fraude. Pour certitude & perpetuelle fermeté de quoy, nous roy de Suede, &c. pour nous, nos ſucceſſeurs, &c. & nous duc de Pomeranie, &c. pour nous, nos ſucceſſeurs, &c. avons la preſent noſtre convention & confederation approuvée & confirmée de nos ſeaux royal, & ducal, & realle, ſignée de nos mains, au vieil Stetin le 10 jour de Juillet, vieil ſtil, l'an 1630.

GUSTAVUS.
BOGISLAUS.

X.

LETTRE du duc de POMERANIE à l'Empereur.

TRES Haut, &c. *cum titulis majoribus,* * * * * * * * *

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J'eſtime que ce ſeroit choſe ſuperfluë de redire au long à voſtre majeſté les non meritées calamitez & grieſues miſeres, eſquelles les ruinaux logements de gens de guerre faits depuis trois ans en mes duchez de Stetin, Pomeranie, & en toutes les provinces, & dependantes d'icelles, m'ont plongé ; puis qu'il eſt notoire à tout le monde, & que les plaintes que moy & le miens en avons faites, & les iterées reſponces que ſur icelles il a pleu à voſtre majeſté imperiale, me donner, les tes moignent plus que ſuffiſament, ſans faire mention de ce que j'ay encore envoyé expres mes deputez à la preſente diete electorale de Ratiſbonne, tant à voſtre majeſté imperiale, qu'au college des electeurs, pour y faire remonſtrer en toute humilité & reſpect, & par toutes ſortes de circonſtances, l'extremité en laquelle je ſuis reduit. Mais bien m'eſt il forcé de repreſenter à voſtre majeſté que ſur ces entrefaites le roy de Suede, &c. eſt arrivé en mes pays avec une puiſſante armée, & a *trouvé ſi peu de reſiſtance,* en ceux qui avoient eſté deſtinez pour la defence (& qui ſous ce pretexte ont eſpuiſé moy, & les miens juſques au fond, & outre ce, deſarmé la pluſpart de mes ſujets, & meſme oſté leur chevaux) que d'abord il a pris le duché de Rugen, & enſuite le havre de Penemond devant Wolgaſt, puis s'eſt emparé de l'iſle, & de tout le pays d'Uſedom, avec la ville bien munie d'iceluy ; du port Wollin, des deux havres Schwein & Divenau, outre le fort qui y avoit eſté commencé à ſi grands frais, & la ville bien murée de Wollin, qui eſtoient autant de retrenchements & forts pour defendre l'accés de cette ville de Stetin, lieu de noſtre reſidence ; & notamment l'iſle de Rugen, ou il y avoit pluſieurs bonnes fortreſſes. De meſme l'havre de Penemond eſtoit bien fortifié & retranché, comme auſſi Uſedom, Wollin, Schwein, & Divenau. De ſorte qu'il eſt à preſumer, que ſi ces defenſeurs euſſent voulu faire bonne reſiſtance, & ſe porter vaillament, le roy de Suede n'euſt peus en ſi peu de temps, faire de ſi grands progrez. Mais au lieu de cela, des qu'ils entendirent la venüe dudit roy, ſans l'attendre, leſdits defenſeurs pillerent les places ſuſdites, mirent le feu en quelques unes, & les abandonneret à la haſte, tournans leurs armes, qu'ils devroient employer contre le ſoldat eſtranger, contre les pauvres habitans deſarmez du pays ; qu'ils ont comme en pays ennemy par une cruauté inouye pillez & ſaccagez, de ſorte que c'eſt choſe horrible à deſcrire, mais neantmoins veritable

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& dont les preuves & teſmoignages ſe pourront ſuffiſament produire cy-apres. Voire on n'en eſt pas demeuré là, ains ils ont attaqué mon chaſteau & ma ville d'Uckarmond, qui eſt à un notable paſſage, chaſſé d'icelle ma garniſon contre l'accord exprez, & tout auſſi-toſt l'ont quittés laiſſer vuide. A Wollin ils ont pillé la maiſon de la princeſſe doüariere, ſoeur d'electeur de Saxe & taſché d'y mettre feu. De là eſt enſuivy que le roy de Suede prenant l'occaſion & ſon temps, (pendant que Torquato Conti mareſchal de camp pour voſtre majeſté imperiale avec la pluſpart de l'armée ſe jettoit contre la Pomeranie) eſt arrive le 20 Juillet à la faveur du vent (qui luy fit faire ſix lieus en deux heures) devant cette ville, que tout auſſi-toſt il inveſtit de telle viteſſe, & bloqua de touts coſtez, faiſans ſes approches de ſi prés, qu'il fut impoſſible de ſe mettre en defence, beaucoup moins recevoir ou attendre ſecours de l'armée de voſtre majeſté.

Que ſi là deſſus il plait à voſtre majeſté imperiale, ſelon ſa grande bonté & prudence, de laquelle elle eſt douée de Dieu, aux electeurs & princes de l'empire, voire à tout le monde, de bien conſiderer & juger comment, & par quels moyens je ſuis tombé en ce malheur : je ne crains point d'encourir de droict & equité autre jugement ny cenſure, ſi non que la ſincerité & conſtance de ma foy vrayement Allemande (en laquelle je ſuis demeuré ferme, nonobſtant toutes mauvaiſes procedures) à eſté mal recogneüe ; & que tout ces malheur ſe doit attribuer à cette nouvelle invention de loger des gens de guerre contre les ſtatuts de l'empire, & *exiger de ſi groſſes contributions* que la ruine totale du pays s'en eſt enſuivy, pour ne point toucher aux autres raiſons. Car par la grace de Dieu, je ſuis tout aſſeuré en ma conſcience, de n'en avoir jamais donné le moindre ſujet, ny par union ny par correſpondence, beaucoup moins par conſpiration ou aucune action ſuſpecte, ains pluſtoſt comme un vray & fidelle membre de l'empire Romaine, demeurant toujours ferme en termes d'integrité & innocence, pour deſtourner ces malheurs, perils & extremitez de mon pays, ay recherché juſques à preſent toutes voyes & moyens, & tant envers voſtre majeſté imperiale, que vers les college des electeurs, comme auſſi vers vos generaux, capitaines & tous autres, qui pouvoyent ſervir à la cauſe, envoyé des ambaſſades notables à voſtre majeſté & aux ſuſdits electeurs ; & de fraiche memoire, par l'advis des grands miniſtres d'eſtat de voſtre majeſté commandans icy, *une ambaſſade à la couronne de Suede*. Encore une à Dantzic ; meſmes encore une preſentement à voſtre majeſté imperiale; ſi peut eſtre, par une ſinguliere & gracieuſe volonté de Dieu, il ſe pouvoit trouver remede & repos. Que ſi tout cela juſques à

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preſent ait rapporté peu de fruict, & que cette occaſion y ſoit ſurvenüe, ny moy, ny mes pays innocens n'en devons point patir. Ains tant plus & faudroit-il penſer aux moyens d'une ſalutaire paix & à deſtourner le mal. Auſſi ne veux-je perdre toute eſperance de paix & de remede, *veu que par le peu de diſcours que j'ay eu avec le roy de Suede je ne l'ai pas recogneu ſi animé, qu'il ſe porte pour ennemi de voſtre majeſté* ny de l'empire Romain; *mais que ſon deſſein n'eſt que de conſerver la liberté du commerce de la couronne de Suede & les membres de l'empire ſes voiſins, de tout temps confederez en leur ancien eſtat*, les defendant contre toute violence injuſte que les gens de guerre ont entrepris d'y exercer ſous le nom & ſouvent contre l'intention & mandement de voſtre majeſté. C'eſt que la neceſſité urgente m'a fait declarer à voſtre majeſté & la ſupplier tres humblement de me faire ſentir les gracieux effects de ſa clemence & promeſſes imperiales, & renvoyer mes deputez, par leſquels je la ſupplie en toute humilité de me deſcharger de tant de difficultez, avec bonne depeſche. Cela non ſeulement tournera à la louange & gloire immortelle de voſtre majeſté, mais le tout-puiſſant la comblera encore de toute proſperité & benediction, & moy je ne ceſſeray par continuelle obeyſſance & devotion de ſervir voſtre majeſté & la ſereniſſime maiſon d'Autriche; recommandant tres affectueuſement voſtre majeſté en la protection du tout-puiſſant, à ce qu'il luy donne un regne heureux & plein de proſperité & moy en toute ſubjection avec mes pays aux bonnes graces de voſtre majeſté. Donné à Stetin ce 14 Juillet 1630.

De voſtre imperiale majeſté
le tres humble, tres obeyſſant,
& fidele prince de l'empire, & Feodal,
BOGISLAUS.

XI.

LETTRE des electeurs catholiques à la lettre du roy de SUEDE.

NOUS Anſelme Caſimir par la grace de Dieu, archeveſque de Mayence, Philippes Chriſtophle archeveſque de Treves, Ferdinand archeveſque de Cologne, Maximilian duc de l'une & l'autre Baviere, Jean Georges duc de Saxe, George Guillaume marquis de Brandebourg, archichancelier, grand eſcuyer, grand mareſchal, grand chambrier, & princes electeurs du ſainct empire Romain, par la Germanie, la Gaule le royaume d'Arles & Italie.

Roy

Roy ſereniſſime, noſtre tres amé couſin & allié, voſtre dignite royale nous à expoſé par ſes lettres du ſeptieſme Avril pluſieurs plaintes, auſquelles elle deſiroit remedié par noſtre entremiſſe, avant que la neceſſité la preſſaſt de ſe pourvoir des remedes qu'elle jugeroit eſtre plus convenables, leſquels pourroient cauſer de grands maux en l'empire: comme auſſi elle s'excuſoit, de ce qu'elle avoit ſecouru la ville imperiale de Stralſond. Toutes ces choſes ayans eſté conſiderées, nous n'eſtimons point, que de là puiſſe naiſtre aucun ſujet qui porte voſtre dignité royale à deſſeigner & mediter quelque mauvais deſſein contre l'empire Romain: que ſi ceux de Stralſond ſe fuſſent monſtrez d'avantage affectionnéz, plus parfaits que par paroles envers l'empereur, leur ſouverain ſeigneur, la voye pour gaigner ſa clemence imperiale, eut eſté expediente au remede plus prompt contre les dommages de la guerre: car il ne leur eſtoit pas convenable d'appeller à eux des ſecours eſtrangers, ny d'en donner aux eſtrangers, au prejudice de l'empire.

Que ſi voſtre dignité royale a eſté offensée, & ſi elle a receu quelques indignitez par les ennemis de la paix; c'eſt choſe que nous n'approuvons pas: & ſi en la ſuſcription de nos lettres il n'y avoit pas ce qu'elle deſiroit, cela n'a pas eſté fait d'aucune mauvaiſe volonté, ny avec deſſein de diminuer ſon honneur, mais bien ſelon le ſtil duquel nous uſons meſme envers les autres roys. Et pour ce qui concerne les armes imperiales conduites en Baſſe-Saxe, & par apres aux coſtes de la mer Baltique, qui ont eſté ſuivies de preparatifs de guerre: pour ces choſes nous ne croyons point que ſa majeſté imperiale ait jamais eſté provoquée contre la couronne de Suede, ny ordonné eſtre entrepris aucun acte d'hoſtilité ſur l'eſtat de voſtre dignité royale: mais que ſon conſeil a eſté, d'aller au devant de tous ſujets de trouble, que vouloient exciter ceux qui eſtoient plus portez à ayder les conſeils ennemis, qu'à embraſſer la bien veillance de ſa majeſté imperiale qui leur eſtoit offerte.

Et de ce qu'elle ſe faſche, que ſes voiſins & parents ont eſté privez de leurs ſeigneuries paternelles, pour ce qui concerne les principautez & fiefs dependans immediatement de l'empire: nous ſçavons que voſtre dignité royale deferera d'autant plus equitablement l'arbitrage de cette cauſe à ſa majeſté imperiale, comme ſeigneur direct des fiefs de l'empire, que plus elle recogniſtra que ſadite majeſté eſt portée à la clemence, & qu'elle eſt tres-prompte d'adminiſtrer la juſtice à ceux qui la demandent. Auſſi auparavant nous avons fait voir noſtre ſoin par nos lettres, de recommender à l'equité de ſadite majeſté imperiale, la cauſe des

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ducs de Meckelbourg ; & que pour les secours qui ont esté envoyez au roy de Pologne en Prusse, nous ne croyons que cela ait rendu sa majesté imperiale ennemie de vostre dignité royale, veu qu'il n'apport rien de la raison de ce fait : mais bien croyons nous qu'elle a eu eu des causes particulieres, pour lesquelles elle a jugé n'estre à propos de n'abandonner le party d'un roy, qui lui est parent & amy : & d'advantage, puis qu'à present les tresors sont accordées de part & d'autre ; si vostre dignité royale veut pretendre de là, ou de quelques autres causes, avoir esté offensée, nous ne pouvons croire toutefois, que telles choses puissent ou doivent estre sujet de troubler l'empire par les armes, veu qu'il ne manquera pas d'autres voyes & remedes pacifiques pour composer les differents, & satisfaire à l'une & l'autre partie. Ce qui est cause que nous exhortons vostre dignité royale de ne se laisser induire par les conseils de qui que ce soit, de lever les armes contre l'empire, ny de vouloir faire juger les differents de ceux, qui jusques à present ont refusé de rendre obeyssance à sa majesté imperiale : & ne pouvons nous empescher de trouver estrange de voir maintenant, d'armées levée contres l'empire par vostre dignité royale, & de ce qu'elle ne retire ses troupes ; veu que voicy le temps auquel on peut consulter de plus grandes affaires avec nostre empereur invincible, nous promettans de travailler à l'establissement d'une bonne & solide paix en cette assemblée de Ratisbonne. Et si elle fait autrement, chacun pourra voir qu'elle ne veut recevoir aucun conseil important à sa seureté ; mais que vostre dignité royale veut entendre aux mauvais desseins de sa majesté imperiale. Reste donc qu'en nous promettant de meilleurs succez en toutes ces affaires, & nous confiant en l'asseurance de la paix, nous offrions nos offices mutuels à vostre dignité royale, lui souhaittans que toutes choses heureuses luy soient concedées par Dieu tout puissant. Donné à Ratisbonne le dixiesme jour d'Aoust mil six cens trente. De vostre dignité royale, les tres prompts amis & alliez.

XII.

LETTRE du roy de SUEDE aux electeurs catholiques *.

GUSTAVE ADOLPHE. Reverendissimes, tres nobles & tres-illustres princes, nos tres chers amis & alliez. Nous avons receu les lettres de vos dilections du dixiesme Juillet, & dixiesme Aoust à nous renduës depuis peu de jours, &

* Mercure François, tom. xvi. p. 338, &c.

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ayans conſideré la forme exterieure d'icelles, nous avons recogneu que maintenant avoient eſté corrigées les choſes contenuës aux lettres precedentes de vos dilections, concernantes noſtre titre de roy, ainſi qu'il eſtoit raiſonnable: & ayans ouvert les voſtres dernieres, il y a dequoy s'eſtonner, de ce que, contre la couſtume ordinaire, & le ſtil uſité aux lettres electorales addreſsées non ſeulement à nous, mais auſſi aux autres roys & princes ſujets à l'empire Romain, les noms de vos dilections ſont exprimez à vos lettres, comme ſi cela avoit eſté fait à deſſein de preferer les noms des autres à noſtre titre royal, & pour cauſer quelque prejudice à noſtre dignité & majeſté royale. Mais nous voulons croire que tout cela s'eſt fait par les ſecretaires, la plume deſquels a poſſible eſté ainſi conduite par quelques ennemis de la paix publique, afin que toute communication & commerce de lettres d'entre nous & vos dilections, ſoit à l'avenir rendu plus difficile, veu qu'ils cognoſſoient fort bien que nous ne voulons admettre ny permettre aucune choſe qui ſoit contraire à noſtre dignité royale: & pour meſme ſujet nous n'avons auſſi deu par aucune raiſon recevoir ny accepter les lettres que l'empereur nous à eſcrites depuis peu, en la ſubſcription deſquelles ſa majeſté nous appelle Uſeren Furſten (noſtre prince) en ſorte qu'il ſemble nous vouloir comprendre au nombre de ſes ſujets, & neantmoins nous ne tenons du benefice imperial la moindre poignée de terre; mais nous diſons que tout ce que noſtre empire embraſſe eſt tenu par nous de Dieu ſeul & de l'eſpée, ſa divine bonté par ſa clemence ayant favoriſé noſtre tres-juſte cauſe en toutes les guerres que nous avons faites juſques à preſent. Mais nous ne voulons point nous arreſter plus long-temps ſur ces choſes, veu principalement qu'il ſe ſçait aſſez, que par tels actes choſe aucune ne peut eſtre derogée d'avantage à noſtre majeſté royale, que de là il n'en puiſſe arriver autant à la dignité de vos dilections.

Et pour ce qui concerne ces choſes, nous avons eu pour agreable, de ce que vos dilections aſſurent n'avoir peu approuver les injures & indignitez à nous indignement & injuſtement faites par les communs perturbateurs du repos public: mais nous aurions bien plus agreable, ſi les remedes convenables à ces maux euſſent eſté appliquez en temps & ſaiſon; il ſemble que maintenant vos dilections s'eſlevent contre les choſes par nous commiſes, & excuſent aucunement & non entierement deſadvoüent tout ce qui s'eſt fait juſques à preſent par nos ennemis; veu qu'auparavant par nos lettres, nous avons ſuffiſamment exposé les raiſons qui nous contraignoient de donner ſecours à la ville de Stralſund & de procurer autant qu'en nous eſtoit poſſible le ſalut de cette ville voiſine, qui depuis pluſieurs ſiècles eſt conjointe par divers liens à nous & à

noſtre couronne, & d'aller promptement au devant du peril eminent, qui menaçoit nos eſtats & la mer Baltique. Et neantmoins nous n'avons enterpris aucune hoſtilité contre l'Empire Romain, ny attenté aucune choſe à ſon prejudice ; mais pluſtoſt nous nous ſommes perſuadéz qu'en cela nous remportions de grandes loüanges de l'Empire par nos merites, pour avoir empeſché que cette ville ne fuſt opprimée par les iniques perſecuteurs contre ſa meſme authorité imperiale, & l'ayant veu preſte à tomber és mains des ennemis de l'Empire Romain, nous avons comme embraſsé la meilleure voye pour ſa conſervation, l'avons maintenuë ſaine & entiere au meſme Empire : et eſtimons n'eſtre neceſſaire ny convenable de reciter icy toutes les particularitez de cette affaire, veu que nous pouvons facilement eſperer, que nul (au gouſt duquel non premiers actes n'ont peu ſatisfaire) ne peſe derechef toutes choſes d'une balance eſgale : ſcavoir ſi la ville de Stralſund n'avoit pas aſſez de cauſes juſtes & preſſantes d'implorer un ſecours eſtranger contre une force non moins injuſte qu'extreme ; & ſcavoir ſi elle pouvoit trouver une voye meilleure & plus expediente, pour s'aller rendre à la clemence de ſa majeſté imperiale, comme à un autel d'un port de ſalut. Ceux meſme du deſtroit du ſond ſont tous preſts de faire voir cela devant tous les juges plus equitables du monde, & chacun pourra facilement recognoiſtre combien peu profitoient en ce temps là' les decrets de l' Empereur, non ſeulement pour delivrer cette ville innocente du danger d'eſtre ruinée, mais auſſi pour pouvoir tant ſoit peu refroidir & temperer cette haine mortelle & fureurs inhumaines, qui s'allumoient à la ruine extreme de cette place ; ſes ennemis poſans tout droict & raiſon à la violence des armes.

D'avantage vos dilections diſent qu'elles ne peuvent croire que l'empereur n'ait eſté provoqué à prendre les armes, & faire des preparatifs de guerre pour envoyer en Baſſe-Saxe, & qu'il avoit ordonné qu'apres que ſes armes ſeroient conduites és coſtes de la mer Baltique, elles ſe jetteroient en ſes eſtats & pays. Ce que nous euſſions creu auſſi tres-volontiers, ſi tant d'exemples funeſtes contraires, que nous avons veu de nos yeux, ne nous euſſent fait recognoiſtre, que pluſieurs en ce temps là, pour avoir adjouſté trop de foy à ces choſes, ont eſté chaſtiez par des peines tres ſeveres : & euſſions jugé eſtre choſe indigne de noſtre dignité & authorite royale, de donner quelquefois trop de creance en de choſes de ſi grande importance, qui regardent le ſalut de l'eſtat & des peuples que l'eternel a mis ſous noſtre puiſſance. Mais nous ne penſions pas qu'il fuſt trop tard de ſe plaindre de cela. Toutefois pour ce qui eſt de l'empereur, nous ne nous promettions pas rien de mal de ſon coſté, quoy-

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que plusieurs ayent esté assez offensez par ses ministres: mais comme tels perturbateurs de la paix, n'estans par nous provoquez, n'ont pas laissé de nous faire mille indignitez, & d'adjouster injures sur injures (ainsi que vos dilections cognoistront par la deduction des dommages & offenses receus d'eux, que je leur aye depuis peu envoyée) & ainsi nul ne doit trouver estrange, si estans frappez de crainte & d'apprehension non vaine & inopinée, mais tres-juste, nous avons commencé d'avoir tels procedez plus que suspects. C'est pourquoy nous asseurans sur le droict tres-equitable de la defense, et que nous nous sommes resolus de defendre nostre dignité par d'autres voyes, & avons esté forcez à prendre en tels maux le remede plus salutaire pour en prevenir de plus grands, & pourvoir soigneusement, qu'eux qui sont faits à la navigation, n'entreprennent d'entrer en nos provinces qui leur sont voisines, & en celles de nos royaumes qui sont au delà de la mer, sans empescher que le domaine direct sur les choses qui dependent des fiefs de l'empire, ne soit conservé à l'empereur en l'empire Romain. Et toutesfois ce droict d'amitié, de voisinage & de consanguinité, ne se peut rompre, ny faire en sorte qu'il ne soit licite de se condouloir sur les adversitez des amis & voisins, & beaucoup plus des parents & alliez, & qu'il demeure encores à nous comme roy & prince d'avoir leur cause & raison pour recommendée, veu principalement que non tant en leur propre faute, mais bien que les ministres desseins des ennemis estans sans defense, & ny ayans en leur cause aucun ordre de droict gardé qu'avoit accoustumé d'estre conservé en l'empire Romain, tant à convaincre qu'a condamner, ils se sont veus precipitez en une si grande calamité.

Vos dilections se persuadent aussi, que l'empereur a eu ces causes particulieres, pour quoy il n'a pas jugé estre à propos que les amis & parents du roy quittassent son party, & que pour cela secours avoyent esté envoyez au Polonis en Prusse, & que par ainsi ils n'estiment pas cela estre si grande chose, qu'il n'y ayt encores d'autres moyens pacifiques pour composer les affaires, & partant que l'empire ne devoit estre troublé par d'autres mouvements de guerre. Et nous au contraire, nous nous laissons facilement persuader, que ces causes impulsives & persuasives n'ont manqué à nos ennemis pour envoyer ces secours, ou bien que ces raisons là sont pour justifier les causes de cet affaire, ou bien pour improuver nos actions. Nous voulons que vos dilections jugeants l'amitié qui est entre l'empereur & le roy de Pologne, ne nous imposent pas la necessité de ne pouvoir souffrir telles invasions & actes d'hostilité: & n'y a sorte de droict qui decide, qu'il ne nous soit loisible de defendre nostre dignité contre tels violateurs, qui ont

exercé toutes ſortes d'hoſtilitez au tré grand prejudice de nos eſtats, & d'en pourſuivre la vengeance par le juſte droict de la loy talion; & qu'il vaut mieux les aller chercher finalement de hors, & aux coſtes eſtrangeres, qu'en la maiſon & aux entrailles de noſtre royaume. Ce qui ne ſe peut faire, qu'avec une perpetuelle ſolicitude & agitation: pour ce que noſtre droit, ny les treves faites entre nous & le royaume de Pologne, ne peuvent ſe rompre ny diminuer. Et quoy que toutes ces choſes ſoient ainſi, les dernieres pourtant ne doivent pas eſtre premierement entrepriſes. Car vos dilections ſe ſouviendront, combien de fois nous nous ſommes travaillez, pour oſter toute diſcorde par compoſition amiable: mais ſi les choſes que nous avions ſi bien meditées, ont manqué au ſuccez deſiré, cela ne nous doit eſtre imputé, mais bien à leur iniquité, ſubterfuge & malice, qui ont indignement rejetté, & ſe ſont en partie moquez des moyens par nous propoſez. C'eſt pourquoy les remedes lenitifs ne profitant de rien, il ne ſe faut ſcandaliſer, ſi nous nous ſommes reſolus aux remedes corroſifs & ſeveres. Et pour ce que vos dilections par leurs lettres n'ont couché aucunes paroles des remedes qui ſe devoient eſperer, afin que par voſtre authorité & interpoſition il fuſt pourveu à faire ceſſer ces juſtes plaintes, ce n'eſt pas avec injure que nous les recherchons. Car quelle autre choſe ſe pouvoit-il recuéillir de là ſinon une option ou une neceſſité qui nous reſtoit, de pourvoir au ſalut de leurs eſtats, & du noſtre par une autre voye?

Neantmoins nous voulons bien repeter icy ce que nous avons ſouventefois proteſté, que nous ne voulons eſtre ennemis de l'empereur Romain, ny de vos dilections, ny des autres ordres & membres de l'empire, qui ne nous ont offenſez, ny les provoquer à l'advenir; mais ſeulement de demander par nos armes, que l'ambition, fureur & licence particuliere d'aucuns qui ſont accoutumez de peſcher en eau trouble, ſoient reprimées, afin qu'elles ne croiſſent outre meſure; & que la ſeureté de nous & de nos voiſins ſoit certaine. Ce que faiſans, nous ne troublerons l'empire Romain, ny ne voulons aſſiſter ceux qui refuſent l'obeyſance deuë à l'empereur & à l'empire, ny offenſer aucun de ſes eſtats, mais plutoſt pourſuivre les perturbateurs du repos public, & conſerver les nobles membres de l'empire de ruine & de ravages, & de venger les injures par eux faites. Finalement vos dilections nous exhortent de retirer & emmener nos armées, ce que nous jugeons devoir faire, ſinon lors que nous ſerons aſſeurez de la ſatisfaction des injures à nous injuſtement faites, & qu'il apparoiſſe de la ſeureté, tant de nous que de nos voiſins. Que ſi avant l'année courante les autres qui ont eſté pluſieurs fois admoneſtez, ſe fuſſent monſtrez prompts

prompts à rappeller leurs troupes ennemies de la Pruſſe, nous n'euſſions maintenant amené nos armées en ces coſtes. Toutefois ſi quelques conditions de paix, juſtes, equitables, & aſſeurées, ſont miſes ſur le tapis, & que nous recognoiſſions que la choſe ſe faſſe par l'autre partie: tant s'en faut que nous nous monſtrions contraries au traictés de la paix, que nous confeſſons ingenuëment que le but principal de nos armes n'eſt que la paix juſte & aſſeurée. C'eſt pourquoy nous faiſons de congratulations à l'empire Chreſtien, & à vos dilections, de ce que nous apprenons qu'elles elevent leur eſperance à une ſolide paix, & qu'elles ſemblent promettre, que la vertu, le ſoin & l'affection de voſtre illuſtre college inclinent à la paix commune de la Chreſtienté: & comme nous nous promettons toute ſorte de biens & amitié de vos dilections; auſſi nous trouveront elles tous-jours diſpoſez & preparez à la paix. Donné à Stralſond le 13 Septembre 1630. De vos dilections bon amy & parent Guſtave Adolphe roy de Suede.

Le meſme roy de Suede ayant veu les lettres que l'empereur luy eſcrivit au mois d'ouſt, cy-deſſus inſerées, & par icelles comme ſa majeſté imperiale s'eſtonnoit de ce qu'il eſtoit entré és terres de l'empire, le blaſmant de cette entrepriſe voulut ſe juſtifier par ce qui ſuit.

XIII.

LETTRE de l'EMPEREUR au ROY de SUEDE.*

NOUS Ferdinand par la grace de Dieu, empereur des Romains, &c. Au ſereniſſime prince Guſtave Adolphe, roy de Suede, des Goths & Vandalles, &c. noſtre amitié, dilection, & ſalut. Sereniſſime prince & tres cher amy, il nous a eſté rapporté de divers lieux, dignes de foy, que voſtre dilection a dreſſé n'agueres une puiſſante armée de cavalerie & infanterie, dont elle a inopinément fait entrer une partie, apres avoir paſſé la mer, dans les iſles de l'empire Romain, & en terre ferme au duché de Pomeranie, s'y eſtant emparée, non ſeulement de quelques places, villes, & chaſteaux d'importance: mais a auſſi outre cela commencé d'uſurper les gabelles & peages (qui en vertu de droict royal, n'appartiennent qu' à nos) & eſt encores en volunté de nous aſſaillir par toute ſorte d'hoſtilité, & d'empieter d'avantage ſur les pays

* Mercure François, tom. xvi. p. 334, &c.

dudit empire. Nous n'avons point ſouvenance, que depuis que nous ſouſtenons cette grande charge d'empereur il ſoit arrivé entre nous aucun contraire ou ſiniſtre accident, ou que nous ou l'empire ayons donné occaſion de trouble ou diffenſion, moins d'une ſi ouverte hoſtilité. Et pourtant il nous ſemble fort eſtrange, que voſtre dignité a entrepris de jetter contre nous & l'empire, les fondemens d'une guerre, poſſible tres facheuſe à l'une & à l'autre des parties, & ce pour quelque different particulier, touchant la ville de Stralſond, duquel voſtre dignité n'a deu concevoir aucun ombrage de danger ou prejudice. Car tout cela s'eſt paſſé dans noſtre terriore, & de l'empire, & concerne les droicts, & privileges d'iceluy, eſquels voſtre dignité n'a non plus de droict de nous faire la loy, qu'avec raiſon elle ſe trouveroit offencée, qu'en ſemblables debats l'on entrepriſt, de la maiſtriſer en ſon royaume de Suede. Et ce d'autant plus, qu' à noſtre opinion ledit different pouroit facilement eſtre compoſé & aſſoupy, ſous des conditions equitables, ſans venir à aucune hoſtilité ou effuſion de ſang, par l'entremiſe du roy de Dannemarc, qui n'a fait aucune difficulté de s'en charger, auſſi promptement qu'on le luy avoit propoſé & conſeillé, ſi voſtre dignité s'y fuſt portée de meſme zele & affection que nous, & qu'elle euſt au temps prefix & aſſigné envoyé ſes miniſtres avec inſtruction ſuffiſante. Mais comment que ce ſoit, il eſtoit plus que raiſonnable par le droict des gens, que voſtre dignité (ſuppoſé, qu'elle euſt creu d'eſtre aſſez bien fondée de nous attaquer par armes & de rompre toute amitié) nous euſt prealablement denoncé la guerre par un deffi public & legitime, avant qu'envahir l'empire ſi injuſtement, aſſeurant voſtre dignité, que nos preparatifs de guerre prez la mer Baltique, & ailleurs, n'ont point eſté faits pour l'offencer, ny cy devant, ny à preſent: ains qu'au contraire nous avons eu le deſir, de continuer entre nous les effets de bon voiſinage & toute amitié mutuelle, comme nous avons encore cette meſme affection, pourveu que voſtre dignité par ſes procedures contraires ne nous donne plus de ſujet de nous porter à d'autres reſolutions, & qu'elle faſſe ceſſer cette guerre non neceſſaire. C'eſt pourquoy nous l'exhortons amiablement, de ne s'ingerer plus avant és affaires de l'empire & que (ne luy ayans donné nulle occaſion) elle n'offence ny nous, ny les membres dudit empire, ains qu'elle retire ſon armée, au pluſtoſt des iſles & terres d'iceluy par elle occupées: Qu'elle n'empeſche plus par ſes navires, la navigation & le commerce maritime, & qu'elle ne nous incommode point, ſoit par mer, ſoit par terre, en la perception des droicts de l'empire. Que ſi au contraire (ce que nous n'eſtimons pas) il

arrive,

arrive, que voſtre dignité en meſpriſant noſtre preſente declaration imperiale, & confidente aſſurance de noſtre amitié, perſiſte en cette hoſtilité, & s'opiniaſtre à retinir les places par elles priſes, par ruſe de guerre, ou par force: nous, avec l'ayde & conſeil des electeurs de l'empire mettrons promptement en eſtat pour les recouvrer, & prendrons à cœur la conſervation de noſtre reputation & de l'empire, enſemble la defence & manutention des eſtats, qui continueront la fidelité & obeyſſance qu'ils nous doivent, afin d'obvier à une plus grande calamité. Nous eſperons, que voſtre dignité ne permettra point, que l'affaire vienne à cette extremité; & ſelon qu'elle aura deferé à nos preſentes lettres imperiales, nous ſerons tres prompts & diſpoſez à luy faire paroiſtre par bons offices noſtre amitié & bien-veillance en ce qui luy ſera agreable. Donné à Ratiſbonne, le dix huictieſme Aouſt, mil ſix cens trente. D. V. D. couſin & affectioné,

FERDINAND.

XIV.

LETTRE du ROY de SUEDE à l'EMPEREUR*.

AU ſereniſſime & tres puiſſant prince Ferdinand II. de ce nom, empereur eſleu des Romains, d'Allemagne, d'Hongrie, Boheme, Dalmatie, Croatie, & Sclavonie, roy, archiduc d'Auſtriche, duc de Bourgogne, Stirie, Carniole & Virtemberg, comte de Habſbourg & Tirol, noſtre tres cher couſin & amy.

Sereniſſime & tres puiſſant empereur, couſin & tres cher amy. Nous avons (non ſans admiration) entendu par la lettre de voſtre ſerenité, datée du 18 d'Aouſt, & a nous renduë ſeulement le 6 de ce mois, en noſtre camp de Ribnitz, qu'elle s'emerveille beaucoup, que cet eſté paſſé nous ſoyons entrez avec noſtre armée en Allemagne, & que vous taſchez de nous rendre coulpables, tant de cette entrepriſe meſme, que de ce qu'elle ſoit faite ſans aucune denonciation ou defi public. Certainement nous ne penſions jamais que voſtre ſerenité euſt peu tomber en une ſi profonde oubliance des choſes paſsées, ny ſe meſprendre contre la perſonne de celuy qui a commencé d'offenſer l'autre par ſes armes, puis que nous nous ſommes touſjours promis de ſon equité, qu'elle n'imputeroit jamais à la partie innocente ce que la coulpable avoit commiſe, & ne chargeroit l'une de la faute de l'autre:

* Mercure François, tom. xvi. 347, &c.

attendu que c'eſt le maiſtre de camp de voſtre ſerenité, qui ſans aucune prealable denonciation (nous ne rapporterons icy par le menu une infinité de cruautez & de hoſtilitez contre nous exercées) nous a jetté ſur les bras és années paſſées une grande & puiſſante armée, tant de cheval que de pied, ſous les eſtendarts ou aigles de l'empire Romain. Ce qui eſt notoire, & autant manifeſte comme il eſt tres veritable que nous n'avons que trop experimenté les mauvaiſes intentions & violences de ladite armée, leſquelles, ny nous-meſmes, par noſtre innocence, ny le conſeil de noſtre royaume, par ſes remonſtrances bien fondées & tres equitables, n'avons peu faire arreſter ny revoquer. C'eſt pourquoy, bien que nous le pezions en gros, ou en detail, nous ne pouvons comprendre ſous quel pretexte ou titre on nous pourroit charger de la cauſe de cette guerre, & par quelle raiſon on pourroit preciſément demander de nous la denonciation, laquelle voſtre ſerenité a meſme negligée, eſtant certain que nous n'avons travaillé qu'à tenir pour noſtre ſeureté la guerre eſloignée de nous, ſans la faire à autruy. Nous ne voyons auſſi aucune raiſon, qu'on nous charge du crime commis contre le droict des gents, puis que ce droict contient en ſon vray ſens, qu'és guerres deffenſives les defits ne ſe font tousjours par des herauts ou rois d'armes, mais par la nature & qualité meſme de telles guerres, quand on ſe ſent contre le droict tout-a-fait offenſé, & ouvertement aſſailly: voire qui plus eſt, pour ne manquer à une denonciation, quoyque ſuperfluë, & pour ne donner ſujet de ſe plaindre de nous avec fondement, comme ſi nous euſſions trompé le monde par les projets d'une paix, au envahi l'empire à l'improviſte, nous nous ſommes ſervis de cette precaution d'eſcrire à deux diverſes fois aux electeurs de l'empire Romain, comme auſſi nous avons admoneſté voſtre ſerenité par un deputé de noſtre dit conſeil vers le general de voſtre ſerenité, que ſi l'on n'avoit eſgard à nos juſtes plaintes, en nous donnant ſatisfaction des fautes contre nous commiſes, nous ſerions conſtraints de pourvoir par autre voye à la ſeurcté & conſervation de noſtre eſtat & dignité.

Voſtre ſerenité dit bien, que depuis ſon advenement à la dignité imperiale elle n'a commis ou permis aucune choſe tendante au prejudice ou danger de noſtre eſtat; que vos appareils & preparatifs par terre & par mer, n'ont jamais eu le but d'apporter aucun dommage à nous ou à nos eſtats, & que par des moyens paiſibles on euſt peu compoſer nos differents, n'eſtans pas d'une telle importance, qu' avec raiſon on ſe pouvoit formaliſer pour troubler l'empire. Mais ſur cela nous diſons que nous n'avons pas l'intention de debatre icy, ſi ces proteſtations ne ſont directement contraires

traires aux actes & effects ſi evidens, remettans tout au jugement libre de tout le monde. Et que nous ne ſcavons pas auſſi exactement, ſi voſtre ſerenité (dont les penſées nous ſont incogneues) ait eu quelque intention de nous faire du mal, ou de nous offencer: mais que ſous l'ombre & l'authorité du nom, & de la haute dignité imperiale, ſoit par voſtre commandement, ou par une grande connivence nous nous trouvons offencez, & outragez de beaucoup de dommages & affronts. Nous le ſcavons & ſentons, veu qu'il eſt auſſi manifeſte, que ſi quelqu'un ſe vouloit amuſer à en faire des demonſtrations ou deductions plus amples, ce ſeroit eſclairer le ſoliel en plein midy. Dont nous appellons ſans difficulté à la conſcience de voſtre ſerenité, laquelle nous prendrous pour teſmoin ou juge. Et quant à l'appareil de guerre, & de ce que nous en avons deu juger, nous rapportons à la cognoiſſance que tout le monde en a, & aux diſcours tant paſſez que preſents de vos miniſtres et officiers: mais principalement à leurs actes, traictez, entrepriſes, excez, deſſeins & conſeils, leſquels comme trop ſuſpects & apparents, deſcouvrent aſſez ce que nous en avons deu attendre. Et ſi tout cela n'eſtoit aſſez notoire, le duché de Pomeranie & les provinces voiſines pourroient teſmoigner, que ſous le faux pretexte de la crainte de nos armes, mais en effect à deſſein de nous deſplaire & faire du mal, les gens de voſtre ſerenité les ont tourmentez, pillez et entierment ruinez.

Nous advoüons bien clairement & ſimplement, que les differents ſurvenus entre nous pouvoient eſtre utilement terminez par autres moyens que par armes, d'autant qu'il ſeroit à ſouhaiter que vous n'euſſiez enterpreté ſiniſtrement, ains acunement ſouffert noſtre ſecours juſtement donné à la miſerable & trop injuſtement oppreſsée ville de Stralſund, ſans prejudicier en aucune façon à l'empire Romain, ains pluſtoſt pour garentir les decrets de voſtre ſerenité, comme nous avons de bon cœur, et d'un courage endurcy à la patience & conſtance, poſtpoſé à la commune tranquilitié, et au repos public de la Chreſtienté, toutes les indignitez et offences que noſtre coufin le duc de Holſtein, par voſtre commandement, et ſous les enſeignes de l'empire nous a faites. Par ainſi nous ne doutons point que nous n'euſſions peu venir à quelque accommodement, au lieu qu'au rebours on nous a contrains d'aſſembler avec grande deſpence une puiſſante armée, et la paſſer et loger en Allemagne, pour obvier en temps aux perils et dangers qui s'advancoient et nous menacoient trop evidemment. Mais puis qu'il a pleu a voſtre ſerenité de choiſir une voye contraire, et vos ſubdeleguez, lors preſens en la ville de Lubec, pour aſſiſter au traicté qui s'y faiſoit

avec

avec le roy de Dannemarc, s'eſtans enhardis, contre le droict des gens, de refuſer et defendre l'accez à nos embaſſadeurs y envoyez à cette fin, pour travailler à la compoſition de l'affaire de Stralſond; joinct auſſi que les armées de voſtre ſerenité ſe ſont ouvertement declarées de nous en vouloir, & l'ont confirmé par toutes ſortes d'hoſtilitez: nous avons cette grande confiance, qu'il n'y aura ame vivante, aimant le droict & l'equité, laquelle eſtant authoriſée pour juge ou arbitre, ne declare que la faute ou coulpe n'eſt pas en nous, mais bien en vouſmeſmes, qui avez mieux aimé de preferer la guerre à la paix par une certaine malveillance & inimitié conceue contre nous ſans aucun ſujet. Or combien que nous ſentons ſi iniquement & ſans aucune juſte cauſe provoquez nous voyans hors de toute eſperance de venir à quelque accommodement, eſtans bien certains qu'on ne nous imputera jamais aucun deſſein ou attentat inique, ny deſraiſonnable, pour lequel nous, pour eſtre plus exempts de tout ſiniſtre ſoupçon, ne ſerions plus obligez d'entendre à la paix, quon nous a voulu vendre trop chere: toutefois pour manifeſter à la Chreſtienté noſtre zele & ardeur au bien & tranquilité publique, nous n'avons point voulu deſiſter de nos conſeils & intentions dirigées à icelle, ains par nos ſerieuſes & aſſidues recherches, avons eſmeu le roy de Dannemarc, à ce que par ſon interpoſition, durant l'hyver paſſé, il nous preparaſt le chemin d'une amiable conference, qu'on feignoit devoir eſtre entamée entre nos commiſſaires de part & d'autre en la ville de Dantſick, ou nous avions envoyé, noſtre chancelier avec les adjoincts, bien munis de ſuffiſant pouvoir & inſtruction. Et afin que les factions de guerre ne troublaſſent ou empeſchaſſent les propoſitions & deliberations de paix, nous avons arreſté & dilayé de faire advancer noſtre armée, non ſans grande perte de temps, deſadvantage notable, & frais extraordinaries. Pour lequel ſoin particulier, qui ne viſoit qu'au repos univerſal de la Chriſtienté, nous avons pour recompenſe, que non ſeulement nos bonnes & ſalutaires penſees ont eſté aneanties par pluſieurs illuſions & ſubterfuges: mais que voſtre ſerenité oſe encores nous imputer la malheureuſe iſſue dudit traicté, au lieu qu'avec raiſon elle devoit pluſtoſt examiner les actions & procedures de ſon commiſſaire, par leſquelles voſtre ſerenité auroit cogneu, qu'il a empeſché que les mediateurs de cette affaire eſtans à Dantſick ne peuſſent meſmes venir à quelque entreveuë avec nos ambaſſadeurs, pour donner fondement a un traicté ſelon que la couſtume & la raiſon requierent en tel cas.— Voſtre ſerenité euſt auſſi outre cela mieux fait, de conſiderer que ledit traicté ſe pouvoit autant commodément & bien

bien faire en quelque autre lieu, qu'en la ville de Dantſick, puis que cette place, pour quelques differents ſurvenus entre nos officiers & ladite ville, s'eſtoit renduë ſuſpecte. Et voſtre ſerenité euſt deu quitter toute opiniaſtreté pluſtoſt que de cauſer au repos publique des prejudices & dangers ſi grands, ou de rompre totalement & à deſſein tout traicté ;— principalement à l'eſgard que nos commiſſaires eſprouverent aſſez clairement par des raiſons manifeſtes & urgentes, qu'il ne leur eſtoit plus loiſible ny poſſible de condeſcendre à aucun traicté au ſuſdit lieu de Dantſick, bien que voſtre commiſſaire fiſt des inſtances toutes contraires.

Quand donc tout cecy, tant en general qu'en particulier, ſera bien conſideré, nous pouvons fort librement laiſſer le jugement à toute perſonne ſincere & exempte de paſſion, lequel de nous deux a plus juſte cauſe de ſe plaindre ; & ſans aller plus loin, nous remettons tout a l'interieur de voſtre conſcience, afin qu'elle en ſoit juge, veu que la noſtre nous aſſeure fermement, que vous meſmes nous tenez pour incoulpables.

Voſtre ſerenité dit bien, que'lle veut conſerver avec nous & noſtre royaume de Suede une amitié indiſſolubl̃e, à condition que nous quittions & rappellions nos armées. Mais les choſes ſont venuës trop avant, & ne ſont plus en leur entier, puis que les dangers qui ont menacé & menacent tousjours nous & nos ſujets, ne ſont point imaginatifs, mais reels & effectifs : outre ce qu'on nous a, non par paroles, ains par armes, rudement attaqué, en exercant contre nous toute ſorte d'hoſtilité, tant par mer que par terre. Et pourtant nous eſperons que voſtre ſerenité nous excuſera, ſi pour noſtre ſeureté nous ne pouvons accepter telles offres & promeſſes, que vous appellez des ſincerations, veu qu'icelles ne nous pourront jamais donner aucune ſatisfaction, parce que nous ſommes plus griefuement bleſſez & offencez en effect, que de ſimples paroles : & croyons que voſtre ſerenité ne prendra en mauvaiſe part noſtre reſolution, de tenir fermes nos armes, que la neceſſité inevitable, & vos outrages nous ont fait prendre ; & de ne ceder, ny ployer en aucune maniere, juſques à ce que nous ſoyons exempts par vrayes & parfaictes cautions, du peril trop evident qui penche ſur nous, & que les grandes offenſes, & violents affronts à nous faits, ſoient reparez par une ſolide & reelle ſatisfaction ſans aucune tache de noſtre reputation. En cette conſtante & tres-juſte intention, nous attendrons conſtamment tout ce qui nous arrivera de la main de Dieu, à la bonté duquel, comme à la juſtice

juſtice de noſtre cauſe, nous avons tout remis, & recommandé.

Mais ſi d'aventure voſtre ſerenité eſt cependant touchée d'un ſentiment, qu'il ſoit deſormais que le vaiſſeau de la Chreſtienté, agité & tourmenté par des orages de guerre, ſoit en fin conduit au port de la paix, autant ſalutaire & profitable, comme ſouhaitée de tant d'oppreſſez ſoubs le joug des miſeres, ſans l'abandonner plus aux tempeſtes furieuſes des ravages & deſolations, & que pour cet effect le renouëment d'un traicté de paix aggréera à voſtre ſerenité: nous donnons parole d'y vouloir promptement entendre, & d'y apporter tout ce qui ſera en noſtre pouvoir pour l'advancement & le progres d'un œuvre ſi ſainct & glorieux.

Ce qui aura lieu, ſi voſtre ſerenité promet & demonſtre, effectivement; que les princes & villes d'Allemagne, comme reſpectivement nos tres chers couſins, beaux freres, parents, amis, alliez & voiſins, ſeront reſtituez en l'eſtat au quel ils eſtoient devant ces derniers troubles, en ſorte que nous puiſſions eſperer cy-apres de joüir d'une entiere ſeureté, pour noſtre eſtat, de ce coſté là: que l'amitié & bonne correſpondence entre noſtre royaume & ledites provinces ſoit reſtablie, & que nous ſeachions eſtre caſſez, aneantis, & revoquez, tous appareils & equipages de guerre par mer, comme nous eſtans trop ſuſpects & contraires à la prerogative que nous avons de protecteur de la mer Baltique: & que finalement les deſpenſes par nous faites pour noſtre defenſe, à laquelle nous avons eſté obligez & conſtraints par vos injures & offenſes, viendront en juſte deuë conſideration. Alors voſtre ſerenité n'aura pas ſi toſt de ſon coſté accomply ces choſes, que par effect elle trouvera que nous ferons voir à tout le monde combien nous ſommes pouſſez d'ambition à maintenir, tant avec vous qu'autres nos voiſins, une amitié inviolable, ſincere & conſtante, & que nous deſirons ſur toute choſe vous vaincre & ſurpaſſer par toute ſorte d'amitié & de bons offices, apres que la bonne intelligence entre nous ſera reſtablie, & tous mal-entenduës oſtes. Les choſes doncques eſtans remiſes en tel eſtat, nous ne voudrions veritablement donner aucun ſubjet à perſonne de ſoupçonner, ou de ſe plaindre juſtement que nous melaſſions impertinemment ou preſomptueuſement des affaires qui ne nous touchent point, ou peu. Car comme nous ne ſommes accouſtumez de nous ingerer aux affaires d'autruy, quand elles ne ſont tellement joinctes à nos intereſts, que celles là trainent ceux-cy avec elles: teſmoin nos deportements, durant le temps de la guerre par tout allumée en Allemagne, où nous n'avons ſongé qu'à ce qui concerne noſtre

noſtre royaume, & non à la Germanie juſques au temps que par outre evidence & iniquité de vos miniſtres, les affaires eſloignées nous ſont venuës ſur les bras, & par leur union, conſequence, & reflexion, nous ont pouſſé & engagé à prendre ſoin de celles d'autruy, comme des noſtres propres. Par ainſi l'on nous trouvera maintenant & à l'advenir en ſi bonne intention, que nous ne tenons, ny ne voudrions tenir, en aucune façon que ce ſoit, les affaires d'Allemagne, pour les noſtres, & vous aſſeurons de ne vouloir vous y donner la moindre faſcherie.

Nous concluons donc avec cette ſincere & ſaincte proteſtation, que tout cecy ſoit entendu, ou droictement, ou ſiniſtrement, & que cette affaire ſe tourne, ou en paix, ou en guerre: que nous ne couvons aucune inimitié ou hoſtilité contre l'empire Romain, jaçoit que vous taſchiez de vous ſervir de telles expoſitions pour voſtre deſcharge & excuſe, & pour nous charger de hayne & de blaſme. Mais tant s'en faut, que nous vouluſſions jamais ſonger à aucune choſe, tendante à ſon prejudice ou dommage; qu'au contraire nous declarons, de vouloir continuer & conſerver une pure & vraye amitié & correſpondence auſſi longuement, que de ſa part on s'abſtiendra de toute hoſtilité contre nous, & qu'on ne favoriſera par aſſiſtance nos ennemis, pour ne nous forcer de venir à des oppoſitions & revenges legitimes. Et tout ce que dit eſt vous ſuffra pour le preſent d'une declaration bien nette de noſtre affection & volonté ſur ce ſujet. Vous recommandant à la ſaincte grace de Dieu. Eſcrit à Stralſond ce dernier jour d'Octobre mil ſix cents trente. De voſtre ſerenité tres-affectionné couſin,

GUSTAVE ADOLPHE.

XV.

HARANGUE de l'ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre (c'eſt à dire le chevalier ROBERT ANSTRUTHER) à l'empereur FERDINAND II: Prononcé à Vienne en mois d'Aouſt, 1630.

LE ſereniſſime, & tres puiſſant roy de la Grande Bretagne, mon ſeigneur & prince tres clement, ſalüe affectueuſement voſtre majeſté imperiale, luy ſouhaitant tout bonheur, proſperité & longue vie.

Comme ainſi ſoit que le ſereniſſime roy mon maiſtre ait appris tant par lettres & reſponce, de voſtre majeſté qui me furent miſes en main à Ratiſbonne, (touchant l'affaire du prince

prince Palatin:) Que par le rapport de bouche que je luy en ay fait, jusques ou il auroit esté procedé en traittant dudit affaire, à sçavoir que vostre majesté imperiale se seroit declarée, *Que si le prince Palatin accepte tout ce qui est contenu és quatre conditions prescrites en la responce de vostre majesté* & y consent *avec la submission requise*, & l'accomplit de bonne foy, que vostre majesté, *non par aucune obligation de droit, ains meüe de sa pure grace, & en consideration des intercessions tant du roy catholique, que de celuy de la Grande Bretagne, non seulement luy offroyeroit le pardon de toutes les choses passées, revoqueroit la sentence de son ban, mais aussi luy fourniroit son vivre & entretenement des revenus du Bas Palatinat*, & de ce que sereniſſime infante a sous sa puissance . . . . . & combien, que cette declaration & responce fut *telle* qu'elle auroit peu *justement* esmouvoir l'affection du sereniſſime roy mon maistre, & le porter *à embrasser & employer les autres moyens, qui pour lors luy estoient, & luy sont encores à present offerts & en main, il auroit toutefois mieux aymé preferer la voye d'un traicté amiable, & j'y tant de fois essayé*, se fiant & appuyant sur cette esperance & promesse donnée, tant de la part d'Espagne que d'ailleurs, à luy & à ses ministres, que par la continuation du traicté commencé, & par l'establissement de la paix entre sa majesté, & le roy d'Espagne, *Il viendroit en fin à bout de son juste & equitable dessein par le moyen d'une composition amiable: & que pour y parvenir il a une grande confiance, en la manſuetude & clemence de vostre majesté imperiale.*

Puis donc que par la singuliere grace & faveur de Dieu, l'affaire en est venu jusques là, que toutes occasions de guerre & dissentions estant de tout levées & assoupies, avoit esté faite & affermie une paix heureuse & reciproque entre le roy mon maistre, & le roy d'Espagne, l'incertitude de laquelle avant sa conclusion estoit alleguée, comme empeschement & retardement, à ce que cette affaire ne fut amené à une heureuse fin: il a maintenant jugé à propos & expedient de me deputer derechef comme son ambassadeur vers vostre majesté imperiale, pour faire paroistre à tout le monde par ce nouvel essay, qu'il ayme trop mieux obtenir ce que justement il desire & demande *par la voye douce (& sans guerre) d'une amiable composition.* Pourveu qu'il voye quelque apparence probable de n'en estre frustré de ces pretentions, *que d'embrasser les moyens & conseils plus violents, & remettre l'affaire au danger d'un hazard incertain & formidable.* Ce qui mesme ne se pourroit pas faire, sans faire esbranler ou rompre l'amitié & correspondence qu'il a eu jusqu' à present avec la maison d'Autriche.

Or

Or afin qu'il ne manque rien, de ce qui pourroit estre requis pour haster & avancer l'affaire de questions, le roy mon maistre, comme chacun peut sçavoir par clairs & divers tesmoignages qu'il en a donné, *a tant fait* qu'il *a persuadé & disposé* le sereniſſime prince Palatin son beau frere, en sorte qu'il est prest de satisfaire aux *quatre conditions proposées & prescrites* par vostre majesté, *autant qu'il se peut, avec son honneur & sauve sa conscience*, & autant qu'il sera trouvé convenable, à l'equité & à la raison: se promettant au reciproque, que vostre majesté imperiale, revoquant le ban dudit prince le recevra en grace comme auparavant, & le restablira en *ses pays & droicts patrimoniaux & hereditaires*, apres tant de calamitez & l'exil de plusieurs années, qu'il a souffert & souffre encores, non sans esmouvoir à compassion tous ceux qui pensent à son estat & condition presente.

Or en quelle sorte & par quel moyen le prince entend de satisfaire ausdites conditions, je l'exposeray plus amplement quand il aura pleu à vostre majesté imperiale (comme tres humblement je l'en requiers) de nommer quelques uns de gens de son conseil, comme il fut fait dernierement à Ratisbonne, pour ouyer & entendre le tout: car si je voulois presentement exposer lesdicts moyens en presence de vostre majesté imperiale, ce seroit vouloir abuser de la patience d'un si grand prince qui me donne une audience si favorable.

Ces choses estant en ce poinct, & la declaration du prince Palatin estant telle, que l'on espere, que vostre mansuetude & clemence s'en contentera & n'exigera *rien d'avantage ou de plus dur* de la part dudit prince: le sereniſſime roy mon seigneur & maistre requiert instammement de vostre majesté imperiale, ayant en fin esgard à ce qu'on s'est essayé par tant d'ambassades & de traictez, & qu'en considerant tant de recommendations de roys & princes, comme aussi tant d'autres raisons & considerations tant de foys mises sur le tapis: & que mettant aussi en consideration l'estat tant present que futur des affaires d'Europe; & finalement en pesant en la douce balance de sa clemence la susdite declaration, ... recoive son beau-frere en grace, & le retablisse selon la poursuite qui en a esté faite depuis tant d'années, avec tant d'ardeur, travail & soin, y estants mesmes intervenües les interceſſions presque de tous les roys & princes de l'Europe; & que vostre majesté ne restreigne point si fort la grace qu'elle luy veut faire, que de la renfermer dans *de limites si estroits, que de ne luy vouloir accorder plus que son vivre*, ains qu'elle l'eſlargisse & amplifie autant qu'il est convenable à la grandeur & clemence imperiale du

plus

plus grand prince de la Chreſtienté, & comme l'ont eſprouvée quelques autres, qui toutefois avoyent failli & choppé plus lourdement, à ce qu'il apparoiſſe & ſoit notoire à tant preſens qu' à venir, que voſtre majeſté imperiale, aura eu eſgard tant à ſa propre grandeur, & à ſa clemence renommée par tout le monde, ne voulant point que la ſplendeur & le luſtre de ſa grace ſoit obſcurci par le nuage d'une beneficence trop referrée, & qui ſeroit comme contre ſon naturel: comme auſſi qu'elle aura mis en conſideration, la dignité des roys & princes, comme eſtant choſe peu convenable à leurs qualitez, ſi apres une telle moderation, de laquelle ils ont uſé dès le commencement de ces mouvemens, apres tant de prieres & ſervices, apres tant d'ambaſſades, & apres avoir employée tants de labeurs & de deſpenſes, ils ne pouvoient encore rien impetrer en faveur de leur parent & allié, *ſi non ſon vivre ſimplement: ce qui toutefoys tant par la preſcription du droict, que par la loy de pieté ne peut juſtement eſtre denié à aucun*, & finalement que voſtre majeſté imperiale, aura eu eſgard à la condition & qualité du prince, en faveur de qui on intercede: comme eſtant iſſu d'une tres-illuſtre maiſon, & allié aux plus grands roys & princes de l'Europe. Conſideré meſme, qu' eſtant, pour lors, encore jeune & non en age de majorité, il auroit pluſtot eſté pouſſé par les conſeils precipitez des autres, que non point porté de ſon propre mouvement à faire ce qu'il a fait, & finalement qu'ayant un grand nombre d'enfants en tout ce fait innocens, il ſeroit digne d'eſprouver une d'autant plus favorable condition & grace plus liberale.

Si donc voſtre majeſté imperiale le reçoit en ſon ancienne bien vueillance, & le reſtablir en ſa premiere condition, elle donnera la parachef, & mettra la comble à tant d'illuſtres triomphes, & rendra la memoire de ſon auguſte nom, non ſeulement recommandable par tout le monde, comme ſur un haut theatre, mais meſme la rendra venerable, comme conſacrée au temple de la clemence & de la vertu, ayant atteint le faiſte des victoires, qui eſt de ſe vaincre ſoy meſme. D'avantage s'il eſt vray que les princes en pardonnant ſont rendus les plus ſemblables à Dieu, comme a dit quelqu'un: voſtre majeſté imperiale laiſſera un teſmoignage à toute la poſterité, & un exemple digne de loüange, monſtrant combien elle a eu à cœur, & s'eſt etudiée d'imiter les vertus divines en toutes ſes actions, ſur tout en s'eſlargiſſant à donner & conferer ſes graces. En outre, voſtre majeſté par ce moyen gratifiera à tant des roys & princes entremetteurs, & faiſant grace à un obligera tous les autres, & entre tous s'obligera le ſereniſſime roy mon ſeigneur & maiſtre d'un bien

bien de tant plus ferme d'une amitié inviolable: & obligera encore le prince ſon beau-frere, & ſes nepveux iſſus de ſa tres chere & unique ſoeur, à une obeyſſance & reverence perpetuelle: & avec tout cela affermira ſa puiſſance & ſon eſtat, & la grandeur de toute la tres illuſtre maiſon d'Autriche, comme d'un boulevard invincible d'amour, & la laiſſera aſſeurée pour ſes enfans & leurs deſcendans à touſiours.

D'abondant voſtre majeſté imperiale exaucera par ce moyen, & appaiſera les ſouſpirs, les doleances, les complaintes, les gemiſſemens & prieres du peuple innocent & foulé depuis tant d'années, & ſur lequel retombent toutes les incommoditez & les troubles qui naiſſent de la guerre, tandis que les plus grands & le plus puiſſans en demeurent exempts: reſtaurera auſſi & resjouïra pluſieurs milliérs de pauvres perſonnes tres affligées, & qui ne demandent autre choſe que d'eſtre fomentées par une douce paix, les garentira de la ruine qui leur pend ſur la teſte, & obligera chacun à prier continuellement pour la proſperité & conſervation & de voſtre majeſté, & de toute la maiſon d'Autriche.

Finalement voſtre majeſté imperiale empeſchera que ceux qui ſe ſentent intereſſez & auſquels il importe, perdans patience, pour ſe voir entretenus en vain par des longueurs & retardemens à deſſein, & par l'apparence de quelque eſperance douteuſe & ambigüe, ne viennent à ſe jetter dans les conſeils precipitez d'une dangereuſe neceſſité, & coupera les racines d'autres mouvements, & les pretextes de nouveauté que les voiſins & eſtrangers, prompts à en rechercher, & prendre les occaſions, pourroient facilement prendre de là: & en ſuite poſera un ferme fondement par lequel d'autant plus promptement & aſſeurement la paix ſera rendüe non ſeulement à l'Allemagne, mais auſſi à toute l'Europe, & ſeront auſſi d'autant plus aiſement appaiſez les autres mouvemens qui ſemblent s'eſlever & gliſſer à cette occaſion: & pour auſquels remedier il n'y aura aucun de tous ceux qui auront part au plaiſir & benefice; du reſtabliſſement & reconciliation du Prince Palatin, qui ne s'y employ promptement & volontiers, eſtant autrement à craindre que ſe ſentant offenſez au meſpris qu'on aura fait de leur interceſſion & priere, ils ne s'en eſmeuvent, & qu'ils n'ayment mieux, & n'eſtiment plus à propos de pourvoir à leurs affaires, en jettant de l'huyle ſur le feu, que de l'eau pour l'eſteindre.

Que donc voſtre majeſté imperiale daigne metttre en conſideration ſelon ſon incomparable bonté & ſageſſe, toutes telles & ſemblables raiſons, & ſe remette devant ſes yeux d'un coſté *les prieres interceſſoires faites les années paſſées de Philippe* III. *roy d'Eſpagne, & de l'archiduc Albert* de glorieuſe me-

moire; & comme auſſi *la moderation* de laquelle a uſé le defunct roy de la Grande Bretagne *en la guerre de Boheme*, & ſes *merites non petits* envers la maiſon d'Autriche, & ſes diverſes ambaſſades, tant en Allemagne qu'en Eſpagne, avec de ſouvent reïterées proteſtations; & d'autre coſté qu'elle *ayt eſgard au moins à cette preſente ambaſſade* du ſereniſſime roy mon ſeigneur & maiſtre, appuyée d'une part du conſentement, authorité, & conjonction du roy catholique, & d'autre, comme comblée de la nouvelle interceſſion du roy de Dannemarc, comme pour mettre la derniere main à toutes les autres; & enſemble ait eſgard aux humbles prieres, ſi affectueuſes & tant de fois reïterées du prince, du fait duquel il s'agit, aux lettres eſcrites de ſa propre main avec tant d'humilité & de ſouſmiſſion, à l'affection & deſir qu'il a de ſe monſtrer tres prompt à rendre à voſtre majeſté imperiale toute fidelité & obeyſſance, conſtamment & inviolablement, & de recompenſer à l'advenir par un grand ſoin & diligence tous les devoirs & ſervices qui par injure du temps auroient eſté obmis.—Que voſtre majeſté imperiale daigne auſſi jetter *les yeux benins de ſa grace ſur une tendre numereuſe & innocente famille Palatine, & ſur une troupe d'autres leurs parents & alliez qui embraſſent en ſuppliant les autels de voſtre clemence & bonté imperiale!* & pour fin, que voſtre majeſté imperiale contemple la gloire, l'utilité, la felicité & le profit qui en redonderont à jamais ſur voſtre majeſté imperiale & ſur toute la maiſon d'Autriche, & s'eſpandront ſur tout l'empire, voire par toute la Chreſtienté!

C'eſt ce que j'ay eu charge & mandement de la part du ſereniſſime roy mon maiſtre de repreſenter à voſtre majeſté imperiale, attendant là deſſus avec toute humilité & devotion une favorable reſponſe.

XVI.

LETTRE du Roy de SUEDE au Roy Tres Chriſtien.*

TRES ſereniſſime, & tres puiſſant prince, frere, & couſin; l'ambaſſade que voſtre majeſté nous a envoyée, au mois de juin dernier, nous a eſté d'autant plus agreable, que par icelle, elle a declaré quelle eſtoit ſon amitié & ſa bienveillance envers nous, comme auſſi ſon affection loüable & conſtante, qui a regné ſi long temps entre les roys de l'un & l'autre royaume, nos predeceſſeurs, ſoit maintenant renouvellée;

* Mercure François, tom. xvi. p. 160, &c.

voire

voire plus eſtendüe & amplifiée pour ce qui concerne l'utilité de l'aſſeurance, & liberté mutuelle, des peuples des nos royaumes; ce qui eſtoit à deſirer ſingulierement en l'eſtat de l'Europe troublé & agité. Auſſi votre majeſté nous a elle tellement recogneu enclin & porté à cette affaire ſalutaire, en ce que nous nous trouvons maintenant conformes en meſmes deſſeins & deſirs. Mais pour ce que l'ambaſſadeur de voſtre majeſté le ſieur baron de Charnacé *a (pour quelque conſideration, qu'à peine pouvons nous comprendre) trouvé un ſcrupule en l'inſcription des patentes de noſtre traiſté d'alliance, & n'a peu agreer que nous miſſions nos titres & nom aux patentes expediées de noſtre part pour ledit traicté, ainſi qu'ont accoutumé de faire tous les autres roys: choſe, que nous avons trouvé fort eſtrange, de s'arreſter à un poinct de ſi peu d'importance, qui ne convenoit nullement à la diminution, ou augmentation de l'une ou l'autre majeſté! Toutesfois à peine avons nous eſtimer eſtre du devoir d'un roy de negliger les moindres choſes qui concernent la dignité royale; & plutoſt euſſions nous ſouffert la rupture de ce traicté, que de relaſcher aucune choſe de cette dignité que nous avons receüe de Dieu & de nos ancestres.* Mais pour ce que nous ne pouvons nous perſuader en quelle façon nous devons interpreter *ce faict dudit ſieur ambaſſadeur*, ne voulans croire que cela ait eſté fait de la volonté & par commandement de voſtre majeſté; pour ce que nous avons tousjours receu des bons teſmoignages de ſon amitié, & bons offices reciproques & eſperons encore les meſmes d'icelle; pour ce ſujet nous avons mieux aimé agir avec elle par toute ſorte de bienveillance & offices mutuels, que par aucuns prerogatives, & eſperons d'elle toute affection reciproque, & qu'elle recognoiſtra que nos majeſtez ne deſpendent que de Dieu ſeul, & ne voudra ſouffrir aucune choſe contraire à noſtre dignité.

Que ſi voſtre majeſté juge eſtre expedient pour le bien commun, & pour nos royaumes, que la traicté d'alliance ſoit encore continué entre nous & voſtre majeſté (afin que nous perſuadions que c'eſt nous, outre l'utilité commune qui le requiert, & ſur l'aſſeurance que nous avons de l'aſſiſtance à nous promiſe de voſtre majeſté, que nous nous employerons en cette guerre d'Allemagne) il ſera neceſſaire pour rendre plus facile l'effect de ce traicté, que nos ambaſſadeurs ſoient à l'advenir munis & inſtruits de bons & ſuffiſans pouvoirs, pour exprimer la force & intention des premiers en ce qui concerne cette alliance. Nous recommandons affectionément à la clemence & faveur de votre majeſté, les illuſtres perſonnes comte de Lenoue, & baron de Semur, porteurs des preſentes, qui nous ſemblent dignes de cette charge, & leſquels nous

deſirons employer à lever des troupes, ſous le bon plaiſir & permiſſion de voſtre majeſté, tant à eux qu'aux autres qui ſeront par nous envoyez en vos royaumes, *y faire levées des ſoldats pour nous & noſtre armée*, & quoyque nous ne doutions nullement de ſa bonne volonté, neantmoins nous demandons amiablement avoir d'elle quelque choſe d'aſſeuré, ſurquoy nous puiſſions croire qu'il plaiſt à voſtre dite majeſté nous gratifier en cette affaire. C'eſt dequoy nous la prions, comme auſſi de ſe vouloir perſuader que nous uſerons de meſme promptitude, & tant en cette affaire qu'en toutes autres : & que nous ſommes tres preſts de luy teſmoigner toutes ſortes d'affection & ſervice, priant finalement Dieu tres puiſſant, qu'il donne à voſtre majeſté toute bonne & heureuſe protection, ainſi que nous le deſirons de tout noſtre cœur.

Donné à Stralſund le 17 de Septembre 1630. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

XVII.

LETTRE du Roy de SUEDE au Cardinal de Richelieu *.

PAR vos lettres à nous rendües de la part de votre dignité illuſtriſſime, le . . . . . ; Nous avons veu comme elle recognoiſſoit la digne eſtime, que nous faiſons de ſes rares & eminentes vertus, & comme nous magnifions ſa grande & loüable affection pour le bien commun : auſſi nous ſommes nous perſuadez, que voſtre meſme dignité illuſtriſſime recognoiſſoit quelle eſtoit noſtre conſtante affection & intention ; & que non ſeulement elle conſerveroit cette bonne opinion qu'elle en avoit conceüe, mais auſſi la rendroit plus illuſtre pour meriter du bien commun, & du deſir de la ſervir. Auſſi ne doutons nous point que nous n'euſſions perceu quelque fruict des ſoins qu'elle a pour la ſeureté, repos, & liberté publique, ſi le ſieur baron de Charnacé, ambaſſadeur de ſa majeſté trés Chreſtienne, *n'euſt trouvé du ſcrupule, en ce que moins nous eſperions y en avoir.* C'eſt pourquoy il ſera adviſé ſuivant les conſeils tant eſtimez de votre dignité illuſtriſſime, par quel conſeil ſalutaire toutes les choſes deſtinées au bien public pourroient eſtre conduites à la fin tant deſirée, & oſter toutes ſortes de remiſes & delais à une affaire ſi ſalutaire & importante ; en quoy la ſera deüe à votre dignité illuſtriſſime, laquelle meritera grandement de nous, & de tous autres qui ont principalement intereſt en la

* Mercure François, tom. xvi. p. 363.

cauſe.

cauſe dont il s'agit. Sur ce nous recommandons votre dignité illuſtriſſime, à la divine protection, & ſommes preſts de faire tout ce qui ſervira à ſa gloire.

Donné à Stralſund le 17 de Septembre 1630. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

XVIII.

HARANGUE du Sieur CAMERARIUS, Ambaſſadeur du Roy de SUEDE, aux Eſtats de HOLLANDE & PROVINCES UNIES.

[Pronounced in October 1630.]

ILLUSTRES & tres-puiſſants ſeigneurs, &c. Je ne doubte point que les lettres du roy mon maiſtre que je preſentay avant hier à M. le preſident, n'ayent eſté leües a voſtre aſſemblée; mais ayant charge expreſſe de ſa majeſté de vous deduire plus amplement de bouche ſes bonnes intentions, je ſuis venu pour m'en acquitter en peu de paroles, pour ne point prejudicier au bien public parmy vos grandes occupations.

Vous vous ſouvenez combien vous avez eu le ſoin du ſalut & de la ſeureté publique, depuis que par le changement des affaires d'Allemagne la maiſon d'Autriche en Allemagne eſt devenue puiſſante, a commencé à entreprendre ſur la liberté preſque de tous les roys & eſtats: *& avez depuis quelques années exhorté ſa majeſté par ambaſſadeurs exprès de donner ſecours aux oppreſſez.* Vous ſçavez auſſi que ſa dite majeſté vous a tousjours communiqué en confiance tous ſes deſſeins, & offert par pluſieurs fois ſon affection & ſecours: c'eſt ce qu'il fait encores à preſent, vous donnant à entendre, les cauſes & motifs qui l'ont fait reſoudre à paſſer la mer avec ſon armée.

Le vint-unieſme de Mars dernier, ſa majeſté vous avertit *que par l'interceſſion du roy de Dannemarc il s'eſtoit porté pour entendre à un traicté de paix à Dantzic*, vous donnant moyen, ſi le trouviez bon, d'y envoyer de voſtre part des perſonnes, qui par leur conſeil pourroient ſervir au bien public & au voſtre particulier. Ses lettres vous ont eſté rendües *un peu tard*; & je ne ſçay ſi à cauſe de cela vous n'aurez point *mal pris la bonne intention* du roy mon maiſtre; *mais vous avez recogneu par effet, que la retardement n'y a point fait de prejudice.* Mais je n'ay peu entendre ſi vous

avez reſpondu, & quoy, aus dites lettres de ſa majeſté, *qui ſe fachant de ce que je ne luy fait nulle mention d'une choſe de ſi grande conſequence*, je m'aſſeure que ſi je n'obtiens autre choſe, pour le moins vous me juſtifierez envers elle, de ne luy avoir peu eſcrire ce que je n'ay peu ſcavoir de vous.

Or eſpere-je que, comme ſa majeſté, ne vous a rien celé juſques icy de ſes deſſeins & conſeils, que vous auſſi ſelon l'amitié, qui depuis tant d'années a eſte contractée avec vous, traicterez ſa majeſté avec pareille confiance, afin qu'elle puiſſe prendre & executer ſes reſolutions plus promptement & ſeurement, ſoit pour la paix, ſoit pour la guerre, principalement quand il entendra, que vous vizez unanimement au meſme but de recouvrer la liberté publique?

Le dés en eſt maintenant jetté:—ſa majeſté a paſſé non ſeulement le Rubicon, mais la vaſte mer*, & s'efforcera, moyennant l'ayde de Dieu, d'acquerir par armes ſa ſeureté qui n'a peu juſques icy obtenir, ny par lettres, ny par ambaſſades, ny pour ſoy, ny pour autres: ou, pour le moins; de mettre l'affaire en tel eſtat que les armes facilitent la paix.

Et ſa majeſté ayant entrepris une telle charge, non point pour aucune utilité particuliere, mais ſeulement en conſideration de la calamité publique, & principalement pour remettre la mer Baltique (à la domination de laquelle l'Eſpagne & l'Autriche aſpirent il y a long temps pour voſtre ruine) en ſon premier eſtat: pour faire reflorir le commerce, & procurer voſtre bien & utilité; elle ſe perſuade que vous ſeconderez ſes genereux efforts, non ſeulement de vos vœux & faveurs, mais auſſi de voſtre conſeil & aſſiſtance. . . Sa majeſté *n'eſt point ignorante de l'incertitude des choſes humaines, & ſçait fort bien que les armées ſont journaillieres*, & partant elle eſpere qu'en tout evenement vous ne permettrez point qu'elle ſe voye du tout negligée & deſtituée de ſes amis, au peril & cauſe commune, elle ſe porte avec moins d'allegreſſe en ſa proſperité, ou que Dieu ne vueille, elle ſe trouve plus empeſchée à ſe relever en adverſité.

Si le bonheur, dont le ciel vous a comblé cette année paſſée par tant de victoires & emoluments, eſt ſi grand, que vos ennemis meſmes ne peuvent croire que vous ne vouluſ-

* One may take the liberty here to hazard a ſlight conjecture. The expreſſion of *vaſtemer*, conſidering the ſhort paſſage from Stockholm to the iſle of Rugen, cannot with any propriety be applied to the expedition of G. On the other hand, the Germans, if I miſtake not, uſually call the Baltic the *Eaſt Sea* [*die Oſt-ſee*] La Oëſt-mer; which the capital initial to *Vaſte* in the French copy, and the hyphen between *that* and *mer* ſeem to confirm. But a Frenchman thinks nothing deſerves orthography, which happens to be out of the limits of his own country.

ſiez

ſiez vous prevaloir de tant de favourables occaſions à leur ruine, en faveur de vos amis: ne permettez donc point que le fruict de vos victoires vous ſoit oſté & à vos amis, & retourne à vos communs ennemis: ce qui ne peut faillir d'arriver, ſi vous ne vous portez à rompre de plus en plus *les forces d'Eſpagne* deja fort ebranlées: ou pour le moins, aſſiſtiez vos amis, qui ſe portent courageuſement à les divertir de vous.

C'eſt ce que ſa majeſté m'a commandé de vous repreſenter, & ſerieuſement enjoynt de luy faire entendre voſtre reſolution *au plutoſt*, pour pourvoir de bonne heure à ſes affaires, ſoit pour la guerre, ſoit pour la paix. *Partant, je vous prie bien humblement de ne point differer voſtre reponſe, ſi d'avanture vous ne deſirez traitter de cecy particulairement avec moy par les deputez.* Je vous obeiray de tout mon pouvoir, comme meſſieurs, &c. &c.

XIX.

TREATY of Confederation and Alliance for five years, between LEWIS XIII. King of FRANCE, and GUSTAVUS II. King of SWEDEN, for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Princes and States of Germany; concluded at BERNWALT in the Marquiſate of BRANDENBURG, Jan. 18, 1631*.

SERENISSIMI ac potentiſſimi principis domini, domini Guſtavi Adolphi, Suecorum, Gothorum, Wandalorumque regis, magni principis Finlandiæ, ducis Eſthoniæ & Careliæ, nec non Ingriæ domini, domini noſtri clementiſſimi commiſſarii: nos infra ſcripti Guſtavus Horn, de Malla & Heringa, eques auratus, & exercitus Suecici campi mareſcallus, Joannes Bannerius militiæ generalis, regni Sueciæ ſenatores; & Carolus Bannerius de Hufften, ſecretarius natus & pro tempore ad aulam Pomeranicam legatus, notum teſtatumque facimus:

Quod cum ad componendum bellum Sueco-Polonicum à ſereniſſimo ac potentiſſimo principe ac domino, domino

* The preſent copy is taken from a very curious work, entitled, Recueil des Traités de Confederation & d'Alliance, entre la Couronne de France, & les Princes & Eſtats Eſtrangers Depuis l'an MDCXXI, juſques à l'an MDCLXXII, *ſine loco*. Here are inſerted many pieces which the grand collectors of treaties in the French intereſts have been aſhamed to own.—We find another copy of the treaty of Bernwalt in the Swed. Intellig. Part I. 75.

Ludovico XIII. Galliæ & Navarræ rege Chriſtianiſſimo, miſſus eſſet illuſtriſſimus dominus Hercules baro Charnacæus, conſiliarius ſtatus & tribunus, ac poſt illud negotium feliciter peractum, non minorem ſacræ regiæ majeſtatis noſtræ zelum intelligeret, quam ſereniſſimi ſui regis voluntatem fœderis ineundi, in communium amicorum vicinorumque libertatem recuperandam.

Et quoniam conditiones quibus ejuſmodi libertas recuperari, & mutuum fœdus iniri poſſe videretur, à ſacra regia majeſtate domino noſtro, cui horum locorum conſtitutiones omnium optimé ſunt perſpectæ, antehac propoſitæ ſereniſſimo Galliæ regi per dominum legatum communicatæ, ipſi adeo placuerunt, ut mandata & plenipotentiam procuratoris domino legato dederit de iis tractandis ac concludendis; noſque ex parte ſacræ regiæ majeſtatis domini noſtri deputati eſſemus, ut cum eo de toto hoc negotio conveniremus.

Poſt acceptas igitur traditaſque utrinque legitimas principum noſtrorum plenipotentias, cum præfato domino legato Galliæ de dicto fœdere, nomine ſacræ regiæ majeſtatis domini noſtri, ſequentes articulos ſtatuimus & concluſimus, ſicuti & vigore harum ſtatuimus & concludimus.

I. Ut ſit fœdus inter præfatos ſereniſſimos Sueciæ & Galliæ reges pro defenſione ſuorum reſpectivè communium amicorum, ſecuritate etiam maris Balthici, & oceani, libertate commerciorum, nec non reſtitutione oppreſſorum imperii Romani ordinum; et ut fortalitia ac propugnacula quæ extructa ſunt in portubus ac littoribus alterutrius maris oceani aut Balthici vel in Rhœtia demoliantur, & in eum ſtatum reducantur in quo proximè ante hoc bellum Germanicum fuerunt.

II. Et quoniam adverſæ partis animus à juſta illatarum injuriarum reparatione in hanc uſque diem alienus fuerat, factaſque hactenus interceſſiones rejecerat, idcirco communium amicorum ſalus armata manu vindicator.

III. In eum finem rex Sueciæ pro tanta belli mole exercitum triginta mille peditum & ſex mille equitum ſuo ſumptu in Germaniam ducat & habeat. Rex Galliæ *quadringenta millia talerorum imperialum quotannis tribuito*, ejuſque ſummæ mediam partem 15 menſis Maii, alteram 15 Novembris Lutetiæ Pariſiorum vel Amſterodami in Hollandia (prout regis Sueciæ miniſtris videbitur) infallibiliter numerato ac tradito.

IV. Conſcriptio militum ac nautarum, exportatio navium ac rerum bellicarum in mutuis territoriis libera ſit, hoſtibus verò denegetur.

V. Delin-

V. Delinquentes in disciplinam militarem & fugitivi, domino suo pro administranda justitia in eos tradantur.

VI. Si deo placuerit regi Sueciæ felices successus concedere, in negotio religionis non aliter se geret in occupatis deditisque locis, quam secundum leges & constitutiones imperii, et in locis in quibus exercitium religionis catholicæ Romanæ reperietur, in integro remaneat.

VII. Ad hoc fœdus quicunque alii status vel principes voluerint, sive in Germania, sive extra eam, admittantur. Idque debitè caveatur, ut qui admissi fuerint, nec clam, nec palam, suo vel alieno nomine adversæ parti faveant, aut regibus præfatis, vel communi causæ noceant, quin potius singuli ad hoc bellum sumptus contribuant, quantos unicuique vires permiserint & interesse requirit, eaque peculiari conventione transigantur.

VIII. Cum duce Bavariæ & liga catholica in imperio Romano amicitia vel saltem neutralitas servetur, si illi reciprocum præstiterint.

IX. Quod si per dei gratiam occasio tractandi se offerat, ex communi fœderatorum consilio tractetur, nec ullus fœderatorum sine altero quid statuito pacemve inito.

X. Hoc fœdus quinque annos durato, à data nimirum præsentium usque ad primam diem Martii Stilo Veteri, anni supra millesimum sexcentesimum trigesimi sexti; intra quod tempus nisi secura pax obtineatur, ex communi rursus fœderatorum consilio prorogetur.

XI. Conventum est tandem ut quoniam præterito anno de hoc fœdere tractari cœptum, ut in sex annos concluderetur.

Et cum rex Sueciæ multos interea in hoc bellum sumptus contulerit, ideo pro priori illo anno jam ferè elapso nomine regis Galliæ ipso die subsignationis præsentis tractatus N. N. talerorum imperialium præstentur, quæ etiam per certas cambii literas à nobis recipientur, & ad cæterorum quinque annorum summam non pertinebunt.

In quorum omnium fidem, &c.

Actum in Stativis regiis Bernwaldi in Nova Marchia Brandeburgensi, decima tertia Januarii, anno 1631, stilo veteri.

XX. A short

XX.

A ſhort NARRATION of the PROTESTANT DIET held at LEIPSICK: beginning February the 8th, 1630-1, and ending April the 3d, 1631. Printed at London 1632.

[N. B. In republiſhing this piece, we have altered here and there a few inaccuracies of ſtyle, and rectified *ſuch errors* in point of *fact* as occurred to us.]

THE imperial diet at Ratiſbon thus ending November $\frac{13}{23}$, left matters in a far worſe ſtate than it found them: for that men perceived now their very hopes to be taken away, as their liberties and goods had been before: and the proteſtant princes finding themſelves ſtartled by four things eſpecially, perceived it high time now for them to take the alarm. The firſt of the four was this: that whereas the duke of Saxony had, in the time of the diet, written advice unto the emperor, of the king of Sweden's approaching; the emperor tells him again, how he hoped that himſelf (the elector of Saxony) and Brandenburgh would well aid him with money, ammunition, and other neceſſaries. By which anſwer, the elector of Saxony perceived a new bill of charges coming upon the proteſtants next thoſe parts where the king of Sweden was landed. The ſecond was this: the compendious courſe taken by the emperor for the recovering of the church lands; which neither the elector of Saxony was able to ſtop by his letters unto the emperor, nor the elector of Brandenburg, and other princes, with their preſence at the diet *: but that even before their own faces, daily commiſſions were ſent out againſt them. A third was this: the rigid courſe (taken by advice of the jeſuits) for reformation of the proteſtant churches and ſchools, and the forbidding of the liberty of the Auguſtan confeſſion. The fourth was, that decree of the emperor (publiſhed four days before the breaking up of the diet, though projected long before) for the continuance of the wars againſt the king of Sweden: whereas the way had been propounded and adviſed upon before, how to compound the matter, rather than how to continue the troubles. And what aggravated the decree for the wars being, not only that the princes were to be at the charges of it, but that the levies were to be laid and collected, not by the conſent of thoſe who ſhould pay them, but at the pleaſure of the imperial commiſſaries: for the moderating of whoſe power,

* We have proved the contrary of this aſſertion, in the part of our hiſtory that relates to it: the two electors alleging, by way of excuſe for their perſonal abſence, that the imperial troops had rendered them unable to defray the expences of ſuch a journey. *See alſo Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburg.*

and

and repreſſing the numbers and inſolences of the ſoldiers, notwithſtanding ſome ſlight promiſes were now made, yet how far they would be kept, was in their own pleaſures. The proteſtants by theſe arguments being not only made ſuſpicious, but ſenſible too, that there were not over many good intentions in the emperor towards them, their eſtates or religions, began to enter into a conſultation for their own ſafety. The plot for it was laid thus. That whereas there had been a conference between them and the catholics at the former diet, concerning the church lands, the further treaty thereupon was referred unto a diet (procured by the catholics) to be held at Francfort upon Mayn, in Auguſt following; the duke of Saxony ſhould write his letters unto the emperor (which was ſeconded by the mediation of the electors of Mentz and Bavaria), intreating liberty for the proteſtants to hold a diet by themſelves, in ſome convenient place; that ſo by their united councils they might be provided, for an anſwer at the future diet of Francfort.

The imperial aſſent being thus obtained, the proteſtant princes, by their letters and ambaſſadors, agree upon the diet: the place to be Leipſic, and the time the 8th of February. That the ſeveral princes and ſtates therefore might know beforehand, what inſtructions to give unto the ambaſſadors they were to ſend, the duke of Saxony, in his invitatory letters to each of them, lays open the purpoſe of the intended diet; fairly communicating the main propoſitions, both unto them and to the emperor. The contents whereof were, firſt, to conſult how the church might with a good conſcience be maintained in her ancient liberties and happy ſtate. Secondly, how to keep their due obedience to the emperor, and yet preſerve the ancient conſtitutions and peace of the empire. Thirdly, how to maintain correſpondency with the catholic princes. And, fourthly, what to anſwer for themſelves both in general and particular, as well concerning the maintenance of the reformed religion, as to the emperor's edict concerning the church lands, when they ſhould come to meet at the diet of Francfort.

The princes thus invited, and the time now come, upon the 4th of February 1631, the elector of Saxony enters Leipſic in great ſtate, and the elector of Brandenburg a little after him. Thither in perſon came theſe proteſtant princes alſo: Chriſtian, another marquis of Brandenburg, John, William, and Bernard, dukes of Saxe Weymar. William landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, Frederick marquis of Baden, Auguſtus prince of Anhault, Frederick count of Solmes, John, George, and Erneſt Lodowicke, counts of Mansfeilt, and

and the depoſed dukes of Mecklenburg. The following princes ſent their deputies, the duke of Deuxponts, John Erneſt, another duke of Saxony, Frederick Ulrick, duke of Brunſwick, the duke of Lunenburg. The ſeveral princes of the Circles of Suabia and Franconia*, the lady of the abbey of Quidlinburg, the biſhop adminiſtrator of Mecklenburg, the counts of Stolberg, the barons of Reuſſen and Schonberg. Theſe towns and ſtates ſent their agents alſo: Norimberg, Straſburg, Francfort, Lubec, Bremen, Brunſwick, Hildeſheim, Mulhauſen, and Northauſen†. Duke Lodowic Frederick, adminiſtrator of the dukedom of Wirtemberg, was newly dead, and duke Julius not yet ſettled; and therefore being not able to come himſelf, he ſent the vice-chancellor of the dukedom, called Dr. Loefler, and ſome other counſellors, as deputies for that duchy. And theſe are the proteſtant party in the empire: ſome whereof being Lutherans and ſome Calviniſts, they firſt of all agree to have that diſtinction of names (which had cauſed ſo much ſchiſm and hatred heretofore) to be utterly taken away, making a general decree, that both profeſſions ſhould from thenceforth be called by one name of Evangelical.

No man was ſuffered to ſtay within the town, whoſe buſineſs was not known: the ſtreets ends were chained up and barricadoed; guards ſet at the ſeveral ports; and the keys of the gates every night brought into the duke's chamber; and all this was to prevent ſpies and ſurpriſes. The duke, elector of Saxony (on whoſe greatneſs and countenance the party and action very much depended) makes a ſpeech firſt of all, which had reference unto his former letters of invitation unto them; proteſting withal, his own firmneſs and forwardneſs for the peace of the empire, and the maintenance of the Religion; and that he would be ready to venture both life and goods in the cauſe; ſo deſiring every man freely to give his counſel in ſuch manner as they might be able to render a fair account of it unto the emperor. Unto this meeting, the king of Sweden alſo ſends his ambaſſador, Dr. Chemnitius, who in his maſter's name delivers them this aſſurance: that his majeſty's intentions were no other, than to reſtore the empire to her ancient peace, the princes to their liberties, and to defend the church in her religion; telling them moreover, that the French king was newly entered into a league with him for

* Duke of Saxe-Altenberg; add likewiſe John Caſimir duke of Saxe-Coburg, Auguſtus count Palatine, and Auguſtus prince of Anhault.

† Add the deputies of the archbiſhoprick of Bremen.

five

five years to come. The ambaſſador had both ſpeedy audience and honourable entertainment. The diet, to be brief, broke up on Palm Sunday, the 3d of April following. The concluſions agreed upon, themſelves expreſs in their letters, in humble and complaining manner, enlarged in many ſheets of paper, ſent by an expreſs courier unto the emperor, in which their joint deſires were thus ſignified.

Their complaint and remonſtrance I reduce into theſe propoſitions:—

That the golden bull and conſtitutions of the empire had of late been all abuſed; that the emperor's late edict for reſtitution of the church lands, and his endeavours to root out the proteſtant religion, were the main cauſes of theſe late troubles. The firſt of theſe, breeding jealouſies and diſcontents betwixt the proteſtants and the papiſts, and the ſecond tending to the utter ruin of the two electors of Saxony and Brandenburg. Then they complain of injuſtice done unto particular princes and cities, ſome of which were injured by the violent taking away of their church lands: as the dukes of Wirtemberg and Brunſwick, the prince of Anhalt, the counts of Hohenloe, Stolberg, Lippe, Waldec, Werthimb, Erpach, &c. the town of Augſburg, and others; ſome hindered in the exerciſe of their religion, as Auguſtus and Frederick, princes Palatine, and younger brothers unto Wolfgang William, Palatine of Newburg, now turned papiſt. Others had their eſtates confiſcated, as the lady electreſs Palatine*, and her ſon Lewis, prince Palatine, the dukes of Mecklenburg, &c. for whom the whole college of electors had interceded in the late diet, but not prevailed. Others complain of the violent altering of the feods and tenures of their lands and lordſhips, as the laſt beforenamed princes and John Caſimir elector of Saxony, into whoſe lands the imperial commiſſaries have with force and arms intruded, changing the tenures of the tenants, and altering the religion. Erneſtus, marquis and elector of Brandenburg, complains of the ſame wrongs offered unto his pupils, the young marquiſes of Onſpach†. Ulme duke of Brunſwick complains, firſt, of the ravages of his lands done by Tilly, upon pretence of monies owing to the king of Denmark, and made over by the ſaid king unto the emperor, who employed Tilly thus to ſtrain for them. Secondly, of the ſeizure of his biſhoprick of Hil-

* The mother and brother of the king of Bohemia, Lewis being duke of Simmern.

† Which are of the houſe of Brandenburg: their lands lying by Nuremberg.

deſheim.

deſheim. And, thirdly, that the chief town of his own reſidence, Wolfenbuttle, had been forced to take an imperial garriſon.

Others complain, how they might not have the benefit of the law, but were driven away by threatenings and diſcourteſies. The electors and princes complain of contempts and indignities offered unto their perſons, ſome of them having been threatened the baſtinado by ſome of the emperor's ſoldiers. The cities and circles of the empire complain, that undue and exceſſive impoſitions and taxes had been laid upon them, not by the conſent of themſelves (as the imperial laws command) but at the pleaſure of any of the emperor's commiſſaries. That, under colour of protecting them, they have been forced to afford quarter and maintenance unto the imperial armies, who, when they ſhould indeed have defended them, moſt cowardly ran away. That when they would not endure the ſoldiers inſolencies, they have been declared enemies of the empire, and forbidden to defend themſelves; that their lands have been given to ſoldiers, as if they had been conquered. That they have been forced to contribute to imaginary companies of ſoldiers (perchance to four or five), as if they had been a complete band. That the commiſſaries have aſſigned quarters and paſſages unto the ſoldiers, without ever aſking leave of the princes or countries: that people have been tortured for their money, had their cattle driven away, their houſes fired, and all commerce driven out of their country. That the ſoldiers neither obſerved martial diſcipline nor moral honeſty, neither keeping the laws, nor fearing God; that virgins and women have been raviſhed upon the high altars; that if the weekly contributions were not paid at the commiſſaries abſolute pleaſure, the ſoldiers then ſpoiled the country. The marquis of Brandenburg complains, that notwithſtanding the king of Sweden had two parts of his country (the old and the new Mark) yet was he forced to pay a full contribution for the whole marquiſate to the Imperialiſts. That himſelf, by the ſoldiers being ſo long in his country, was left ſo poor, that he was not able to entertain a garriſon for the defence of his own palace, and was fain to abridge even the neceſſary proviſions of his own table and family; that the ſoldiers, entertained by the proteſtants for their own defence, have been turned againſt them, to take away the church lands; that trebly more contributions have been raiſed againſt no enemy, than ever were when the Turks were in Germany. That when the princes of the houſe of Saxony, as, namely, Altenburg, Weymar, and Coburg, had excuſed themſelves of diſability to pay each of them 1454

dollars a month, which the commiſſary Oſſa had required of them; then Tilly threatened to draw 10,000 more dollars a month out of them. That conſidering all this, they could perceive nothing elſe, but that the emperor had intended their utter ruin: whereas he had dealt more gently with thoſe of his own hereditary dominions. That all this is moſt contrary unto the oath of the emperor, and unto the laws of the empire, inaſmuch as ſuch hath been complained of by the ſeveral electors and princes, and by them proteſted againſt in the late diet of Ratiſbon; wherefore they now humbly petition to be relieved, proteſting otherwiſe that they are no longer able to endure, but ſhall be enforced to defend their perſons, conſciences, eſtates, and ſubjects; reſolving notwithſtanding to continue their due loyalty and obedience unto the emperor, humbly now deſiring a fair and gracious anſwer from him. Leipſic, March 18, 1631.

Their concluſions were anſwerable unto their propoſitions.

1. That conſidering it was their ſins which deſerved theſe puniſhments, they command public prayers to be made unto Almighty God for the diverting of theſe miſeries.

2. That means might be thought upon, and a friendly treaty appointed with the catholic princes, for removing all jealouſies, and reſtoring good terms and concord betwixt them, as for ſeventy years before it had been.

3. That when the time and place for this treaty were once appointed, the proteſtants ſhould there appear a little before, to prepare themſelves what to ſay in it.

4. And the more fairly to diſpoſe both Cæſar and the Catholics unto their intentions, that their grievances ſhould in humble manner be beforehand, by letter, preſented both unto the emperor and the three catholic electors.

5. That theſe grievances ſhould in thoſe letters be preſſed to be contrary unto the emperor's oath, the imperial laws, the privileges of the princes, the honour and ſafety of the empire. That the wars would undo all; the inſolencies of commiſſaries and ſoldiers were ſo inſufferable, as that it ſtood neither with their conſciences, their ſafeties, nor their honours, to ſuffer themſelves and ſubjects to be any longer thus abuſed; and that they would hereupon deſire the benefit of the emperor's ſo often promiſed protection.

6. That ſeeing theſe greater and fuller aſſemblies were both chargeable and tedious, they agreed, that certain deputies ſhould, as neceſſity required, be, in the names of all the reſt, appointed, both to treat and determine of what ſhould ſeem convenient for the common cauſe.

7. The

7. The decree of levies of ſoldiers (both of horſe and foot) to be made in their ſeveral dominions and diviſions, without croſſing the conſtitutions of the empire, or offence of any, and only in their own defence.

8. That whereas in a diet of the empire held 1555, it had been decreed, how that neighbouring princes ſhould live neighbourly, and if any oppreſſed others, the reſt ſhould relieve them; this relief they now promiſe one another, deſiring, that if in theſe troubleſome times, the levies and other carriages could not poſſibly be every way agreeable to the conſtitutions of the empire, that it might not be interpreted to be done on purpoſe.

9. They decree the continuance of their loyalty and obedience unto his imperial majeſty.

10. They agree alſo upon the proportion of the levies.

Thus the elector of Saxony engages himſelf to raiſe ſix regiments, Brandenburg three. The ſeveral Circles of Suabia, the Rhine, and Franconia, three regiments apiece; and the Circle of Lower Saxony agreed to furniſh monies for the raiſing and paying of one regiment. Each regiment of foot was to be 3,000 ſtrong, and of horſe 1,000. And thus the diet being ended upon Palm Sunday with a ſermon, Saxony diſplays his defenſive banner, beats up his drums, begins his levies, and ſo at their coming home do the reſt of the princes.

Theſe concluſions and reſolutions of the proteſtants were not a little boggled at at court, did not ſlightly diſpleaſe the emperor, and ſtartle the catholic leaguers, with their adherents. The proteſtants hear of it in both ears; for this are they, both by words and writings, threatened and reviled; yea, their new league and ſtrength were by ſome confidents not a little ſcoffed and ſcorned at. But they that had been uſed to hard deeds before, were ſufficiently hardened againſt foul words now; they were not to be diſcouraged this way, they did their buſineſs, and let the others talk their talks. Things going thus on, it was by the middle of May every where perceived, how that theſe leaguers of Leipſic were now in very good earneſt. For now upon the taking of Magdeburg, the proteſtants ſtrongly ſuſpecting by the inhuman cruelty there uſed by the imperialiſts, that it was not a heat of war alone, but that there was a core of malice diſcovered in it, not an imperial, but a popiſh ſpite, unto that city above others, for having been one of the firſt that harboured Luther and his religion; they begin to make it their own caſe, and that, for their religion's ſake, they

were

were all not likely to be much better uſed. Some therefore of the neighbour princes (thoſe, namely, of Saxony and Suabia) demand of the cities of Ulm and Memmingen, &c. ſituate in Suabia by the river Danube (which were of the proteſtant league with them) to entertain for garriſons ſome of theſe new levied forces. Memmingen conſents; but Ulm, being a greater city, relies upon her own ſtrength. Theſe things being done, command is given by the emperor unto Eggon count of Furſtenburg (appointed general of the Circle of Suabia) to employ thoſe 8,000 (lately come out of Italy, after that the wars of Mantua were ended) together with 8 or 10,000 more, againſt thoſe towns aforeſaid. Furſtenburg preſſes ſo hard upon Memmingen, that about the beginning of June, he enforceth it to renounce the new league, and to purchaſe the emperor's pardon at the rate of 50,000 florins ready pay, and 25,000 monthly contribution. The proteſtant league being now noiſed abroad, and another meeting at the latter end of May at the ſame Leipſic intended, thither come the ambaſſadors of England, Sweden, Saxony, and Brandenburg; there is the uniting of their forces with the king of Sweden propounded, but not concluded; only the paſſage of Wirtemberg, heretofore denied him by Saxony, is now yielded to, to be open for his army. M. Tilly about the ſame time diſpeeds a meſſage unto Saxony with overtures of a peace, promiſing ſhortly to come himſelf with ſufficient commiſſion to confirm it. This being ſuſpected to be a plot, either to divert or ſtagger the reſolution of the duke, or a trick to gain time, and that Tilly's commiſſion might perchance be in his ſcabbard, the meſſage was not accepted, notwithſtanding that Tilly did, in the mid June following, come in perſon indeed, and at Oldſleben had treaty with the duke's ambaſſadors.

When this would not do, and the emperor, by the duke's ſecond letters (dated the day after the end of the late diet), underſtanding the reſolution of the leaguers, which by their general levies he perceived them ready to maintain; and hearing withal, the king of Sweden to be victoriouſly already advanced quite through Pomerania and Mecklenburg, into ſome places of Brandenburg, out thunders he his imperial ban againſt the Leipſic leaguers, dated at Vienna, May 14, peremptorily forbidding any place of the empire to grant either relief, paſſage, or place of quarter, muſter, or rendezvous, unto any of their forces; commanding every man to deſtroy, kill, and perſecute them as enemies: and the eaſier to dehort the leaguers, his majeſty offers to releaſe them of their oaths taken in prejudice

of him at Leipſic, and to grant pardon to as many as ſhould come in: upon pain of death forbidding all their ſubjects either to contribute to their levies, or to ſerve under their enſigns, but to turn both their monies and perſons towards the advancement of his imperial ſervice, promiſing the freedom of conſcience and eſtates to all that ſhould thus obey him.

Divers people are naturally afraid of thunder; ſome of the leaguers, therefore, (and eſpecially the grave-headed burghers in the richer cities) began now to quake at the noiſe of this ſo hideous a proclamation: which fear of theirs much cooled their blood, made them the leſs zealous and warm in the reſolution; but he that hath not courage enough to fight, hath wit enough commonly to excuſe his cowardice. So fell it out here; divers of the backwardeſt palliating their own remiſſneſs with the news they pretended to have heard, of the mammering of the chief man in the action, the duke of Saxony. And this had like to have arreſted the whole deſign. Saxony hearing of all this, notwithſtanding he was at this inſtant hard laid at, by Hagenmüller, the emperor's ambaſſador, to come over to his maſter; yet (to prevent a jealouſy) would he not ſo much as once ſpeak with him, then at Torgau, but referred him for audience over unto his privy council.

Hagenmüller's propoſitions were theſe four:—

1. To conſult how the buſineſs about the church lands might beſt be compounded.

2. How the inconveniencies occaſioned by the wars might be eaſed.

3. That the agreement of Leipſic, for ſtanding upon their own defence, might be cancelled.

4. That he would adviſe how a peace might honourably be concluded with the Swede, and that the duke would mediate it.

The anſwer of the duke's council is too long to inſert; and, to be brief, the ambaſſador returns not well ſatisfied. Immediately hereupon, the duke diſpatches his letters unto the ſeveral leaguers, aſſuring them of his own conſtancy, and inviting them with all ſpeed to haſten their preparations.

Theſe letters of Saxony brought about the matter again; and he, to ſhew that he meant to do more than write letters, lays ſure guards upon his own frontiers ſome eight or ten thouſand men; proceeding warily hitherto, and all upon the defenſive. The proteſtant princes of Suabia (which lie along the Danube, between the dukes of Wirtemberg and Bavaria) do hereupon aſſemble at Eſſingen, reſolving to ſtick cloſe to the articles of Leipſic, reinforcing their levies thereupon.

And

And now the fair city of Norimberg in the Upper Palatinate returns to her former reſolution, notwithſtanding the particular threatenings of the emperor, to give the ſpoil of it unto their great neighbour the duke of Bavaria. The city of Straſbourg arms alſo; and the city of Ulm, encouraged by the new adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg, duke Julius, refuſes to give paſſage to the late troops coming that way out of Italy, and ſends 300 muſqueteers to aid their neighbours of Memmingen againſt them.

The landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel (againſt whoſe country it was generally reported that Tilly would forthwith come, and that he was already for that purpoſe upon his march as far as Duringen) beſtirs himſelf all this while, levies men, and fortifies his frontiers. Tilly ſends before he comes to him, and that theſe four demands:—

1. To pay the arrear of the contribution due unto the emperor.

2. To give ſufficient hoſtages or ſecurity for the future; directly profeſſing him either a friend or a foe to the emperor.

3. Immediately to caſhier his army.

4. To lay open his paſſages for the emperor's forces, to receive imperial garriſons into Caſſel and Sichenheim, and to give quarter to five other regiments.

Hard terms all. Unto which the landgrave returns though a negative yet a modeſt anſwer. This way not ſpeeding, it ſeems the way of practice and of treachery was attempted, for the landgrave preſently upon this diſcovers ſome correſpondency entertained by two or three of his own chief lords with Tilly, for the delivering up his two chief towns of Caſſel and Sigenheym, for which they are executed. Tilly after this in a rage ſends three ſeveral troops into his country, his own intended expedition againſt him being diverted by news of the king of Sweden.

All this while (namely, until the latter end of June) was there no aſſurance of the proteſtant princes purpoſe to unite with the king of Sweden; but they all ſtood upon terms of neutrality, kept their obedience unto the emperor, ſtanding only upon the defenſive, without once offering any act of hoſtility, where they were not firſt provoked. Saxony had now 17,000 foot and 3000 horſe all in a readineſs. Upon the ſame terms ſtands the marquis elector of Brandenburgh, who, notwithſtanding the near alliance betwixt the king of Sweden and himſelf (the king having married the ſiſter of the ſaid marquis) yet that he ſeemed far enough from uniting with him, appears by an action of his, which had like to have

coſt him dearly. The elector denies a requeſt of the king's, for two paſſages for his army (now in the Brandenburgher's country), and eſpecially for that the marquis now deſired his town of Spandau again, which upon ſome terms had at the firſt been lent unto the king; which the king taking very unkindly, (divers circumſtances perchance occurring) all of a ſudden beſieges the elector's town of Berlin, bending his cannon upon the very palace, threatening to pillage it. The difference is at length appeaſed by the electreſs, together with the promiſe of 30,000 rix-dollars a month, and to have the town of Spandau (Cuſtrin he alſo deſired) again conſigned over unto him as before.

XXI.

Regis SUECICI de MAGDEBURGENSI excidio publica expurgatio.

Quocirca rex culpam amiſſæ, nec ſervatæ urbis, publico ſcripto à ſe amolitus eſt: [Chemnit. de Bello Sueco-Germ. tom. i. 124.]

ERRORE Magdeburgenſium, quo in ipſo turbarum limine, ad habendos delectus ſufficientem pecuniæ ſummam minime anticipando, impegerant, *ſub initium perſtricte, luculenter deinde, & ad oculum demonſtrans:* ſummis quidem viribus ad ſuccurendum Magdeburgo contendiſſe, nec quicquam in eo feciſſe reliqui: ſed ineluctabilia obſtacula objecta, quæ conatus ſuos remorata fuerint; nec, niſi in præſens exitium ſeque ſuoſque præcipitare voluerit, priuſquam, hoſte Viadri & Wartæ ripâ ad Francofurtum Landſbergamve depulſo, quæ e tergo erant, in tuto collocaret, iter maturare potuiſſe. Nihilominùs, utut hoſtis poſt Francofurtanam cladem ad Glogoviam majorem ſe recollegerit, plus obſeſſæ urbis ſalutem ipſi cordi, quàm pericula, quæ ab hoſte, vires integrante, imminerent, curæ fuiſſe, aut ſolicitudini: ideoque Cæſarianos, quos profligatos perſequi ratio belli dictitabat, ad præſens omiſſis, versùs Havelam & Albim ſigna, liberandæ urbi, tranſtuliſſe. Quod autem propoſitum hoc effectu caruerit, electores vicinos unicè in cauſa. Quippe cum Saxo, cujus vel maximè interfuerit urbem ſervari incolumen, non modo arma regiis armis jungere, ſed & tranſitum, commeatum, tormenta, rem tormentariam flagitanti præbere detrectârit: Brandenburgicus verò, nec commeatum, naves, ſimilia, ad tentandam rei adeò momentoſæ aleam neceſſaria, quæ alibi reperire non erat, ſatis maturè ſubminiſtrarit aut ſubminiſtrare potuerit,

potuerit, nec idoneam cautionem, qua fisus rex ulteriùs progrederetur, præstiterit tempori; partim quoque de iis, quorum rex certus esse volebat, ac sensum suum eousque, dum Saxo mentem suam explicaret, suspenderit. Summatim, uterque ita se gesserint: ut rex, hostiline an amico in se essent animo, non satis nosset, nec quicquam solidi aut firmi de iis sibi posset polliceri.

XXII.

TRAICTE de Confederation & d'Alliance pour huit ans entre Louis XIII. roy de France, & Maximilien electeur de Bavière, signé par le dit electeur à Munich, le 8 May 1631.

QUANDOQUIDEM rex Galliæ & elector Bavariæ amicitiam bonam ac defensionem reciprocam confirmare & inire desiderant, ideò in sequentes articulos sub fide data secretos consenserunt.

Sit inter regem & electorem Bavariæ sincera, bona & constans amicitia ac defensiva utrique firma obligatio ad octo annos, virtute cujus rex obligatur novem millibus equitum, cum convenientibus tormentis bellicis, & propriis sumptibus defendere electorum Bavariæ ejusque provincias hæreditarias & acquisitas, si hostiliter invadantur; possit tamen elector Bavariæ, in ejusque optione consistat, à rege vel militem, vel pecuniam tanto militi sufficientem petere.

Eodem modo elector Bavariæ obligatur tribus millibus peditum, et mille equitibus ac convenientibus tormentis bellicis propriisque sumptibus defendere regem Galliæ, ejusque provincias hæreditarias & acquisitas, si hostiliter invadanter: similiter tamen in arbitrio regis positum sit, ab electore Bavariæ vel militem ipsum, vel pecuniam tanto militi æquipolentem poscere.

Rex Galliæ promittit arma sua nullo modo applicare vel conferre contra vel in electorem Bavariæ ejusque supradictas provincias, nec directè nec indirectè assistere militibus aut pecunia iis qui volent electorem Bavariæ aut ejus provincias hostiliter invadere, nec eis permittere ut militem in regno Galliæ contra electorem & supradictas ejus provincias conscribant, aut illis arma, tormenta, vel pulveres tormentarii ab illorum amicis subditis regiis submittantur.

Vice versa elector Bavariæ promittit sua arma nullo modo applicare, & conferre in & contra regem ejusque provincias hæreditarias, sive acquisitas, nec directè, nec indirectè

assistere militibus, vel pecunia, nec permittere conscriptionem militum in suis provinciis, vel extractionem armorum, & pulveris tormentarii iis qui volent regem ejusque provincias invadere hostiliter.

Rex promittit agnoscere, defendere & manutenere dignitatem electoralem in persona ejusdem electoris & domo Bavariæ, contra omnes qui voluerint vel tentaverint illam dignitatem eis auferre, aut eos in exercitio dictæ dignitatis impedire.

Quandoquidem ex urgentissimis causis necessarium est, ut hæc amicitia & defensio hoc tempore tantum inter regem & electorem Bavariæ concluſa, nulli alii pateat, sed secretissima maneat, ideo utrinque de secreto observando in specie quoque cautum est.

Quos omnes articulos eò libentius rex Christianissimas & elector Bavariæ inter se comprobarunt, & sibi invicem promiserunt, quia & jure naturali liciti, & regiæ majestati, & electorali dignitati convenientes sunt: reservat ideo tamen ac excipit hic elector juramentum suum imperatori & imperio præstitum; reservatione autem sic excepta præfatus elector omnia, & singula quæ in hoc tractatu mutuæ amicitiæ & reciprocæ defensionis continentur sincerè, exactè, & bona fide se præstiturum promittit, regemque Galliæ ejusque provincias hæreditarias & acquisitas adversum quoscumque defendere tenebitur, eo modo quo in supradictis articulis continetur.

Vicissim verò quoque rex Galliæ omnia ea se denuo sincerè, ac bona fide præstare velle promittit quæ in supradictis articulis spopondit.

In fidem horum omnium elector Bavariæ propria manu subscripsit, eaque proprio sigillo communiri fecit.

Datum in urbe nostra monachio 8 die mensis Maii, anno Domini 1631, subsignavit Maximilianus, & infra Gulielmus Jocher, cum insignibus electoris Bavariæ.

Il est ainsi en l'original, que j'ay mis entre les mains de monseigneur le cardinal duc de Richelieu. A Paris, le 20 *Juin,* 1634.

Signé, BOUTHILLIER.

Il y en a un autre pareil signé par le roy à Fontainbleau, le 30 *May,* 1631. Louis, *& plus bas,* Bouthillier: *avec les armes de France; dont l'original a esté remis des mains dudit seigneur cardinal duc de* Richelieu.

XXIII.

XXIII.

HASSIÆ Landgravii cum Rege Fœdus, ejusq; capita.

Quod fœdus velut norma fuit, ad quam reliqua pleraque postmodum amussitata; ideoque plenius & articulatim historiæ nostræ inserere, operæ pretium duximus.
[Chemnitz. Bellum Succo-Germ. tom i. ibid. &c.]

REX Landgravio in tutelam, protectionem, & clientelam recepto, quicunque offendere, aut armis impetere eum intenderent, pro hostibus haberet, non secus, ac si ipsimet, coronæve suæ injuriam ac bellum intulissent; pro virili parte, quantum occasio permiserit, hostiliter persequeretur; landgravio consilio, auxiliove adesset; nec cum quoquam alio, seu extra seu intra Romanum imperium, fœdus, quod huic deroget, iniret. Imprimis vero

2. Si Landgravio aut ejus subditis vi hostiliti eripi quippiam, aut munitiones & arces ejus obsidio cingi contingeret, illis liberandis rex nil faceret reliqui; arma landgravii armis jungeret; summis viribus laboranti succurreret, nec ulla cum ratione desereret.

3. Cum Cæsare, & pontificii fœderis sociis, aliisve hostibus, de pace minimè gentium transigeret aut exueret arma; nisi landgravio pactis, & ita quidem incluso; ut ei, ejusque subditis nomine illorum, quibus, cum in conscientia sua, tùm aliàs gravatos se, justissimè, conquerebantur, satisfieret; de justitia adversùs quemcumque equaliter administranda caveretur; et is in statum, quo landgraviorum stirpis Cassellanæ familia ante Bohemicas & Palatinas turbas fuerat, omnino reponeretur.

4. Sicubi rex, ejusve miles a landgravio in munitiones, arces, urbes, exigente necessitate reciperetur, nihil, quod regalibus, privilegiis, utilitati, juribus landgravii præjudicio esset, tentaret; sed necessitate & causâ receptionis cessante, loca isthæc landgravio iterùm in manus consignaret.

5. Sin tormenta quoque, & alia belli gerendi instrumenta, regi è landgravii munimentis præberentur (id autem non, nisi cautione priùs de restituendo præstitâ, factum iri) postquam pro tempore satis usus, restitueret.

6. Quod si landgravius propriis viribus ac marte aliquem pontificiorum ordinum, qui regis hostes ultrò semet professi, opprimere, ejusve ditiones, urbes, loca occupare potis esset, perinde ac si ipse patrasset, rex id rati haberet, & landgravium, siquidem eo nomine infestaretur, regiè propugnaret.

7. Si ipsemet rex landgravio, ut fœderato suo, præsens adesse, & absolutæ belli gerendi directioni, a landgravio

delatæ, vacare impediretur, egregium habilem expertæque prudentiæ ac virtutis ducem landgravio adjungeret: qui ipſius, ùt capitis & principis in contracto fœdere, loco landgravii, copiis præeſſet, in militaribus, gerendove & continuando bello ſummi imperii clavum teneret, & hoc nomine data ſpeciatim fide obſtrictus, quæ belli ratio flagitat, ad communem fœderatorum ſcopum conſequendum, communi conſilio perageret ac exſequeretur. Quò rebus decenter & ordine geſtis, confuſioni, aliàs facilè irrepenti, omnis præcluderetur riina. Quos ſummi imperii faſces.

8. Rex ipſimet landgravio contulit ac permiſit.

9. Quò dexteriùs autem omnia adminiſtrarentur, & aliquis exercitui afforet, obſervantiæ fœderis (ne, aut huic, aut regis imperio quicquam committeretur adverſum) reique ſimul pecuniariæ intentus; utile viſum, ſummo armorum imperatori fidelem & prudentiâ clarum conſiliarum bellicum adjungere: qui illi, ut legatus ad confœderatos, adhæreret, conſilio opeve juvaret, & providam, ut dictum, omnium rerum curam gereret; cum quo etiam imperator è ſecretioribus quibuſque ſtatum rerum concernentibus, communicatum iret.

10. Quod landgravius haud abs re fore arbitrabatur, id nec regi diſplicuit; videlicet, hominem candidum & rerum intelligentem, legati ordinarii ſeu reſidentis titulo ad regem a landgravio mitti; qui, ut individuus comes, nunquam non eundem ſequeretur, landgravii petita, temporum ſucceſſu emergentia, ad eum deferret, & mutuæ communicationi per literas daret operam. Tandem

11. Rex landgravio alios principes, comites, barones, civitates, ordines, univerſitates in fœdus hoc recipiendi poteſtatem contulit: iiſdem illos legibus admittere, nec minùs, ac ſi cum ipſomet ea de re tractaſſent & tranſegiſſent, flagitantibus aſſiſtere pollicitus. Quod ſi alii eventum demùm rei operire, animum inducerent, & jam fœderatos cum belli periculis luctari ſolos ſinerent, poſt trium menſium decurſum haud potituros ampliùs optimis his conditionibus, ſed ad novos tractatus, & novas conditiones paciſcendas, remiſſum iri.

E contra Landgravius data fide recepit.

1. Eandem ſubire cum rege fortunam, nec eum deſerere, nec ulli tractatui cum illius hoſtibus præbere aures, multo minùs de pace tranſigere; niſi præſcio, volente, & conſentiente rege: ita ut ipſe, ejuſve corona pactis ſimul includeretur; ea penitus calculo ſuo approbaret; tractatui adhibitus,

tus, deque eo certior tempore factus foret; et omnia rati habuiſſet.

2. Ut federatum regis & clientem, ejuſdem, illiuſve fœderatorum ac regnorum damnum avertere, commodum autem promovere; nulli conſilio aut actioni immiſceri, quæ regi, aut ejus regnis, principatibus, dignitati adverſarentur; fideliter potius illi aſſiſtere, et pro virili, ad bellum hoc debellandum, milite pecuniave adminiculari: munimenta autem ſua, quantum in ſe foret, communi fœderatorum bono conſervare; hoſtes in ea nequaquam admittere; ſed, quo inde excluderentur, laborare enixé & ſummis viribus.

3. Illa ipſa munimenta, provincias, arces, ac loca tranſita opportuna, neceſſitate flagitante, regi, cum in adventu, tùm in receptu, abſque tergiverſatione reſerare, et permittere, ut aut ſingulatim, aut cohortatim & turmatim, aut integris legionibus pertranſiret, nec circa illa modò, ſed et in illis ipſiſmet hoſpitaretur. Militem tamen intromiſſum utriquè fide addictum eſſe debere, et landgravio ſimul in fœderis hujus articulos ſacramento obligandum: omnemve arrege ac regiis hac in parte captionem abſore.

4. Si quando rex landgravio e copiis ſuis ſubſidio mitteret, jungere ſe illis; eas ſuſcipere; uterque pro alterutrius incolumitate laborare; et in communem hoſtem toto impetu ferri.

5. Exercitum aliquot millium, nulla interpoſita morâ, ſuis cogere impenſis, eundem, quantum poſſibile, citiùs aut ſeriùs, prout occaſio ferret, grandire; ſimul ac in procinctu ſtaret, leve, ſuaſve provincias tributo, hoſtibus penſitari ſolito, ſubtrahere; potentiam vireſve eorum minuere ac ſupprimere; militem hoſtilitem, in territorio ſuo hoſpitantem, concidere; diribitoria hoſtium diſturbare, et ubicunque fieri poſſet, tum exigendo tributum, tum urbes, arces, ac loca ſitu commoda occupando, præſidiove militari firmando, quinimò, ſi daretur occaſio, perſonas eorum in poteſtatem redigendo, noxam illis inferre ac detrimentum.

6. Si, a rege clade affecti aut profligati in landgravii confiniis receptum quærerent, penitùs eos diſſipare ac disjicere; ne coire illic locorum, aut gradum denuò firmare ullatenùs poſſent.

7. Comites, nobiles, alios quoſcunque, ſeu fines ejus inhabitarent, ſeu extra fines haberent domicilium, vaſallos, cum equeſtribus, ad quæ intuitu poſſeſſorum feudorum obſtricti, ſervitiis, quotieſcunque neceſſitas exigeret, ad regis poſtulatum & commune utriuſque placitum convocare; imo ſubditos, ſicubi vigeretur, viritim ad arma concire, militarive illorum opera, ſub regis imperio uti. Quo in articulo rex landgravio

landgravio vice versa cavit: Si forte vasalli aut refractarii existerent, aut moratores, affore illi ope sua, in ordinem eos redacturum, pro hostibus habiturum, & privationis pænam exsecutioni adversùs commeritos daturum; ita quidem, ut landgravio tanquam domino directo, dominium sartum, tectum maneret; utilitas vero, seu reditus feudorum fisco & communi ærario inferrentur. Ubi tamen præstitutum scopum attigissent, aut maturiùs forsan, si inter utrumque de eo conveniret, utile quoque dominium ad dominum directum redundaturum, et cum proprietate consolidatum; landgravium autem a rege hoc in casu propugnatum, nec cuiquam, ejus ingratiis, veniam admissi concessum iri.

8. Cautum, ut neuter ab altero, sumtuum, qui bello gerendo, aut munitionibus exstruendis impenderentur, nomine, quicquam præter id, de quo expressè conventum, poscceret, sed uterque conventionis legibus, et communi ærario, brevi instituendo, acquiescerent: pacta quoque hæc reliquis omnibus fœderibus, quæ cum aliis magnatibus, electorumque ac principum familiis essent inita (si hi forte alterutri fœderatorum, hujus fœderis & piæ intentionis, animo illis propositæ, intuitu, hostes redderentur, aut ipsa fœdera, ut contraria, invicem se destruerent) quantum ipsorum scopum attinet, præferrentur, nec vetustiorum fœderum respectu alter ab altero resilire, nec nova, huic adversantia contrahere animum induceret.

9. Si rex landgravii munimenta, majoris securitatis ergò, novis adjectis operibus, munitiora reddi, è re communi arbitraretur, landgravius non permitteret hoc modò, sed subditos quoque, inevitabili necessitate flagitante, compelleret ad manus operi admovendum.

10. Regiis copiis landgravii ditionem transeuntibus, & illic divertentibus, pedes candelâ & ligno, eques stramine & fœno, servitiorum, quæ vocant, nomine præbitis, contenti, nulla ulterioris flagitationis molestiâ hospites vexarent: modò alia sustentationis media in promtu forent. Extra vero hunc casum, & in hostico, alimenta sua exinde, secundùm commune utriusque arbitrium, miles quæreret.

11. Si in landgravii territorio militum diribitoria instituere ratio boni publici necessariò exigeret, id quod landgravium æquo passurum animo: ultra duos tamen cum dimidio avenæ modios in equos singulos, unà cum sex straminis mergitibus, & fœni vehe, ipsisque equitibus, equitumve ductoribus, cujuscunque conditionis, loco alimentorum, ultra duos Joachimicos, usque ad armilustrium, quot mensibus minimè præbitum iri.

12. Rege arma in Austriam, aut aliàs in hosticum transferente, et hostem illic, ne fœderatorum terras infestare posset,

occupante, landgravium tot militum millibus, quot ſecuritate propria ſalva liceret, ſubſidio ei affuturum; militemve hunc communi utriuſque impensâ ſuſtentandum.

13. Quod ſi a rege unum, alterumve locum, extra illa, que pertinerent ad landgravium, aut in quibus jus aliquod haberet, expugnari contingeret, regi, donec de expenſis eidem ſatisfieret, landgravium in manibus illa relicturum, & ne adverſarii rurſus evincerent, ſedulam unà cum rege daturum operam.

14. Controverſiâ aut lite intær federatos ſubortâ, duos a rege arbitros, & totidem neutri parti obnoxios, a landgravio nominandos; qui de tertio conveniant. Horum fidei negotium committendum: propoſita pactorum formulâ, & in medium adductis, quæ cauſæ deciſioni facere videantur. Quicquid autem hi æquum judicaverint, eo utrumque contentum fore, & acquieturum.

15. De tranſfugio utrinque conventum: ne quis alterius ductores, equites, pedites, aut facinoroſos etiam, tranſfugientes, in ſtipendia ſua reciperet, aut ullatenus toleraret; ſed ſi quis ejus notæ, ubiubi tandem, ſeu intra ſeu extra juriſdictionis terminos, deprehenderetur, cujuscunque ordinis aut dignationis, in vincula conjicerent, deliteſcentes quoque ſumma induſtria, quantum pote, indagarent, alter alterum de iis redderent certiores, & comprehenſos pœnis militaribus afficerent. Subditos autem, ſi qui, criminis hujus rei, pœnæ ſe ſubtrahere effugio niterentur, honorum, tribuum, jurium omnium ac bonorum privatione quiſque eorum mulctaret, nec ullum, niſi alterius conſenſu, in integrum reſtitueret. Demum, ultimo, landgravius pollicebatur, primo quoque tempore contra ſubditos ac vaſallos ſuos, hoſti ſtipendia merentes, acerrima promulgare mandata avocatoria, confiſcationis bonorum, tam allodialium, quam feudalium, amiſſionis inſuper vitæ ac honoris pœnâ præſtitutâ: illaque ſtricte & rigide exſequi, ſi unus alterve, cujuſcunque dignitatis aut conditionis, morem his gerere differret, præterlabi pateretur.

Werbenæ, pridié Iduum Auguſti, 1631.

XXIV.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, Dei gratia Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque Rex, magnus Princeps Finlandiæ, Dux Eſtoniæ et Careliæ, nec non Ingriæ Dominus, Sereniſſimo & Potentiſſimo Principi Domino CAROLO Dei gratia Magnæ Britanniæ.

SERENISSIME princeps, frater, conſanguine & amice chariſſime. Cumque ſerenitatis veſtræ in rem communem et ergà nos conſtans propenſio eſt; certi ſumus ex illis, quæ nobis proſperè, et bono' periclitantis rei Chriſtianæ evenirent, ſerenitatem veſtram partem ſibi quoque ſumere, intermittere noluimus, quin de memorabili quam divina benignitas nobis (hiſce diebus) largita eſt victoriâ, vos certiores rederemus. Poſtquàm armis noſtris ſua elector Saxoniæ junxit, nobis cum utroque exercitu contra hoſtem progreſſis, hoſtilis exercitus generalis illius univerſas copias ſuas è caſtris Lypſicis ad Mileſimum lapidem eductas, ſeptimâ die Septembris oppoſuit. Prælio incepto magnâ contentione per 4 amplius horas res utrimque acta eſt, donec ſingulari Dei beneficio, hoſtilis exercitus (virtute indefeſsâ noſtrorum) in fugam verſus diſſipatuſque eſt; noſtris fugientem ſub mœnia uſque urbis proſequis, tormenta ac res armamentariæ hoſtis nobis ceſſeret erepta ei vexilla derelicta à conturbato ad Lypſica caſtra cum impedimentis. Generalis accepto vulnere in epiſcopatum Halberſtadenſem diſceſſit; iis, quos deinceps inſequi ſumus gratiæ noſtræ et militiæ relictis. Occiſi ex hoſtibus in loco pugnæ jacuere plurimi, cum illis generalis vigilum, aliique apud hoſtem præfecti. Inter captivorum aliquot millia dux Holſtatiæ, & ex præcipuis alii, quorum ſucceſſuum laudes cum Deo optimo maximo tanquam authori debeantur, ejuſque divinæ benignitati tribuendum meritò ſit quod nunc non ſolum illa tot millium votis hactenus expetita reſtituendæ religionis et libertatis ſpes, ſed et erigendi afflictam regis Bohemiæ cauſam facilitas affulgeat. Non diffidimus quin ſerenitas veſtra non tantum gaudio et affectu proſequendam hanc victoriam, ſed etiam tam pulchrâ occaſione utendum, et omnia huc deinceps conferenda eſſe judicatura, atque ipſi rei Chriſtianæ ſuorumque ſaluti, heroicis ſuis conſiliis auxiliiſque conſultura regio ſtudio ſit. In nobis amplius aliquid deſiderari non patiemur, ſerenitatem vero veſtram divinæ protectioni ad auſpicata rerum omnium incrementa commendamus. Dat Halæ Saxonum, 13 Sept. 1631.

Bonus frater et conſanguineus,

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

XXV.

The famous *Armiſtice*, or *Treaty of Neutrality*, accorded by GUSTAVUS, at the interceſſion of France, to the *Princes of the League*.

[N. B. Having never been able to ſee the original of this treaty, we have thought it more proper to give the Engliſh tranſlation thereof, made in the year 1632, than render into modern language the French tranſlation, publiſhed in the ſame year, and preſerved by the author of the *Mercure François* (tom. xviii. p. 135, &c.); ſince that ed. only proves to be the verſion of a verſion, and might depart ſtill more and more from the firſt meaning.]

HIS ſacred majeſty of Sweden, taking ſpecial notice of the deſire which the duke of Bavaria and the Catholic Leaguers have for obtaining a Neutrality; although, by their making themſelves parties with the emperor in the wars, they have deſerved nothing of him but hoſtility: yet upon the earneſt interceſſion of the moſt chriſtian king, preſented by his ambaſſadors, and to teſtify withal his own brotherly affection unto him; he is contented to conclude the Neutrality upon theſe following conditions:

1. Let this Neutrality be religiouſly and inviolably kept with his ſacred majeſty of Sweden, his kingdoms, dominions and ſubjects, as well thoſe that are hereditary to him, as thoſe that have in Germany been conquered by him: as alſo with his confederates, the electors, princes, nobles, cities, commonwealths, commonalties, and ſtates, and with the elector of Saxony in particular; by the duke of Bavaria and his aſſociates the catholic princes and ſtates of Germany: who ſhall alſo give ſufficient caution unto his majeſty, for the ſure keeping of it.

2. Let the ſaid duke of Bavaria, and the catholic princes of Germany his confederates, forbear all acts of injury and hoſtility, both towards his ſacred majeſty of Sweden, his army and dominions now in his poſſeſſion, and towards his confederates the evangelical electors, princes, earls, nobles, cities, commonalties, ſtates, and all other evangelical profeſſors of what condition ſoever; and let them not by their ſoldiers be troubleſome hereafter unto them in their dominions, upon any pretext whatſoever, nor ſuffer them to be diſturbed by any forces of the emperor's.

3. Let the duke of Bavaria, and the ſaid catholic princes of Germany, as many as are of the League, reſtore unto the evangelical princes and ſtates, of what condition ſoever, all and ſingular ſtrengths, fortreſſes, caſtles, cities, territories and

and countries how many ſoever, which in all the time of this war, begun in the year 1618, they have taken and kept from the evangelics in the Lower Saxony: and leave them in the ſame ſtate they were in, before the beginning of the war.

4. Let the duke of Bavaria, with the catholic princes of Germany his confederates, withdraw all their armies out of the countries of the evangelical electors, princes, and ſtates, ſo ſoon as may be; ſending for the ſoldiers into their own territories.

5. Let the army of the duke of Bavaria, and of the catholic princes of Germany his confederates, be reduced to the number of 10,000 or 12,000 men: all the reſt being preſently caſhiered. Which army, let it be diſtributed and enquartered here and there among the cities and proper dominions of the ſaid princes, and not be kept together in one entire body.

6. The duke of Bavaria, and his aſſociates the ſaid catholic princes of Germany, ſhall not with the ſaid ſoldiers (being either caſhiered, or diſtributed among their territories) give aſſiſtance, either openly or underhand, unto the emperor or any other prince, enemy unto his ſacred majeſty of Sweden.

7. Nor let the duke of Bavaria, and his confederates the catholic princes of Germany, give leave unto the houſe of Auſtria or any other whatſoever enemy of his ſacred majeſty of Sweden, to raiſe ſoldiers, appoint places of muſter or rendezvous, buy up arms, or make any other military proviſions within their dominions: but let them every where obſerve an inviolate and ſincere Neutrality.

8. Let all their paſſages be without deceit either open to either party, or ſhut up, as it ſhall be agreed upon: provided it be without all injury and damage unto the owner.

9. His ſacred majeſty of Sweden, with his confederates, in like manner ſhall in no ways offend the duke of Bavaria, nor any prince or ſtate of the Catholic League, whoſe dominions he is not yet maſter of, excepting only the biſhop of Bamberg; nor ſhall he lay any other kind of military impoſitions upon them, but ſhall keep and obſerve a ſincere neutrality with them.

10. All thoſe places of the Lower Palatinate whatſoever, now taken away from the duke of Bavaria, will his ſacred majeſty reſtore unto the ſaid duke of Bavaria again, until, by the mediation of the kings of Great Britain and France, there be ſome friendly compoſition made betwixt the duke and the prince Palatine, for which ſome ſhort day ſhall be appointed. So likewiſe will his majeſty reſtore unto the archbiſhops of

Trier

Triers and Cologn, whatſoever places are taken from them, the city of Spiers, and the places now remaining unto it, being left* intire unto itſelf.

11. All other countries and places of the catholic princes and ſtates (beſides thoſe forenamed) already poſſeſſed by his ſacred majeſty, ſhall not the duke of Bavaria, nor the catholic princes of Germany his confederates, make demand of again, in any kind, either by themſelves or by others, but ſhall leave them in his majeſty's hands until ſome general treaty.

12. All ſtates, princes, earls, nobles, cities, and commonalties, evangelical, whoſoever will, may be under the protection of his ſacred majeſty of Sweden; nor ſhall they to the prejudice of the ſaid protection be diſturbed any manner of way, either directly or indirectly, by the ſaid catholic princes of Germany.

13. Let all commerce with his ſacred majeſty of Sweden, his ſubjects and evangelical confederates, on the one party, and with the duke of Bavaria and the catholic princes of Germany his confederates, on the other party, be free and open every where, and no ways hindered.

14. Let all priſoners on both ſides be delivered without ranſom; and in particular, let the adminiſtrator of Magdeburg, taken by Tilly, be forthwith ſet at liberty without prejudice.

15. For the better ſecurity, ſhall the moſt chriſtian king of France engage his royal word that the duke of Bavaria, and all other catholic princes, ſtates, and cities of Germany, his confederates, ſhall religiouſly obſerve this neutrality in all the articles of it; which if they ſhall infringe, then ſhall he declare himſelf for his ſacred majeſty of Sweden, and fall with all his power upon the violaters, until he hath compelled them unto ſatisfaction.

XXVI.

The Subſcription of the French Ambaſſadors to the *Treaty of Neutrality.**

NOUS ſoubſignez ambaſſadeurs de tres-chreſtien roy de France, ſçavoir faiſons, que le ſereniſſime & treſ-puiſſant prince & ſeigneur Guſtave Adolphe par la grace de Dieu roy de Suede, &c. ayant voulou comprendre dans le traicté

* *Salvâ civitate Spirenſi, ſibique relicta.*
* Merc. Franç. tom. xviii. p. 139, &c.

public

public de la neutralité avec l'electeur de Baviere, & la ligue catholique, que tout ce qui avoit eſté pris par droict de guerre par les dits electeurs & ligue catholique, ſur les princes & eſtats proteſtans & evangelique tant en la haute Allemagne qu'en la Baſſe Saxe, & qui eſt occupée par les garriſons des dits duc de Baviere & la ligue catholique, ſeroit rendu à tous les ſeigneurs & precedens poſſeſſeurs evangeliques: nous, pour eviter certains ſcrupules qui euſſent peu en provenir, & apporter difficulté, à l'entreteneiment du traicté de la dite neutralité, avons de faire retrencher des articles du dit traicté, la caution & l'aſſeurance promiſe au nom du roy treschreſtien noſtre ſeigneur, & que nonobſtant cette clauſe tout ce qui avoit eſté pri par droict de guerre & eſtoit occupé par les garriſons du duc de Baviere & de la ligue catholique, ſur les prince & eſtats evangeliques & proteſtans, comme s'il eſtoit nommement ſtipulé & accordé par les actes du dit traicté, ſeroit rendu, & reſtitué auſdits evangeliques & proteſtans, auſquels il auroit eſté oſté: & pourtant nous promettons au nom du roy tres-chreſtien noſtre ſeigneur, que ſa dite majeſté royale ſera en ſorte, que la reſtitution deſdits lieux pris par droict de guerre ſur les princes & eſtats evangeliques, ſera faite tout ainſi que ſi le meſme avoit eſté promis par les articles de la neutralité: excepté toutes fois les lieux & places qui auparavant appartenoient au duc de Baviere en l'un & l'autre Palatinat. En foy de quoy, &c.

A Mayence le 19 de Jan. 1632, St. Vet.

XXVII.

The KING's Letter to GUSTAVUS HORN (and probably to all his other Generals) concerning *the Armiſtice*.*

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, by the grace of God king of the Swedes, &c. Right truſty and well-beloved, &c. We will not conceal from you, how that the king of France hath made a kind, brotherly ſuit unto us, by his ambaſſadors, for a neutrality betwixt us, and the elector of Bavaria and the catholic league. Foraſmuch as we have thereupon framed certain articles, and delivered the ſame to the ſaid ambaſſadors, who have promiſed to bring us, within the ſpace of fourteen days, a plain declaration and confirmation thereupon; and in the mean while, by virtue of their power to take order, that Pappenheim ſhall forthwith withdraw himſelf with his troops out of Weſtphalia and the biſhoprick

* From the copy printed in London 1632, 4to.—*Mercure François*, tom. xviii. p. 134.

of

of Magdeburg, and likewiſe, that the forces of the electors of Bavaria and of the catholic league, ſhould forthwith be called and drawn out of Bohemia, if any there ſhould be. For this reaſon, and for the furtherance of ſuch a work, and to gratify withal our ſaid good brother the king of France, We have thought good to yield them ſo ſmall a time, and to abſtain from all hoſtility, during the ſaid fourteen days, againſt the ſaid catholic league and the duke of Bavaria; if ſo be that (according to the ſaid promiſe) they do behave themſelves in like manner, withdraw their forces, and uſe no hoſtility againſt us; whereof We do hereby give you notice: and withal do will and command you forthwith to publiſh this ſaid ceſſation of arms for fourteen days throughout the army which you do command (to which end we have diſpatched this trumpet unto you) and thereupon to ceaſe and abſtain from all hoſtility, pillage, robbing, and other deeds of enmity againſt the ſaid elector of Bavaria and the catholic league, and during the ſaid time to remain quiet.* But yet we have expreſsly excepted (as the ſaid ambaſſadors do know) and we do intend, that ſuch towns, places, and caſtles, which are now by us beſieged and blocked up, ſhall ſo remain beſieged and blocked up; and that the beſieged ſhall have liberty during the ſaid time, to treat, conclude, and compound with us, to deliver up the ſaid places, and to depart from thence according to the agreement that ſhall be made with them. This you are to obſerve, and to govern yourſelf accordingly. And if ſome one or other place be at this preſent by you beſieged, or blocked up, you are by no means to remove or depart from the ſame, but rather to continue and finiſh the deſign, with all your beſt endeavours, as being a thing no ways contrary unto the ſaid ceſſation of arms by us granted, &c. Given at Hoëchſt the 10th of January 1631.

* Pourvuque le duc de Bavière ſe comporté de meſme. *Merc. Franç.*

XXVIII.

TRAICTÉ de Louis XIII. roy de France, &c. avec PHILIPPES CHRISTOFLE archevesque de Treves, electeur & evesque de Spire: Par lequel le roy s'oblige d'assister ledit electeur, contre ceux qui le voudront opprimer; *& de plus, de faire sortir desdits archéveché & evéche les gens de guerre du roy de* SUEDE. A Ehrenbreitstein, l'an 1632, le 9 Avril.

NOS Philippus Christophorus Dei gratia archiepiscopus Trevirensis, ac princeps elector, episcopus Spirensis, administrator Prumiensis perpetuus, & præpositus Weissemburgensis, & Ludovicus de Brianson de la Saludie, magister de campo christianissimæ regiæ majestatis Franciæ, cum plenipotentia missus legatus; notum facimus atque fatemur: postquàm christianissima regia majestas se intra serenissimum & potentissimum regem Sueciæ, ac serenissimos, illustrissimos ac reverendissimos electores principes, aliosque catholicæ unionis status, pro salute ac pace publica in Germania reintegranda ac restabilienda uti mediatorem, fide jussorem ac sponsorem interposuit, illa intentione ut neutralitas in regiam majestatem Sueciæ, & prædictos unionis catholicæ status erigeretur, quæ neutralitas à parte utraque non fuerit concluſa, approbata & confirmata, sed potius contrariis factis cassata, ideirco nos cum regiæ majestatis Franciæ legato supradicto, sequentes pacis articulos conclusimus, approbavimus, sigillisque nostris & manuum subscriptione munivimus, sequentis tenoris.

1. Nos Philippus Christophorus archiepiscopus Trevirensis & princeps elector, in manus & custodiam christianissimæ regiæ majestatis Galliarum fortalitium de Ehrenbreitstein nostræ archidiœcesis Trevirensis primum deponemus eo usque donec pax generalis in Germania sit concluſa; ex tunc enim christianissima regia majestatis militem abducat, ac dictum fortalitium in liberas nostras nostrorumque successorum manus in eo statu quo tempore depositionis inductionisque militis fuit, iterum tradat & restituat.

2. Pro qua custodia & assistentia christianissima regia majestas mille peditum & centum equitum selectorum Gallorum mittet, ut ingrediantur supradictum fortalitium.

3. Qua militia ita introducta ex Christianissimæ majestatis permissione & mandato, quod in simul transmittetur nobis jurabit.

4. Rogamus

4. Rogamus tamen chriſtianiſſimam regiam majeſtatem, ut eadem propter devaſtationem modernam archiepiſcopatus Trevirenſis, ad ſuſtinendum militem tertiam partem expenſarum & ſtipendiorum eo uſque exſolvere dignetur donec ſubditi noſtri contributiones neceſſarias præbere poſſint & valeant.

5. Et ad ſtatim atque depoſitum fuerit ſupra nominatum fortalitium, chriſtianiſſima regia majeſtas ex archiepiſcopatu Trevirenſi exturbabit, expulſabitque non ſolum copias regiæ majeſtatis Sueciæ, ſed & omnes alias quas tum inveniat; in quem effectum expreſſam ordinantiam ante ingreſſum pro majori aſſecuratione oſtendet, curabitque & omnia loca ſatrapiæ, civitates, pagi & territoria occupata quantocius deoccupentur, milites in totum abducantur, ac ad liberas noſtras manus tradantur; ac conditione ut iiſdem in locis ceſſis, aut deoccupatis nos uti ante occupationem diſponere, proprioque militi ibidem quarterium abſque ullo impedimento concedere poſſimus.

6. Eadem regia majeſtas chriſtianiſſima non ſolum predicto modo noſtrum fortalitium Ehrenbreitſtein cuſtodiat, ſed etiam nobis noſtriſque ſubditis, contra hoſtilitates, oppreſſiones offenſioneſque reali aſſiſtentia ſuccurret, omnia quartiria & preſſuras avertet, omnibuſque quibus poteſt modis ac viis defendet.

7. Quo in caſu chriſtianiſſima majeſtas ex regia liberalitate ſumptus expendet, nec à nobis pluſquam ſubditi territoriumque noſtrum Trevirenſe in commeatu præſtare poſſint poſtulabit, neque ullam aliam actionem contra noſtram archidiœceſin, nos ac ſucceſſores noſtros in futurum prætendet.

8. Et quam primum fortalitium Ehrenbreitſtein prædicto modo cuſtoditum, & reliqua juxta articulos præmiſſos aſſecurata fuerint, tunc ſupra poſitis conditionibus eodemque plane modo nos fortalitium noſtrum Philipſburgum in chriſtianiſſimæ majeſtatis manus depoſitum, mille peditibus & centum equitibus ſelectis intromiſſis, quoque trademus; ita tamen ut ſupradicto modo totus epiſcopatus Spirenſis, ac omnia loca ſatrapiæ, civitates, pagi, & territoria ex tunc quantocius à regia majeſtate Sueciæ ejuſque adhærentibus deoccupentur, milites in totum abducantur, ac ad liberas noſtras manus tradantur, hoc modo ut nos iiſdem in locis ceſſis & deoccupatis uti ante occupationem diſponere, proprioque militi ibidem quartirium abſque ullo impedimento concedere poſſimus.

9. Eadem quoque chriſtianiſſima regia majeſtas non ſolum, uti predictum noſtrum fortalitium Philipſburgum cuſtodiet, ſed etiam nobis noſtriſque ſubditis contra hoſtilitates oppreſſioneſque quaſcunque reali aſſiſtentia ſuccurret, omniaque

quartiria & preſſuras avertet, omnibuſque quibus poteſt modis ac viis defendet.

10. Hæc tamen cum clauſula ut in utroque fortalitio cum aulicis noſtris, ordinaria guardia & cancellaria noſtra pro libitu noſtro manere, ibique rebus noſtris vacare poſſimus.

11. Ulterius caſu quo metropolis noſtra civitas Trevirenſis à milite regiæ majeſtatis Sueciæ occuparetur, tunc illa ad manus noſtras mediante chriſtianiſſima majeſtate tradenda erit, ac in eandem nullum aliud præſidium quam noſtrum prædicto modo plane iiſdem ſub conditionibus introducatur de ſuſtentetur.

12. Ultimo tranſitus omnes utrique parti militanti ſine fraude ſint aperti, ſine injuria & damno proprietarii.

Igitur nos Philippus Chriſtophorus archiepiſcopus Trevirenſis ac princeps elector promittimus obſervare, & obſervari facere ſincerè, realiter & cum effectu, abſque aliqua ſiniſtra interpretatione, & ego Ludovicus de Brianſon Baro de la Saludie, magiſter de campo chriſtianiſſimæ regiæ majeſtatis cum plenipotentia legatus miſſus, prædictos articulos nomine ejuſdem chriſtianiſſimæ majeſtatis totidem verbis pro more ſtipulatus ſum, polliceorque me certò effecturum chriſtianiſſimam regiam majeſtatem omnes & ſingulos articulos & conditiones, uti & hanc noſtram concluſionem, ſubſcriptionem ac ſigillationem, manu propria & ſigillo regio confirmaturam, realique aſſiſtentia adimpleturam. In quorum fidem has præſentes propriis manibus ſubſcripſimus, & ſigillo noſtro communivimus.

Acta conventaque hæc omnia in fortalitio noſtro Ehrenbreitſteiniano, die nona menſis Aprilis, 1632, ainſi ſigné, Philippus Chriſtophorus archiepiſcopus Trevirenſis, & la Saludie, avec le cachet dudit ſieur electeur.

XXIX.

XXIX.

ODE ſur la Mort du GRAND GUSTAVE.

Par M. *Arnaud d'Andilly.*

I.

PLUS vîte que l'eclair, plus craint que le tonnere
Portant avec moi la terreur & la mort,
J'ay paſsé comme un Mars des rivage du nord,
Par tout où m'appelloit la juſtice & la guerre.

II.

L'Allemagne m'a vû briſer comme du verre
Tout ce qui s'opoſoit à mon puiſſant effort;
Et mon ſecours fatal lui ſervit de ſuport
Lorſqu'il ne ſembloit plus qu'elle en eût ſur la terre.

III.

Le plus ſage au conſeil, le premier aux hazards;
Mes vertus ont terni le luſtre des Céſars,
Et rendu l'univers étonné de ma gloire.

Quel ſiècle vit jamais un ſi grand conquérant?
Vivant j'ay triomphé, je triomphe en mourant,
Et choiſis pour tombeau le champ de ma victoire.

TRANSLATED

By E. S. B.

SWIFT as the lightning, direful as the roll,
Around me ſpreading pale diſmay and blood,
I croſs'd the ſtreams that bind the icy Pole,
And won'dring nations hail'd me great and good.

Germania ſaw me, 'midſt her loud alarms,
Extermine all who dar'd my arms oppoſe;
Beheld me aid her with my fatal arms,
When aid ſeem'd vain, and hope was at its cloſe.

Diſcreet in council, ardent in the ſtrife,
My tow'ring virtues, Cæſar, tarniſh thine;
The world, aſtoniſh'd, views my glorious life;
What age can boaſt a victor ſo divine!

In death, as life, my triumph is attain'd;
I chuſe my tomb beneath the fields I gain'd.

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